

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**WHAKATANGATA KIA KAHA: TOITŪ TE WHAKAPAPA, TOITŪ TE TUAKIRI,
TOITŪ TE MANA – AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF TE AUTE
COLLEGE TO MĀORI ADVANCEMENT.**

**A THESIS PRESENTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EDUCATION

**AT MASSEY UNIVERSITY, PALMERSTON NORTH,
NEW ZEALAND.**

JAMES PHILIP HECTOR GRAHAM

2009

ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement by exploring the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the brand that has developed out of the school's whakapapa from its beginnings in 1854 prior to major European settlement in the Hawkes Bay through to the 21st century. In doing so, the notion of whakapapa is used to reveal the layers of tradition, history, connections, narratives, achievements and setbacks that have enabled the realisation of Māori potential and the ability of Te Aute College to sustain a contribution to the advancement of Māori. This thesis contends that the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement stems from its whakapapa and its brand that is unequivocally Te Aute in focus and character.

An Indigenous Māori research paradigm, a whakapapa research methodology, provides the context for researching Te Aute College, the basis of this thesis. The thesis also explores whakapapa as a tool that can be used as a legitimate research framework when engaging in Māori research. It posits an Indigenous Māori research approach as a paradigm base for a philosophical and theoretical discourse when researching Māori institutions and communities.

This thesis signifies the continuation of both a personal and professional journey that originates from the author's enduring interest in and sense of obligation to contributing to the story of Te Aute College. The initial thesis discourse contextualises the research through a historical chronology of the tāngata whenua connection to the research community; of the first 150 years of Te Aute College providing education for predominantly young male Māori and of the 'special character' education that is offered by Te Aute College today.

Three interconnecting themes provide the systematic basis for exploring the distinctive yet simultaneously universal layers of Te Aute College that emerged as significant to this research; the Te Aute Experience, the contribution of Te Aute College and He Toa Takitini - Collaboration. Finally, an analysis is given of these themes in conjunction with the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the future role of Te Aute College in sustaining its contribution to the advancement of Māori.

HE MIHI

Tēnei te ara o Ranginui e tū iho nei, tēnei te ara o Papatūānuku e takoto nei. Tēnei te pō nau mai te ao. Karangatia te ao kia ita, karangatia ko Tāne i whakairihia i āpiti ki runga i āpiti ki raro i te whenua. Tawhia mai i waho, rawea mai i roto kia rarau te tapuwae o Tāne whakapiripiri e tū nei. Hikihiki nuku hikihiki rangi wātea tū ko te whai ao ki te ao mārama e, mārama hā roto ki tō pia ki tō uri i turuki nei e Rangi. Whano whano hara mai te taura, haumi e hui e taiki e!

Otirā, e hoki atu ngā maharatanga ki a rātou mā, ngā taumata rau te mea ai hoki ki a koutou ngā rangatira o Ngai Te Whatuiapiti. Nō reira, tēnei te maioha ki a koutou mā, Renata Pukututu, Hoani Waikato, Karaitiana Kāhuirangi, Te Hapuku me koutou hoki e te tahuna-a-Tara i tākohatia te whenua kia whakatū kāreti mō ngā mokopuna me ngā whakatipuranga i ahu mai i ngā iwi katoa o Aotearoa. E ngā taumata okiokinga o te hau kāinga, te hunga para huarahi mō ngā whakatipuranga e whai ake moe mai, moe mai, moe mai ki te toi o ngā rangi. E ngā tāpuhipuhi me ngā tihi o te motu kua nekenekēhia ki raro i te marumaru o Pukenui i nga tau kua hori atu nei, okioki ake, haere koutou ki te taumata okioki ai. Tēnā, ka tukuna atu ngā rau aroha ki a koe hoki e te pāpā, ko koe te rākau kawa, te whakaruruhau tōtara me te mātāpuna o taku ānga. Nāhau i waiho ngā maharatanga, nō reira e tōku huia kaimanawa ahakoa te ngau o te ate māku me āu mokopuna e kawea tō ingoa arā, ko tō mātou whakapapa. Tū noa ana ngā maunga whakahīhī i te riu o te whenua nei, ka ngaro koutou i tēnei ao haere, haere, haere atu rā. Ko rātou ki a rātou ngā taumata rau, heoi anō tēnei tātou ngā aroaro maunga o rātou mā e akiaki ana i ngā piki me ngā heke o tēnei ao hurihuri, tihei mauriora!

Kāti rā, e tōku whare tīpuna ko Keke Haunga e tū, e tū, e tū ake. E mihi hoki ana ahau ki ō piringa ki te marae o Pukehou, ngā tāhūhū kōrero me te kāwai rangatira o te hau kāinga, koirā te taura e hono ana i te ao kōhatu ki tēnei ao hurihuri, e hika, nōku te hōnore. Ki a koe Te Aute, kuua roa tō ōranga me tō ōhākī ki a Ngai Tātou te iwi Māori, he ao te rangi ka uhia, he kai te whare wānanga ka tōroa. Otirā, nāhau te whakapapa kua honoa te iwi Māori, kua honoa hoki ngā wāhanga katoa o tō kāwai rangatira me tō tākoha ki Aotearoa. Ka tukuna atu ngā tai mihi ki a koutou hoki o te whānau whānui o Te Aute, nā koutou i hōmai te wā me ngā kōrero e whakapā atu ana ki Te Aute. Ehara i te mea he tau otinga i te tuhinga roa nei mō te tirohanga-a-mua tā te Kāreti o Te Aute engari he whakautu te tuhinga roa ki nga whāinga o te

rangahau arā, he tirohanga o te tākohatanga o Te Aute ki te kōkiritanga o te iwi Māori i tēnei ao hurihuri. Heoi anō, anei māua ko hūmārie e mihi ake ana, Whakatangata kia kaha!

Hei whakamutunga mihi mihi māku, tēnei te mihi ake ki ngā taonga tuku iho o kui mā o koro mā. Ka tū te ihi, ka tū te wanawana i runga i te rangi e tū iho nei. Ehara i te mea poka hou mai, nō Hawaiki mai anō, me kī ka āpiti hono, he tātai hono. Kāti!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a journey of many highs and lows, similar to the journey that has been experienced by my thesis topic. I have experienced the birth of my first child, I have also experienced the death of a parent, my father, and more recently I have experienced the birth of my second child. *Mate atu he kura, ara mai rā he kura* - one chief falls and others have risen to take his place in *te ao mārama*; the whakapapa line continues.

Nō reira Dad, this thesis has been researched with your spiritual presence and inspiration and I thank you for who I am today. *I heke mai tāua i a Renata Pukututu, nāna i tukuna mai whenua hei papakāinga mō ake tonu atu, nāna anō me āna whanaunga i tukuna atu whenua kia whakatū kāreti, nā rātou hoki tō tāua taura ki te ao kohatu. Otirā, ahakoa ka ngau tonu te mamea, kei runga rawa koe e tiaki ana nō reira, tiraha mai mō ake tonu atu.*

Likewise, *ko tōku kāwai tangata tō Whatuiāpiti*; this also descends from you Mum. *Nō reira, tēnei te mihi aroha ki a koe, otirā kia kaha.* To my brothers and your families; life has brought us together in laughter and in sorrow but always with love and so to my family, your presence and awareness is special and will always be, *he tino taonga ki ahau, ka nui te aroha ki a koutou katoa.*

Kāti rā, ka tukuna atu ngā tai mihi me ngā au aroha ki a koutou e te iwi kāinga; ko tātou ngā uri o Keke me te marae o Pukehou, tēnā koutou! Kei te mihi hoki tēnei k ia koutou katoa ngā uri o Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngai Tūrāhui, Ngai Tapuhara, Ngāti Manawakawa, Ngai Te Rangikoianake, Ngai Te Rangitekahutia me Ngai Te Hurihangaiterangi.

To my supervisors Professor Arohia Durie for your initial supervision and to Professor Luanna Meyer who came on board as co-supervisor once our journey had started, I am indebted to you both for your intellectual and professional guidance and support throughout the whole journey, *ka aroha ake.* You both undertook to supervise in very trying times as we all experienced our own highs or lows whether at home or in our work. This thesis would not have been possible without your input and expertise, *nā kōrua te ārahitanga me te mōhiotanga, nāku te rangahau; kua putaina ngā hua.*

I also acknowledge te whānau o Te Uru Māraurau for the support and encouragement along the way and I look forward to reciprocating the manaakitanga you've given to me, *tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa*. To my colleagues at Te Wānanga o Ruawharo, thank you for your positive *whakaaro*, *tautoko* and *awhi* throughout this journey, *ka nui te mihi ki a koutou*. I am also taken back to those early days starting out on this journey and to our PhD hui at Turitea, *nō reira, rau rangatira mā te mea ai hoki ki a koe e te rangatira e Mason, tēnā hoki koutou katoa mō te tautoko kia whai wāhi ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki ngā take hohonu o tēnei tūmomo rangahau*.

I would also like to greet and acknowledge all those people who contributed to the research process, whether as interviewees, questionnaire respondents or focus group participants; my thanks for sharing your stories and experiences, which provided the narrative foundations for the research findings section of this thesis. In particular, to the community of Te Aute College that includes current and past students, staff, trust board members, board of trustee members, Anglican clergy and descendants of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, *aroha mai, aroha atu*. We all have a stake in Te Aute College and indeed across different contexts but it is our collective interest as opposed to our individual interests that this thesis has centred its findings on, *kotahi te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te miro pango me te miro whero; nō reira ki te hoe!*

Ki aku tama, Maika James Paraire and Taamai Te Wehi Luca, you have provided me with new challenges and love, may you continue to grow cherishing forever the things bestowed upon you by your family *me ō tātou tīpuna*. We are indeed a reflection of our *tīpuna* and so you are too, *he moko-ā-ngā-tīpuna*. You carry your mother's and my whakapapa and the multiple layers of this, *nō reira kia mau kia ū ki tō Māoritanga mō ake tonu atu*.

Finally I would like to acknowledge the love and encouragement of my wife Aria for your support throughout this journey. You too have been apart of all of these experiences and more, *nāu ahau i whakawātea kia rangahaua te rangahau, kia mahia te mahi ia pō ia pō*. Your offerings of assistance and help in anyway were never-ending on top of your own *mahi* that also included being a mother caring for our children when I was engrossed in my research either at home, at work, at the marae or on the road. For your love and support words cannot express; *heoi e tōku hoa rangatira, ka pinea koe e au ki te pine o te aroha ki te pine e kore nei e waikura e. Ko koe taku kuru Pounamu otirā, ka nunui rawa te aroha*.

Nō reira, e ngā toi, e ngā tihi, e ngā maunga tēnei te maioha ki a koutou katoa, nā tō koutou tautoko kua whai kaha tēnei ki te takatū ake i āku nei rangahau me kī, te tuhinga roa nei. Pokohiwi ki te pokohiwi, kanohi ki te kanohi kua whakatutukitia!

Kāti rā, tēnei ahau, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa. Whakatangata kia kaha!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Title	
Abstract	i
He Mihi	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vii
List of Figures	xiii
Māori Glossary	xv
Chapter One - Introduction	1
1.1 Ko wai te kāreti nei?	1
1.2 Thesis Intentions	3
1.3 The Significance of the name Te Aute	5
1.4 Te Aute College - a Brand	6
1.5 Te Mana o Te Aute	9
1.6 Stakeholders in Te Aute College	11
1.7 Thesis Overview	13
1.8 Summary	16
SECTION ONE: CONTEXTUALISING THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY	18
Section One Introduction	19
Chapter Two - Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Mana Whenua	
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 The Te Aute Valley - Ngā Puna-a-Tara	20
2.3 The Populating of the Te Aute Valley 1250 - 1500	22
2.4 The Ngāti Kahungunu Invasion / Migration under Taraia	23
2.5 The Settlement of Tribal Boundaries	25
2.6 The Marriage of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti	26
2.7 Inter-tribal Warfare	28
2.8 The Nukutaurua Migration	29
2.9 The Re-taking of Te Roto-a-Tara	31
2.10 A Christian Influence	33
2.11 Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti Leadership Mid-19 th Century	34
2.11.1 Te Hāpuku	35
2.11.2 Renata Pukututu	36
2.11.3 Hoani Waikato	36
2.11.4 Karaitiana Kāhuirangi	37
2.12 The Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti Gift	38
2.13 Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Mana Whenua Today	42
2.14 Whakapapa, Land and Education	43
2.15 Summary	44

Chapter Three - A Historical Background of Te Aute College 46

Part A: 1854 - 1921

3.1	Introduction	46
3.2	Samuel Williams	47
3.3	The 1869 Royal Commission of Inquiry	48
3.4	Hukarere	51
3.5	The Thornton Years	52
3.6	The Introduction of an Academic Curriculum	52
3.7	The Te Aute College Students' Association	54
3.8	Whakatangata Kia Kaha	55
3.9	Rugby - The Early Days	55
3.10	The 1906 Royal Commission of Inquiry	56
3.11	Thornton's Legacy	58
3.12	World War One	60
3.13	Trials and Tribulations - Glasgow Leases	60
3.14	Fires Level Te Aute College	62
3.15	Loten comes to Te Aute College	63

Part B: 1922 - 2005

3.16	The Rebuilding of Te Aute College	67
3.17	World War Two	69
3.18	The Te Aute College Centennial	71
3.19	A Yale University Honorary Graduate	72
3.20	Te Aute College Post-World War Two	74
3.21	Trying Times for Te Aute College	75
3.22	Towards State Integration	77
3.23	Te Aranga o Te Aute	77
3.24	Eventual State Integration	79
3.25	A Booming College	80
3.26	Co-education at Te Aute College	81
3.27	Te Whare o Rangi	83
3.28	Te Aute College 150 Years Young	84
3.29	Te Aute College Today	84
3.30	Summary	86

Chapter Four - Te Aute College Today 87

4.1	Introduction	87
4.2	The Impact of State Integration and Tomorrow's Schools	88
4.3	Privatisation, Deregulation and Kura Kaupapa Māori	90
4.4	Administration at Te Aute College Today	94
4.4.1	Te Aute Trust Board	95
4.4.2	Te Aute College Board of Trustees	96
4.4.3	Board Performance	97
4.5	International Currency	99

4.6	Special Character	100
4.6.1	Māori Educational Achievement	103
4.6.1.1	Curriculum Development	108
4.6.2	Te Pou Hauora	110
4.6.3	Tikanga Māori	112
4.6.4	Religion and Spirituality	113
4.6.5	Sport and Extra-Curricula Activities	114
4.7	Ngā Piki me ngā Heke	115
4.8	Summary	117
SECTION TWO: MĀORI RESEARCH		119
	Section Two Introduction	120
Chapter Five - A Māori Worldview		121
5.1	Introduction	121
5.2	Ko wai ahau - Who am I?	121
5.3	Whakapapa - Meaning and Tradition	123
5.4	A Māori Worldview of the Pedigree of Mankind	126
5.5	Whakapapa - Characteristics of Indigenous Thought	128
5.6	Whakapapa - The Research Framework and Indigeneity	133
5.7	Whakapapa - Contemporary Interpretations	134
5.7.1	The Māori Boarding Schools	138
5.8	Whakapapa, Research and Te Aute College	139
5.8.1	Whanaungatanga	140
5.9	Whakapapa - A Research Pathway	142
5.10	Whakapapa - A Summary	145
Chapter Six - Research Methodology		147
Part A: The Development of Māori Research		
6.1	Introduction	147
6.2	Early Māori Research	148
6.3	The Redefining of Māori Research	151
6.4	Māori-Centred Research	155
6.5	Kaupapa Māori Research	157
6.6	Indigenous Knowledge	158
6.7	Whakapapa and Māori Research	161
6.8	Oral Tradition as the Basis for Māori Research	163
6.9	Whakapapa - A Theoretical Basis for Research	165
6.10	Whakapapa - The Acquisition of New Knowledge	169
6.11	Whakapapa Research Methodology	171
6.12	Te Whakapapa Rangahau - The Research layers	173

Part B: Te Huarahi Rangahau - Research Methods

6.13	Introduction	179
6.14	Te Kore	181
6.14.1	Role of the Māori Researcher	182
6.14.2	Insider Researcher	183
6.15	Te Rapunga	186
6.15.1	The Research Community	187
6.15.2	Research Considerations	189
6.15.3	Research Design - Tools and Instruments	191
6.16	Te Kitenga	193
6.16.1	Interviews	193
6.16.2	Questionnaires	196
6.16.3	Focus Groups	197
6.16.4	NVIVO7	199
6.16.5	Data Analysis	199
6.17	Ethical Issues	203
6.18	Summary	208

SECTION THREE: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS 210

Section Three Introduction	211
----------------------------	-----

Chapter Seven - 'The Te Aute Experience' 213

7.1	Introduction	212
7.2	The meaning of being a Te Aute Boy	215
7.2.1	A Sense of Contribution	216
7.2.1.1	Embedded Instincts and Citizenship	218
7.2.1.2	Passion for life and Being Māori	218
7.2.1.3	Stepping Stone	219
7.2.2	Being Māori	220
7.2.2.1	Whakapapa and Whanaungatanga	221
7.2.2.2	Identity	222
7.2.2.3	Tradition	223
7.2.3	Mixed Feelings	225
7.2.4	Pride	226
7.2.4.1	Inspiring Awe	227
7.3	The Reasons for going to Te Aute College	229
7.3.1	Aspiration	230
7.3.1.1	Rugby	231
7.3.2	Contextual	232
7.3.3	Religion	233
7.3.4	Whakapapa	234
7.4	Positive Experiences of Te Aute College	236
7.4.1	The Whanaungatanga Experience	237
7.4.1.1	Whanaungatanga and the Student Body	238
7.4.2	The Heritage Experience	239
7.4.3	The Academic Experience	242
7.4.4	The Leadership Experience	243

7.4.5	The Extra-curricula Experience	245
7.5	Making a Difference	250
7.5.1	The Classroom	251
7.5.2	Independence	252
7.5.2.1	Character	253
7.5.2.2	External Negative Influences	254
7.5.3	A Sense of Mission	254
7.5.4	Whakapapa	255
7.6	Summary	257
Chapter Eight - 'Te Aute's Contribution'		258
8.1	Introduction	258
8.2	Indicators of Te Aute's Contribution	260
8.2.1	Leadership	261
8.2.2	Whanaungatanga and Community Involvement	264
8.2.3	Research, Scholarship and the Workforce	266
8.2.4	Endurance	268
8.3	Strengths of Te Aute College	270
8.3.1	A Māori Worldview	271
8.3.1.1	Whanaungatanga	272
8.3.2	Academic Attainment	273
8.3.3	Religion	275
8.3.4	Sport	276
8.3.5	Tradition	277
8.4	The Private and Public Good	280
8.4.1	Citizenship	281
8.4.2	Leadership	284
8.4.3	Whakapapa	285
8.5	Summary	287
Chapter Nine - 'He Toa Takitini'		289
9.1	Introduction	289
9.2	Te Hāpori Tautoko	291
9.2.1	Ngā Kura Māori	291
9.2.2	Past Student Support	295
9.3	Te Whakahaeretanga	299
9.3.1	Anglican Church	300
9.3.2	Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti	303
9.3.2.1	Partnership	304
9.3.2.2	Participation	307
9.4	Hei Tirohanga	310
9.4.1	Academic Vision	311
9.4.2	A Heritage Vision	313
9.4.2.1	Tino Rangatiratanga	314
9.4.2.2	Leadership	315
9.4.3	Future Initiatives	318
9.4.4	Summary	321

Chapter Ten - Hei Whakamutunga Kōrero Māku	323
10.1 Conclusion	323
10.2 Chapter Summaries	326
10.3 Future Directions	333
Appendices	340
1. Te Aute College Endowment Land Maps 1, 2, 3 and 4	341
2. Te Aute College Endowment Land Maps 5 and 6	347
3. Te Aute College Covering Letter (Principal)	349
4. Information Sheet	351
5. Consent Form	355
6. Te Aute College Interview Schedule	356
7. Te Aute College Research Questionnaire	358
8. Te Aute College Focus Group	360
9. Maintaining the Anonymity of the Research Participants	361
References	363

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Chapter One	
Figure One: Te Aute College Stakeholders	12
Chapter Two	
Figure One: A whakapapa of Tara and Rangitāne from Toi	23
Figure Two: A whakapapa of Taraia from Kahungunu	24
Figure Three: The Reunification of Te Hika-a-Pāpāuma and Te Hika-a-Ruarauhanga	26
Figure Four: Descendant chiefs of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti	27
Chapter Four	
Figure One: Te Aute College Crest and Motto	102
Chapter Five	
Figure One: A Māori worldview showing the pedigree of mankind	127
Figure Two: Pan-tribal Māori institutions and a connection to a Māori worldview	137
Chapter Six	
Figure One: The acquisition of Māori knowledge through a whakapapa research framework that explicates the past, present and future (Graham, J. 2007)	170
Figure Two: He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono - That which is joined becomes an unbroken line (Graham, J. 2007)	174
Figure Three: <i>Te Tātairanga</i> - The unbroken chain (Graham, J. 2007)	177
Figure Four: Māori Research Paradigms and Whakapapa (Graham, J. 2007)	180
Figure Five: The interrelationship between whakapapa and tikanga Māori (Graham, J. 2007)	186
Figure Six: Generation themes that reflect the research participants' feelings of what it means to be a Te Aute boy	201
Figure Seven: Māori cultural requirements and the research process (Graham, J. 2007)	206
Chapter Seven	
Figure One: The Meaning of being a Te Aute boy	216
Figure Two: The Reasons for going to Te Aute College	229
Figure Three: Positive Experiences at Te Aute College	236
Figure Four: Making a Difference	250
Chapter Eight	
Figure One: Indicators of Te Aute's contribution	260
Figure Two: The Strengths of Te Aute College	270
Figure Three: The Private and Public Good	281

Chapter Nine

Figure One: Te Hāpori Tautoko	291
Figure Two: Te Whakahaeretanga	300
Figure Three: Hei Tirohanga	310

MĀORI GLOSSARY

Ahi kā	- occupation rights	Kitenga	- vision, foresight
Āhuatanga	- elements, aspects	Koiri	- looking back and forward
Aka Matua	- main / parent vine	Kōmiti	- committee
Ako	- teach / learn	Kore	- nil, potential
Aotearoa	- New Zealand	Kōtahitanga	- unity
Āpiti	- connect	Kōwhaiwhai	- painted panel
Ara	- rise up	Kūmara	- root vegetable
Aranga	- resurrection (Easter)	Kura	- chief, moa bird, school
Aroha	- love, care	Kura kaupapa Māori	- Māori immersion school
Arotake	- assessment	Makarini	- McLean (Donald)
Atua	- God (of a particular domain)	Mana	- power, prestige
Hākinakina	- sport, recreation	Manaakitanga	- kindness
Hāpori	- community	Mana Atua	- spiritual wellbeing
Hauhau	- 19 th century Māori movement	Mana Māori	- Māori prestige
Hapū	- sub-tribe	Mana Motuhake	- Māori autonomy
Hau kāinga	- local people	Mana Tangata	- physical wellbeing
Hawaiiki	- traditional Māori homeland	Mana Whenua	- land rights
Hine-ahuone	- wife of Tāne	Māori	- Indigenous New Zealander
Hine-Tītama	- daughter of Tāne	Māoridom	- Māori society
Hono	- join, form network	Māoritanga	- [traditional] ‘Māori way’
Hui Amorangi	- Governing body (church)	Marae	- meeting place
Hukarere	- Māori girls’ school	Mataruahou	- Bluff Hill (Napier)
Ihi	- awe	Mātauranga	- education
Io Matua-kore	- Supreme Being	Mate	- death
Iwi	- tribe	Mātou	- we (us)
Kahupapa	- causeway	Mauri	- life force
Kaihau waiū	- birthrights	Mihimihi	- greeting exchanges
Kāinga	- home	Mokopuna	- grandchild
Kaitiakitanga	- stewardship	Ngā Ahi Kā	- occupiers
Kanohi	- face	Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti	- a North Island hapū
Kanohi kitea	- the seen face	Ngākau Māori	- Māori-centred
Karakia	- prayer, incantation	Ngāti Kahungunu	- a North Island iwi
Kaupapa Māori	- Māori philosophical stance	Ora	- health and wellbeing

Pā	- village	Tautoko	- support
Pā eke	- regional marae speaking protocol	Tāwhaki	- Māori ancestor
Paepae	- beam, speechmaking 'seat'	Te Ao Māori	- the 'Māori world'
Pākehā	- European non-Māori	Te Ao Mārama	- the world of light
Pakeke	- adult	Te Arawa	- North Island tribe
Papatūānuku	- Mother earth	Te Aute College	- Māori boys' school
Pātaka	- storehouse	Te Hoe Nuku Roa	- health model
Pepeha	- tribal idiom	Te Ira Tangata	- human life
Pīhopatanga	- Bishopry	Te Kauwae Raro	- terrestrial matters
Pō	- darkness, night	Te Kauwae Runga	- celestial matters
Pono	- hospitable, honesty	Te Kete Aronui	- secular knowledge
Pou	- pillar, post	Te Kete Tūāuri	- ritual knowledge
Poupou	- wooden carving	Te Kete Tūātea	- occult knowledge
Pou whenua	- land marks	Te Kōhanga Reo	- Māori pre-schools
Pūhara	- platform	Te Ngāhuru	- health model
Pūtahi	- to join or meet	Te Rangihiroa	- Sir Peter Buck
Rahui	- to ban, prohibition	Te Tipu Ora	- health model
Rangahau	- research	Te Whare Tapa Whā	- health model
Rangatira	- chief	Tika	- correct, direct
Ranginui	- Sky father	Tikanga Māori	- Māori values
Rapunga	- enquiry, to seek	Timatanga	- beginning, outset
Rohe	- region, district	Tino rangatiratanga	- self-determination
Rūmaki	- Māori immersion	Tīpuna	- ancestor
Taha	- dimension, side	Toa	- champion
Taha Māori	- Māori dimension	Tuatahi, rua, toru, whā	- 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th
Taiaha	- a fighting weapon	Tūhoe	- North Island tribe
Tāne	- God of Mankind	Tukutuku	- lattice panel
Tangata	- people, person	Tūrangawaewae	- homeland / ground
Tāngata Whenua	- Indigenous people / person	Utu	- reciprocate
Tangatawhenuatanga	- indigeneity	Wairua	- spirit / tuality
Tangihanga	- funeral	Waiapu	- East Coast Diocese
Taonga	- gift, treasure	Waiata	- song
Tāpere	- recreation	Waiata tawhito	- traditional song(s)
Tapu	- sacred	Waitangi	- place in Northland
Tātai	- join, connect	Wehi	- fear, revere
Tātairanga	- lineage	Whaikōrero	- speech, speechmaking
Tauā	- war party	Whāiti	- compact
Taumata	- level, threshold	Whakahaeretanga	- administration
Whakamāramatanga	- clarity		
Whakapapa	- genealogy		

Whakapiki Tangata	- empowerment
Whakaputanga Whakaaro	- brainstorm
Whakatakotoranga	- to lay out
Whakataukī	- proverb, saying
Whakatuia	- integration
Whakawhanaungatanga	- relationship
Whakawhitinga Kōrero	- discussion
Whānau	- family
Whāngai	- adoption
Whare-kai	- dining house
Whare-karakia	- chapel, church
Whare Kura	- Māori immersion school
Whare-nui	- meeting house
Whare-puni	- sleeping house
Whare Wānanga	- place of learning
Whenua	- land

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Whakatangata Kia Kaha: - Quit Ye Like Men Be Strong

This thesis explores the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the brand that has developed out of the whakapapa of Te Aute College from its establishment in 1854 prior to major European settlement in the Hawkes Bay through to the 21st century. The thesis focuses on a range of internal and external influences on Te Aute College throughout its history to investigate the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement. In doing so, this thesis examines Te Aute's whakapapa, brand, prestige and its more recent special character¹ as a Māori boarding school that is unequivocally Māori in focus and character. Through these analyses, the position of Te Aute College in the 21st century as an educational institution is both explored and celebrated.

Ko wai te kāreti nei?

Te Aute College is a Māori boarding school in Pukehou, Hawkes Bay, that was established in 1854 by Samuel Williams after a meeting with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti chiefs and Governor George Grey at Te Roto-a-Tara pā, Pukehou on April 17th, 1853. Te Aute College has been a Māori boarding school since this date. Being referred to as a Māori boarding school has not meant that non-Māori students have been excluded from attending Te Aute College; rather, the significance of Te Aute College being a Māori boarding school is tied up with a Te Aute tradition of generations of Māori students attending Te Aute College and its contemporary 'special character' that is represented by the school's mission statement (see Chapter Four) and commitment to Māori and to Māoridom. The Māori boarding schools came about after the passing of

¹ The special character of Te Aute College refers to the type of education provided by the college since its integration into the State education system in 1975 and derives from its mission statement developed at this time (see Chapter Four). From this point forward, the use of this term throughout the thesis represents this era of Te Aute College (the last 33 years, 1975 - 2008).

the Education Ordinance in 1847 by the Legislative Council when the Church or ‘industrial’ boarding schools were established (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). The perception of these schools mirrored State assimilation policies of that period and, that these schools would be more profitable in changing Māori ways

By ensuring regular attendance and Christian habits. Grey recommended that, as schools were to give industrial training, a grant of sufficient land should be made to each of them to enable them to produce all the supplies they needed. The result of the system, Grey considered, would be that each of these institutions would in a few years after its establishment entirely support itself (Ibid:45-6).

In 2004, Te Aute College celebrated its 150th anniversary making it Aotearoa New Zealand’s oldest Māori boarding school and placing it among the oldest secondary schools in the country alongside other schools such as Wesley College of Auckland (established in 1844), Wanganui Collegiate School of Wanganui (established in 1854) and Christ’s College of Christchurch (established in 1850). Throughout its 150 years, Te Aute College has experienced a range of ‘highs and lows’ that have seen the college excel in sport, academic achievement and leadership while at the same time experience the lows of financial hardship, small student rolls, poor academic results and near closure. However, Te Aute College does hold a proud heritage of contributing to the development and growth of Māori communities and to Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation throughout its history.

Te Aute College has produced a number of notable Māori leaders who have been at the forefront of their respective fields where they have undoubtedly provided direction and inspiration. Te Aute College has also produced Māori leaders who have not necessarily been of national prominence but who have contributed to the growth and development of their own respective communities, marae, hapū, organisational committees and local sports bodies. Matthews for instance, states that

These schools, since their inception, have contributed significantly to the development of Māori society, particularly in the production of dynamic Māori leaders who have had a compelling influence on their Māori communities and Māori society and in some instances on the nation state (2005:1).

Te Aute College is unique among educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand in that its contribution to Māori advancement and to the development of Aotearoa New

Zealand as a nation can be interpreted using genealogy and lineage or what will now be referred to as whakapapa. The whakapapa of Te Aute College manifests itself in multiple layers. This thesis examines these layers through a Māori worldview (see Chapter Five) that physically and spiritually links Te Aute College to a number of entities, land, places, people and institutions. It is this Māori worldview that locates these multiple layers under the notion of whakapapa (see Chapter Five).

Whakapapa establishes the conceptual basis for human descent from the beginning of time (Barlow, 1991) and locates people within a wide network of interactions that have materialised as a lattice of relationships connecting people, entities and places. This notion of whakapapa is specific to a Māori worldview yet it simultaneously transcends time, generations and many facets of Aotearoa New Zealand society where for instance, Te Aute College is connected through whakapapa to

- The land it is built on;
- The history of Aotearoa New Zealand;
- All of the students, staff and whānau who have entered its portals.

This whakapapa will be woven into the discourse throughout the thesis to exemplify these distinctive connections as well as the contribution that Te Aute College has made to Māori advancement. This contribution features across a range of traditions including sport, academic achievement, leadership, te ao Māori and the quality of citizenship in Aotearoa New Zealand, which are examined in the ensuing chapters of this thesis.

Thesis Intentions

The achievements of Te Aute College can be attested by historical events from its past through to the present where a number of past students continue to excel in their respective fields. Accordingly, this thesis also examines how Te Aute College can maintain its contribution to realising Māori potential in Aotearoa New Zealand and continue a tradition of educating students to maximise their potential and who are

adept in contributing to Māori educational aspirations or what will be now referred to in this thesis as Māori advancement.

Within the context of this thesis, Māori advancement is seen through both tangible and intangible perceptions where a tangible perspective is interpreted through the physical, social and economic contributions that individuals make to society in terms of active citizenship (Durie, 2001). An intangible perspective reflects being Māori; that is, being educated in one's Māori cultural traditions, language and values, thereby retaining and promoting a Māori worldview in both everyday activities and in specific Māori contexts. While this thesis does not observe taha Māori as being an exclusive intangible phenomenon, being Māori is viewed as intangible because of the inability of many non-Māori to comprehend and therefore recognise a Māori worldview.

This thesis also focuses on the validation of a whakapapa approach to Māori research and indeed, Indigenous research. This contestation does not centre on whether Māori knowledge is valid or not, this thesis implicitly recognises this. The challenge is on validating the specific Māori research methodology utilised by this research to a non-Māori gaze in order that it is seen as irrefutable and robust when compared to Western research conventions.

Although the aim of the initial research project centred on the future status of Te Aute College, the research could not ignore the historical development of Te Aute College over the last 154 years. Indeed, the theme of the Te Aute College 150th celebrations in 2004 was titled '*Koiri - Celebrating 150 Years*'. The Māori term 'koiri' is defined as moving "*to and fro*" (Williams, 1992:128) and within the context of the anniversary celebrations, the theme was about looking back into the past as well as looking forward into the future to celebrate the achievements of Te Aute College. Accordingly, the history of Te Aute College will be explored in Section One of this thesis in order that its position today is located and examined where from this inquiry, Te Aute College will not only be contextualised but its future status may also be visualised. This historical enquiry, albeit a brief outline, will embrace three contexts

- Pre-European history of the Te Aute Valley;
- Te Aute College history 1854 - 2005;
- Te Aute College today.

The Significance of the Name Te Aute

When the missionary William Colenso was promoted to the Mission Station at Hawkes Bay in the early 1840s (Cracknell, 1982), he was shown specimens of the paper mulberry tree - *Broussonetia Papyrfera*, by locals of the Te Aute / Pukehou district who knew the tree is the aute tree. That it was still a tree of interest and concern to the local Māori is indicated by their drawing the attention of the missionary and botanist Colenso, to it. While the aute tree is not native to Aotearoa New Zealand, it does have a long history of being carried around the Pacific during the ocean voyaging migrations (Buck, 1949) and is known by different names throughout Polynesia. The aute or paper mulberry tree is grown throughout the Pacific Islands today, more prolifically on some islands than others; where it is prominently used for making cloth or tapa - siapo in Samoa, masi in Fiji, hiapo in Niue, ngatu in Tonga, tapa in Rarotonga and aute in Aotearoa New Zealand (Auckland Museum, 2001). It would appear that the presence of the aute tree was important enough to give the name, Te Aute, to the surrounding district and later in 1854 to the school founded as, Te Aute College.

The name 'aute' is preserved in sayings such as those put on record by Colenso, '*he manu aute au e taea te whakahoro ki te aho tāmiro*' - '*a paper mulberry kite can be made to fly fast*' (Grey, 1853). There is also the metaphor and term of endearment for a high-ranking person, '*taku manu aute*' - '*my bird or kite*'. The name 'te aute' can also be used to refer to a whare wānanga as well as to those objects used in its ritual functions (Cracknell, 1982). A whare wānanga is an elite place or house of learning and accordingly is befitting for the name of an institution such as Te Aute College.

'Te aute' is the name of any object that has been handed down through the generations of ownership as a keepsake (tiki, reiputa) and so 'te aute' also reflects the

whakapapa lineage and the relationships that bind people together where these are seen as outward expressions of one's inner kinship and whakamaharatanga links with ancestors and the past. 'Te aute' is also the awe or precious essence of an object that has its origins in Hawaiki (Ibid). Hawaiki is the original homeland of the tāngata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand - Māori (see Chapter Five). These observations of the relevance of the name 'te aute' to Te Aute College have been maintained through whakapapa and traditions and so have been handed down through generations of ancestors. They not only reflect the relevance of a Māori worldview to the maintenance of traditions, knowledge and understanding; but also the reality that, Te Aute College has a whakapapa and lineage that extends back to Hawaiki.

Te Aute College - A Brand

Te Aute College is a 'brand' that has developed throughout the last 154 years and that stems from its whakapapa. This brand is a combination of tikanga Māori, Anglican beliefs and the values system of a Māori boys' boarding school that mutually arises out of the college's culture. Te Aute College has a tradition and culture of being an Anglican boarding school for boys where generations of students have gone for the Te Aute experience. This Anglican culture is also embraced by a Whatuiāpiti culture (see Chapter Two) and an organisational culture that is uniquely Te Aute College.

The context of branding at Te Aute College has both a commercial and cultural significance. For instance, schools use symbols such as mottos and uniforms in a deliberate manner to nurture and promote their respective schools including, the culture of the schools and their unique brand that culminates in the provision of education. A brand provides a point of differentiation, instant recognition and, a brand is also a symbolic message system; a method of signification. At Te Aute College, this concept of branding extends to the whakapapa of Te Aute College. It tells a story about Te Aute College similar to the ways in which a wharenui symbolically and spiritually tells a story about its people; the past and the present. The history of Te Aute College informs the school brand, exemplified by the school's motto, Whakatangata kia kaha - Quit ye like men be strong.

Under the Tomorrow's schools model of education implemented in 1989 (see Chapter Four), schools became self-managing and engaged in improving business practices where

“Tomorrow's Schools meant that communities were able to look after their own schooling affairs, after decades of heavy reliance on regional and central bureaucracies” (Annan, 2009:4).

Within the wider sphere of economic marketing principles, globally, there is an emerging interest in the role of values for characterising company culture, developing long-term strategic plans as well as achieving sustainable growth and development (Paine, 2002)). In Aotearoa New Zealand, tikanga Māori provides the foundation of Māori culture and plays an important role in defining Māori organisations. Māori values are instrumental in maintaining cultural and ethical principles, strategic direction and providing points of difference in the global market place (ibid). Te Aute College was founded on the Christian faith, academic discipline and tikanga Māori.

Branding is used to differentiate an organisation or product and for example, might include visual imagery and iconography such as wharenui, whakairo, kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku and, text and graphics for instance, logos, uniforms, mottos, stories, waiata and haka to create a point of difference, a common culture, a statement of identity and, respect in the market place. There is a growing body of evidence (see Simon, 2008; Richards, 2005) that international markets are responsive to cultural distinctiveness such as Māori branding. It is important to note the difference between branding an organisation with a distinct identity based on a certain set of values and branding a product or service. Generally speaking, iconic brands such as that of Te Aute College have very high-brand equity based on its history and enduring nature as a Māori boarding school, while a commodity has a low-brand equity. That is,

“the brand often becomes a symbol of the organisation that creates the brand, and people often attach values to that brand that give it equity for instance, through cultural and emotional value” (Harmsworth, 2006:3).

Examining these constructions of the notion of branding alongside the myriad of stories associated with Te Aute College reveal that there is the capacity for indigenous branding without being seen to commodify Te Aute education. Instead it can be seen

- As a way to tell a story;
- To create a distinct cultural identity;
- To express an organisational culture; and,
- To illustrate a particular philosophy.

The brand of Te Aute College positions its status in Aotearoa New Zealand and consolidates its individuality and distinctiveness among educational institutions throughout the country today. A number of other secondary schools throughout the country have been able to develop and sustain their individual brands since their establishment based upon religious denomination, academic standards, sport and cultural heritage where such branding has strengthened the cultural capital of these schools. Branding has inadvertently become an essential educational marketing tool and therefore something that outsiders overtime, have come to associate with a particular school. For instance, because of rugby and its history at Te Aute College, many young male Māori were in awe of Te Aute College, based on this prowess even though Te Aute experienced some poor rugby seasons throughout its history; rugby still holds a special part in the ethos of Te Aute College today.

During World War Two, many of the old boys of Te Aute College went onto serve and lead in the 28th Māori Battalion and there was a great sense of pride in Te Aute College among Māoridom. Combined with the deeds of its student body of the late 19th century such as Ngata, Buck and Pomare (see Chapter Three), this type of branding promoted the type of leadership skills being developed and taught at Te Aute College; thus proving to be a valuable marketing tool for prospective students and to the rest of the nation in terms of the contribution of Te Aute College to Māoridom and to the war effort.

The Te Aute College brand has also impacted upon the notion of whakapapa in that families have sent their sons to Te Aute College for generations. Subsequently there have been 4th and 5th generation students to enter Te Aute College, all following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers; in doing so, tradition has been maintained and an unbroken line of descent prevails. Whakapapa has paved a pathway for

subsequent generations of students to enter Te Aute College; whakapapa has also connected each and every one of these individuals to the past, the present and to the future of Te Aute College.

Te Mana o Te Aute

The whakapapa of Te Aute College and the brand that has evolved over time have enabled the college to function in both strong and vulnerable periods throughout its history. This whakapapa and brand can be viewed through a bicultural dichotomy that is reflective of dual perspectives of Te Aute College; the physical and the spiritual. For instance, while many non-Māori and some Māori too have viewed Te Aute College with awe, respect or even cynically for decades, this has been done so based on Te Aute's tangible or physical attributes such as rugby, educational statistics, physical appearance and media representation. A Māori perspective takes cognisance of this perspective but is also inclusive of a spiritual view or wairua that derives from a Māori worldview, te taha Māori, tikanga Māori and Māoritanga. For instance, a wairua perspective is inclusive of ethereal phenomena or tikanga Māori such as wehi. Wehi, fear, trepidation or regard occurs through the ability of an entity to portray formidability by virtue of the power and prestige that it exudes. That is, through its prowess, Te Aute College has been able to draw and bring this [wehi] out of 'onlookers'; individuals and groups. This has been achieved by exhibiting mana and ihi thus, invoking the phenomenon of wehi. While certain events and achievements would certainly elicit these concepts and feelings within Māoridom; Te Aute College has more than often been able to do so by the mentioning of its name alone, such is its whakapapa and its brand.

Within the environment that is Te Aute College, tikanga Māori has contributed to the college's whakapapa where pride and dignity have fuelled the urge for individuals to 'play one's part' in the maintenance and the strengthening of 'te whakapapa o Te Aute' or the descent lines and connections among those who have been a part of Te Aute College. There is a unique attachment among many past students of Te Aute College that is very hard to explain or incomprehensible to an 'outsider'. This

attachment though, can be explained in terms of the notion of whakapapa and the lineage connection that these students have with Te Aute College. Te Aute College has an identity that is innately instilled among its community and so if the question ‘what does it mean to be a Te Aute boy?’ was asked, the responses would be diverse. However, these responses would have all originated from a Te Aute ethos bound in whanaungatanga, whakapapa and what is more commonly known among wider society as fellowship. Non-Māori Aotearoa New Zealand communities refer to the terms ‘brotherhood or sisterhood’ when alluding to this type of fellowship. For instance, the following passage is taken from a secondary school principal’s newsletter report and reads

At College it is also very much about Brotherhood. Brotherhood - meaning: that bond or connection with each other which has as its prime focus equality and a strong caring attitude towards others and encourage them to continue to build the spirit of brotherhood in the wider community of study and work (Coyte, 2005).

Māori communities such as Te Aute College refer to this phenomenon as ‘whanaungatanga’. It is this Māori concept that instils a sense of identity and pride among those who make up a particular group. For instance, speaking of Te Aute College, one does not have to be physically at the college to realise this phenomenon where for example, at a tertiary graduation ceremony in 2004, a past student of Te Aute College graduated. On receiving their degree, a number of Te Aute College old boys in the audience immediately stood (unplanned) and performed the Te Aute College haka to which this graduate of Te Aute also performed back to them albeit, alone on stage. This occurrence is uniquely Te Aute College and represents the whanaungatanga instilled among its students that is lifelong. It is here too that tikanga Māori such as wehi, mana and ihi are part of a range of tikanga that are instinctively Te Aute College, as is alluded to in this passage taken from the mission statement (kaupapa) of Te Aute College - “*a place where Māori values, attitudes and practices are fostered thus enhancing the young person’s identification with their people*”.

Stakeholders in Te Aute College

While Te Aute College is the research topic of this thesis, it also serves as the common denominator of a number of entities that all interact both directly and indirectly with Te Aute College affairs. The following entities (see Figure One) were identified at the research outset as key stakeholders in Te Aute College

- Current students of Te Aute College (as of 2005, males only);
- Te Aute College Staff, past and present;
- Te Aute Trust Board members, past and present;
- Te Aute College Board of Trustee members, past and present;
- Te Aute College old boys and old girls;
- Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti;
- Members of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand.

This representation is expounded in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine where the discourse is a manifestation of personal and collective views, stories and narratives that have been shaped by that particular individual's or group's level of experience, association and interaction with Te Aute College. While much of this information was obtained through the fieldwork phase of the research by means of interviews, questionnaires and personal anecdotes, documented information was also examined from the available but limited literature associated with Te Aute College. Whereas the phrase 'key stakeholders' implies that those individuals and collectives concerned have specific interests in Te Aute College, it is also important to recognise the diversity among such interests and to take cognisance of the reality that not all of these key stakeholders retain the same level of interest.

The following entities (see Figure One) have also been identified as having an interest in Te Aute College where they have been indirectly referred to or reflected on by virtue of their respective peripheral positions in relation to Te Aute College and by the individual research participants' diverse roles, backgrounds or stories. Included with

these entities is Aotearoa New Zealand because of the relationship between Te Aute College and citizenship

- The Ministry of Education;
- Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated (NKII);
- Te Taiwhenua o Tamatea;
- Paerangi Ltd;
- Aotearoa New Zealand.

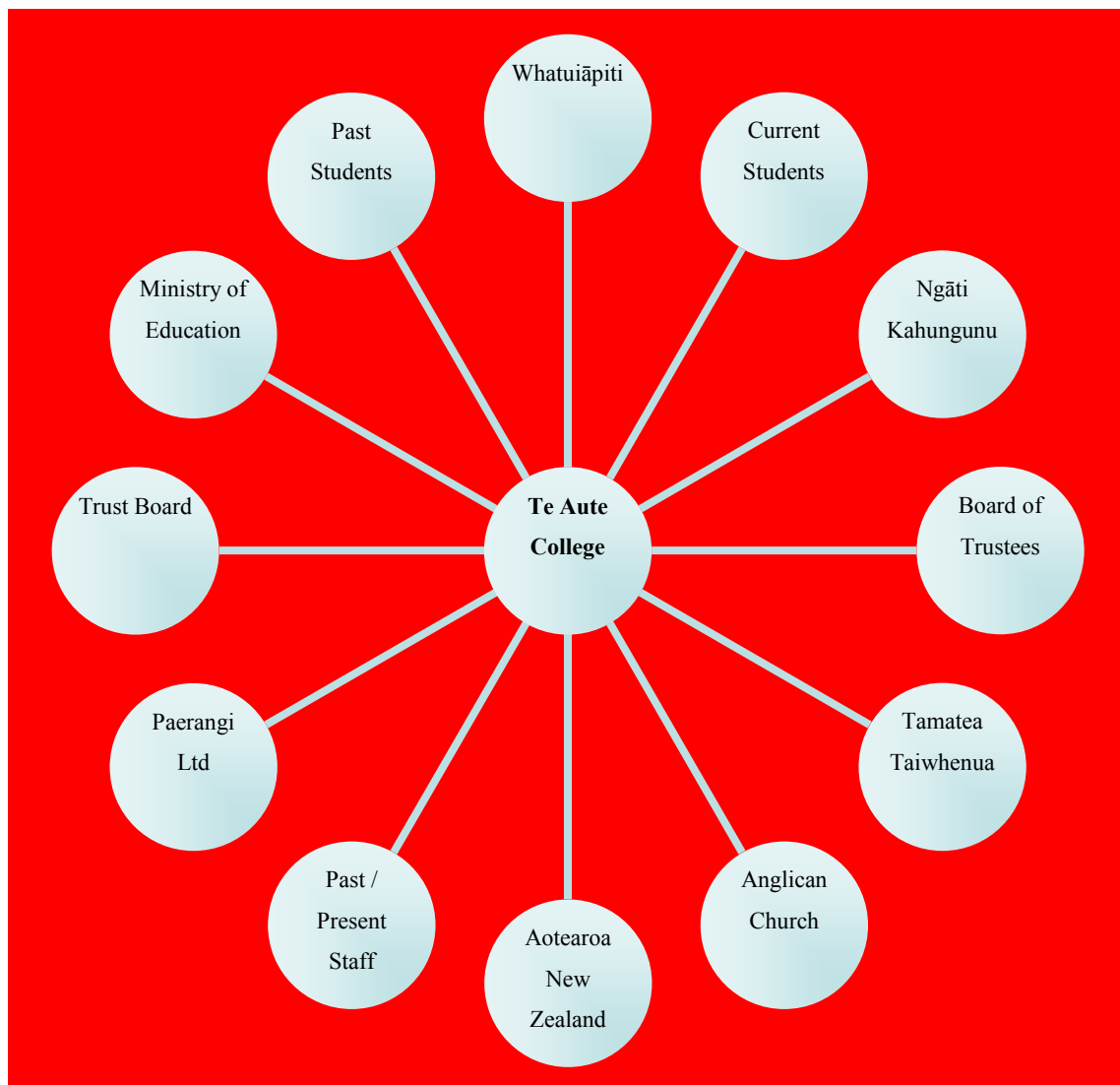


Figure One: Te Aute College Stakeholders.

The Ministry of Education is responsible and accountable for the provision of

education in Aotearoa New Zealand and so this entity will always have a connection to Te Aute College. Ngāti Kahungunu has the 3rd largest iwi (tribal) population and the 2nd largest geographical area in Aotearoa New Zealand. NKII is the tribal rūnanga or authority of Ngati Kahungunu whose boundaries extend from Wairarapa in the south to Wairoa in the north; the coastal boundaries being Paritū and Turakirae respectively. Te Taiwhenua o Tamatea is a board of delegates who represent all of the marae throughout the Central Hawkes Bay - Tamatea region and who are one of six Taiwhenua affiliates to the NKII board. Te Aute College's geographical location and its whakapapa connections with the tāngata whenua represent the rationale for these two entities' relationship to Te Aute College.

Paerangi Ltd is a collective body representative of all of the Māori boarding schools in Aotearoa New Zealand and that ostensibly provides a support and advocacy service to these schools (see Chapter Four). The diversity among these entities that impact internally and externally of Te Aute College have held a place at the college throughout its history in their current statuses and under previous parent bodies for those which have evolved. Each entity has an interest in the affairs of Te Aute College today and so it is highly likely that these entities will also impact on the continued provision of education at Te Aute College in varying degrees.

Thesis Overview

Section One of the thesis, 'Contextualising the Research Community' begins at Chapter Two and introduces an account of the local history associated with the Te Aute Valley and begins to explicate the whakapapa links that Te Aute College has to the whenua by establishing the traditions of the tāngata whenua. This chapter seeks to explore the historical, social, physical, cultural and political influences that brought about the establishment of Te Aute College. It is not the intent of the chapter to provide a full and detailed history, rather a history that will contextualise who Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti are and how its connection to Te Aute College came to be.

Chapter Three will continue the historical narrative and will centre solely on Te Aute

College history through the period 1854 - 2005. The scope of this thesis does not include a detailed history of Te Aute College however, in order to examine the present and future roles of Te Aute College in contributing to Māori advancement, Te Aute's legacy is significant as indicated by the term 'koiri' introduced earlier. Therefore this chapter will provide a chronological brief of key events throughout the history of Te Aute College up to 2005. The chapter is divided into two parts; Part A reflects on the period 1854 - 1921 and Part B reflects on the period 1922 - 2005.

Chapter Four is titled 'Te Aute College Today' and investigates critical elements that impact on the provision of education at Te Aute College today. This investigation begins by examining the effects on Te Aute College of radical changes to State economic and social policies of the 1980s including, education policy and wider macro influences that centred on the deregulation of the nation's economy. The administrative structures of Te Aute College are explored for their key roles in the maintenance of a Te Aute College tradition of contributing to Māori advancement. This inquiry includes the special character of Te Aute College today, the curriculum, educational achievement at Te Aute College, the economic resource base of Te Aute College and the highs and lows of educational provision at Te Aute College today. Chapter Four also concludes Section One of the thesis, 'Contextualising the Research Community'.

Section Two of the thesis, 'Māori Research' begins with Chapter Five that examines the notion of whakapapa, a Māori concept; and its legitimate space in Indigenous research methodology today. Traditional meanings of whakapapa are disclosed including the role of whakapapa and different traditions associated with whakapapa. This chapter also develops the whakapapa discourse by extending on traditional beliefs of whakapapa to be inclusive of contemporary interpretations of whakapapa for contemporary contexts. Accordingly, biological connections maintained through bloodlines are compared with non-biological connections that are bound by kinship, fellowship or whanaungatanga. The chapter is titled 'A Māori Worldview' and introduces the Māori epistemological basis of this thesis and the research methodological approach that it employs. A Māori worldview is a phenomenon that

is not necessarily understood by all Māori let alone, non-Māori, and this chapter explores a Māori worldview as being appropriate in supporting Māori research. It is where the tangible comes into contact with the intangible and whakapapa is one way of connecting these two entities.

Chapter Six specifically introduces the research methodology and is divided into two parts. Part A provides a summary of the development of Māori research and the application of whakapapa to Māori research and extends on the previous chapter's rationalisation of whakapapa by focusing on Māori research methodology. In doing so, Part A details the growth of Māori research from the early 19th century up to the present day, where this thesis employs the notion of whakapapa as the foundation of its research methodology. Part B focuses specifically on the research methods that have guided the production of this thesis. This part of the chapter replicates the methodological approach undertaken by the whole research project that has evolved from a Māori worldview. That is, this part of the chapter mirrors the research methodology where at the outset there is 'Te Kore' - the potentiality that in turn leads to 'Te Rapunga' - data collection techniques, which then progresses to 'Te Kitenga' - data collection and analysis that ultimately culminates in 'Te Arotake' - the research outcomes. This chapter also concludes Section Two of the thesis, 'Māori Research'.

Section Three of the thesis presents the 'Research Findings' over four chapters. Chapter Seven titled 'The Te Aute Experience' investigates the nature of the Te Aute experience for those who have been a part of and or who still are a part of Te Aute College today. The implication of this affiliation to Te Aute College is founded on the notion of whakapapa that Section Two of this thesis explicates across the diverse contexts that Te Aute College has been a part of throughout its existence and within which it functions today. The stories and analyses in this chapter explore the numerous influences that Te Aute College has provided and continues to provide to its students and personnel who have been a part of the college's legacy.

Chapter Eight titled 'Te Aute's Contribution' explicates the research findings' many connections to the notion of contribution made by Te Aute College to individual

students' lives and their whānau, to communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, to Māoridom and, to the nation in general. These analyses not only highlight specific contributions of Te Aute College to citizenship and to Māoridom, but they are illuminated alongside the notion of whakapapa and the innate union that Te Aute College has with this notion across multiple levels throughout all of its affairs.

Chapter Nine is titled 'He Toa Takitini', a metaphor for unity and collaboration. This chapter centres on the position of Te Aute College today and in the future by investigating the critical issues that confront the college as it strives to provide education for young Māori males in the 21st century. 'He Toa Takitini' reflects a collaborative effort where the chapter argues that the continuation of the status of Te Aute College as a Māori boarding school with a whakapapa of tradition and achievement will not come exclusively from an institution that fails to take cognisance of its key stakeholders. Rather, this chapter examines the position of Te Aute College against a background interweaved with whakapapa that accepts a responsibility for Māoridom and citizenship by unifying key stakeholders' experiences and visions for the future of Te Aute College.

Chapter Ten documents the overall conclusions drawn from the three preceding chapters of Section Three and in doing so is analogised to 'te ao mārama', the final phase of the research cycle. That is, the concluding chapter provides the overall summary by drawing all of the strands of whakapapa of this thesis into a single lineage, a whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Summary

The importance of Māori education is a paramount concern of whānau and communities today and not just of the State as political rhetoric has consistently reverberated throughout the last decade. Te Aute College has contributed significantly to the growth of Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation since the mid-19th century. Under specific eras of leadership, Te Aute College has captured Māori potential, nurtured this and in doing so contributed to the advancement of Māori both regionally and

nationally. The whakapapa of Te Aute College has played a significant role in these feats and maintains an important place today in the ethos that is Te Aute College, as the college, through its administrators and key stakeholders aspires to add to this whakapapa. The following passage is taken from a script penned in 1979 by principal Awi Riddell on the occasion of the college's 125th anniversary and personifies the whakapapa that binds Te Aute College to the land it is situated on, to a tradition that is uniquely Māori and to all of those people who have been a part of Te Aute College as well as those yet to come

I look to the past with mixed emotions; pride, joy, sadness, frustration, bitterness. I shed a tear, a tear of pride for the old school long since gone and for what it meant; I shed a tear of thanks-giving for my sons now departed who served our country and our people so well. I look at what has happened in more recent times and what is happening all around me today. I weep yet again for the lands given to me by the people. I feel a new awakening, a new growth. Buildings may come and go. I will remain. I am what I am. I am Te Aute (In Tyro and Scarlett, 1979).

SECTION ONE:

**CONTEXTUALISING THE RESEARCH
COMMUNITY**

WHAKATANGATA KIA KAHA

Introduction

Section One of this thesis contextualises the research community, Te Aute College, by introducing a brief history of where the college is, how the college came to be and where it is today. This section covers the ensuing three chapters. Chapter Two provides a brief account of the pre-European history of Pukehou and the Te Aute valley and so locates the local hapū of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti share a historical and contemporary relationship with Te Aute College. Accordingly, this chapter outlines a whakapapa of the tāngata whenua and sets the scene for the importance of their relationship with Te Aute College today.

Chapter Three provides a historical snapshot of Te Aute College since its inception in 1853 in order that a chronology of significant events and milestones that helped to shape the college into what it is today, are located within the context of the thesis. The chapter is divided into two parts; Part A encompasses the period 1854 through to 1921 while Part B covers the period 1922 through to 2005. A number of significant events occurred within each of these eras that contributed to the shaping of the Te Aute brand and so a whakapapa of the history of Te Aute College is revealed throughout this chapter.

Chapter Four continues to locate the position of Te Aute College within this thesis by examining the provision of education at the college today. A range of dynamics to impact upon Te Aute College in the latter 20th century and early 21st century have significantly impacted upon the college's capacity to sustain a similar level of contribution to Māori advancement that was particularly highlighted in Chapter Three. Nonetheless, a description of the special character of education at Te Aute College today is discussed in order that this is reviewed and thereby able to be analysed here and later alongside participant views in Section Three of the thesis, The Research Findings.

Chapter Two

NGAI TE WHATUIĀPITI AND MANA WHENUA

E noho e tama ki tō pā i Te Roto-a-Tara, hangaia tō whare ko Pakewairangi, e piki e tama ki runga ki tō pā, whakatangi ai tō pū, ko Te Aometikirangi te pūtorino e tama, ka puta ai koe ki te whai ao ki te ao mārama!

Introduction

The opening passage above to this chapter is significant in that it makes reference to traditional landmarks, to ancestral and traditional taonga and to a common ancestor of the Wairarapa, Tamatea and Heretaunga districts of the Ngāti Kahungunu² iwi; Te Whatuiāpiti. The significance of this ancestor within the context of this thesis is that it is Te Whatuiāpiti's descendants who hold the mana whenua of the land upon which the research community is located. Subsequently, Te Aute College and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti³ enjoy a unique relationship that at times has flourished and at other times has waned. The use of whakapapa as a research methodology for this thesis has been introduced in Chapter One and so it is appropriate here in Chapter Two that a whakapapa of Te Aute College's history prior to 1854 is discussed in order to locate the foundations of the Te Aute College and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti relationship.

The Te Aute Valley - Ngā Puna-a-Tara

Te Aute College is located in a long valley starting at Pakipaki and extending south to Whatumā and beyond. It is characterised by a series of lakes known to the Māori as

² Ngāti Kahungunu descends from the Takitimu canoe and is the Indigenous Māori tribe whose modern day boundary encompasses the provinces of Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa, establishing the geographical location of Ngāti Kahungunu. Ngati Kahungunu are the 3rd largest iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand (Department of Statistics, 2006) although not all of this population reside within the iwi's boundaries.

³ Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti descends from the chief of the same name, Te Whatuiāpiti. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti is a prominent hapū of the Heretaunga and Tamatea regions of Ngāti Kahungunu and itself comprises a number of subsidiary hapū (see Ballara, 1991). For this reason alone, there are some who dispute its hapū status, according it iwi status instead.

Ngā Puna-a-Tara (Tuhua, 1906). The Lakes Poukawa, Roto-a-Kiwa, Roto-a-Tara and Whatumā and their surrounding lands were all occupied by early ancestors of the wider district including Tara, Rangitāne, Tangowhiti, Whata and Puhikaiariki (Parsons, 2000). If one reconstructs the landscape of the Te Aute valley in Tara's day, the lakes were considerably larger and surrounded by dense forests, which extended up to the rims of the valley. Tara was born at Te Awanga and Ngai Tara were the early inhabitants of this area. Ngai Tara, the descendants of Tara's nephew Rangitāne and the descendants of Tangowhiti occupied the wider Heretaunga and Waipukurau districts that included lakes Poukawa, Roto-a-Kiwa, Roto-a-Tara and Whatumā (Ibid).

Lake Roto-a-Tara was particularly significant because of the island Te Awarua-a-Porirua, which was to become the stronghold known as Te Roto-a-Tara in the ensuing years. Local tradition tells of the formation of this island when Tara encountered a taniwha (Te Awarua-a-Porirua) who had dared to devour the great quantity of food in Tara's lake. During the battle between Tara and the taniwha the island was formed by the lashings of the taniwha's tail (see Grace, 1959). There were also two other islands on the lake. The smaller of these two islands was named Pukekura and is named after the now extinct moa birds that once populated the area. Pukekura is near to where Boundary Road is today and is part of the Te Aute Endowment Land⁴ (see Appendices One and Two). The larger island, Moturoa was named after its long but narrow shape and is at the southern end of the old lakebed near Drumpeel Road. The draining of Lake Roto-a-Tara in the 1880s exposed a vast number of moa bones, which showed that they were once plentiful throughout the Te Aute valley (Hamilton, 1888). There is little doubt that the moa was still living in Tara's time. Pakipaki rangatira Urupene Pūhara observed

The moa was not the name by which the great bird that lived in this country was known by to my ancestors. The name was Te Kura, or the red bird and it was only known as the 'moa' after the Pākehā said so. The moa lived, he had heard, all over the North Island, but they disappeared after the coming of Tamatea, who set fire to the land (In Hill, 1913:340).

⁴ The Te Aute Endowment Land refers to those lands that were gifted by the Crown, some 4000 acres and by Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, an even greater portion for the establishment of Te Aute College in 1853. This transaction is discussed later in this chapter under the section titled - 'The Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti Gift' (see Alexander, 1951; AJHR, 1906; Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Williams, 1968; Wehipeihana, 2005).

Tamatea, the father of Kahungunu, is of a later period than Tara; some six generations (see Huata, 1983). When giving evidence in the Papa-aruhe hearing, the local chief Renata Pukututu recalled

At time of exodus to Nukutaurua all this land was covered with forest and the whole of this block was covered with forest in ancient times (Napier Minute Book 27. Papa-aruhe Hearing - 30th August 1893:322).

These oral histories tell us that while the moa was prominent in Tara's time, after the coming of Tamatea and the burning of forests, a food source and home of the moa; there's a correlation between the act of deforestation and the eventual extinction of the moa. While the former lakebed is farmed and cropped today, it does flood for sustained periods after very heavy rainfalls as do Lakes Poukawa and Roto-a-Kiwa take on more water and so increase in volume.

The Populating of the Te Aute Valley 1250 – 1500

The descendants of Tara and Rangitāne (see Figure One) established themselves throughout Heretaunga, the Te Aute district, the coastal areas, the Waipukurau district and to the south (Graham, 2006). Because the population was a growing one, there was a close relationship between the descendants of Tara and Rangitāne through ancestry and intermarriage. Tūteremoana was a prominent descendant of Tara and Rangitāne who resided in the district (McEwen, 1986). He was eventually forced to migrate south to the Wairarapa, Wellington and Kāpiti regions with the later arrival of Ngāti Kahungunu. He, along with his Ngai Tara and Rangitāne kin, had a number of pā and kāinga throughout the Heretaunga, Tukituki and Te Aute districts including Te Roto-a-Tara. His father Te Aohaeretahi was buried in a cave on Kahuranaki the sacred mountain of the district (Ibid).

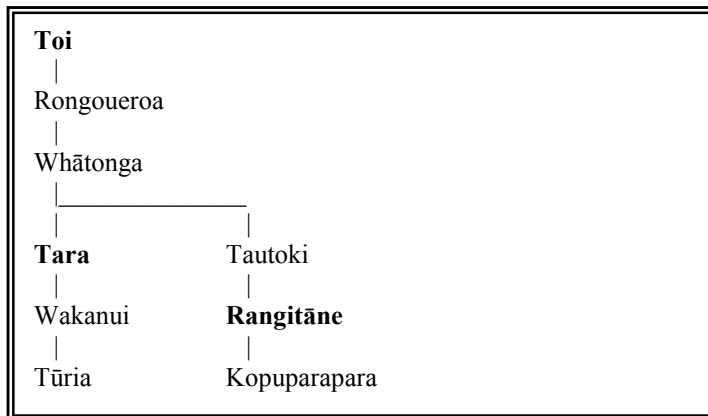


Figure One: A whakapapa of Tara and Rangitāne from Toi (sourced from Pat Parsons, personal communication, 2005).

The Ngāti Kahungunu Invasion / Migration under Taraia

Taraia was the son of Rākaihikuroa and Ruarauhanga and the great grandson of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine (see Figure Two). He was a capable leader in warfare, strategy and diplomacy. Taraia's presence in the Whanganui-a-Orotu and Heretaunga districts came about as a result of inter-tribal warfare in the Tūranganui district when his brother Tūpurupuru was killed (Parsons, 2000; Huata, 1983; Mitchell, 1972). Taraia and his father Rākaihikuroa led their people south in search of other lands to take over. The abundance of resources in the district including fertile land, kaimoana, forests, birdlife and waterways that had formerly attracted Tara and his descendants no doubt influenced Taraia's decision to stay and occupy the territory (Graham, 2006). In doing so, he had to confront the inhabitants, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Whatumamoā, Ngāti Hotu, Ngāti Moe, Muaupoko, Rangitāne and Ngai Tara (Ballara, 1991).

Taraia and his forces moved south by way of canoe where the party landed at the Ngaruroro River mouth. Taraia named this place Te Ipu-o-Taraia, his drinking vessel. At this time he also noticed the range to the southwest with its vast forests; later to be named the Raukawa Range. A part of this he too named, Te Ipu-o-Taraia (Graham, 2006) and the name is retained today as the name of the Māori land block near Anaroa on Te Onepu Road that ascends the Raukawa Range.

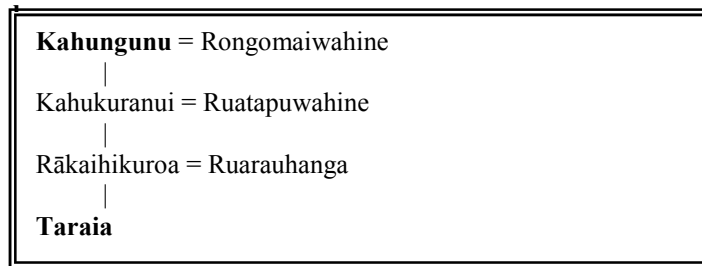


Figure Two: A Whakapapa of Taraia from Kahungunu (sourced from Pat Parsons, personal communication, 2005).

Te Onepu Road is also a boundary marker for a portion of the original Te Aute Endowment Land gifted by Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti that was both sold and unequally exchanged (forthcoming Treaty of Waitangi claim) soon after by the Crown and later by the Te Aute Trust Board respectively for a portion of land near Lake Roto-a-Tara (Williams, 1968).

At this time the Ngai Tara and Rangitāne people were well aware of the presence of Taraia and his people who had earlier defeated the tribes of the Whanganui-a-Orotu area at Heipipi and Otātara (Ballara, 1991). Therefore, word would have spread about the district and the Ngai Tara and Rangitāne would have made preparations at their fortified pā sites for the first encounters with their invaders. A series of victorious battles and diplomatic moves throughout the district ensued and saw Taraia's people, Ngāti Kahungunu, establish themselves and the defeated tribes of Ngai Tara and Rangitāne mostly fled south to Rangitāne kinsmen already living in the Tamaki-nui-a-rua (Dannevirke), Wairarapa and Manawatu districts (Chrisp, 2002). Some carried on further south under the leadership of Tūteremoana who moved to Kāpiti Island; the burial place of their ancestor Tara. However, some factions did stay in the district and so intermarriage between the tribes occurred

Others of Rangitāne went to Wairarapa and Te Ahu-a-Tūranga and some to the other island. That ended the war against the Rangitāne (Napier Minute Book 24. Rākautātahi Hearing, 1891:14).

It is in this period that the Ngāti Kahungunu gained stature as a tribe where they managed to occupy Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, Heretaunga and all of the lands down to

Akitio where ultimately, a coalition of tribes was established under Taraia's mana that extended over the whole district (Parsons, 2000).

The Settlement of Tribal Boundaries

When Ngai Tara and Rangitāne vacated Heretaunga, the territory and boundaries to be carved up were

Akitio on the coast, then inland to Puketoi, to Oporae and on to the Manawatū stream, thence to Ruahine and then eastward to the Ngaruroro river, crossing it to the Tutaekurī, following that to Ahuriri and the sea to commencement (Ibid:20).

This area was then divided up between the two chiefs, Taraia and Te Aomatarahi along a boundary that started at the mouth of the Tukituki River, inland to Wairua, thence to Te Pūrotu, to Kaokaoroa, on to Ngāwhakatātara, back to the Tukituki River, and to Mākāretu and to the Ruahine Range. Te Aomatarahi's portion was the land to the coastal and southern sides of the Tukituki River (Ibid).

Even in this early occupation period there existed two separate factions of Ngāti Kahungunu that took their names from two wives of Rākaihikuroa, Pāpāuma and Ruarauhanga. In the ensuing years, fighting among the tribe escalated as these factions sought to assert their mana and to satisfy utu for previous losses and transgressions (Ibid). One of those lucky enough to escape these tribal skirmishes and flee south was a young man named Te Whatuiāpiti. Te Whatuiāpiti was the son of Hikawera I and Hine-te-moa and he grew up in a period that saw the two factions of Ngāti Kahungunu constantly trying to establish their power and authority over each other. In his adult life, Te Whatuiāpiti eventually returned to the district and reasserted his chiefly mana by defeating his and his people's former aggressors in the wider Heretaunga and Waipukurau district (Parsons, 2000; Graham, 2006; Ballara, 1991). Later in life he resided in a number of pā at Te Aute and Pukehou, including Te Wheao pā at present day Te Hauke and Te Roto-a-Tara pā.

The Marriage of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti

It is Te Roto-a-Tara pā that is associated with Te Whatuiāpiti's marriage to Te Huhuti, daughter of Te Rangitaumaha and the grand daughter of Taraia I (see Figure Three). On suggesting to her father that he, Te Whatuiāpiti, would like to marry his daughter, Te Rangitaumaha did not readily agree to Te Whatuiāpiti's request. Te Whatuiāpiti then returned to Te Roto-a-Tara where some time later Te Huhuti eventually made her way to the lake one night and swam out to the island pā (Wilson, 1976).

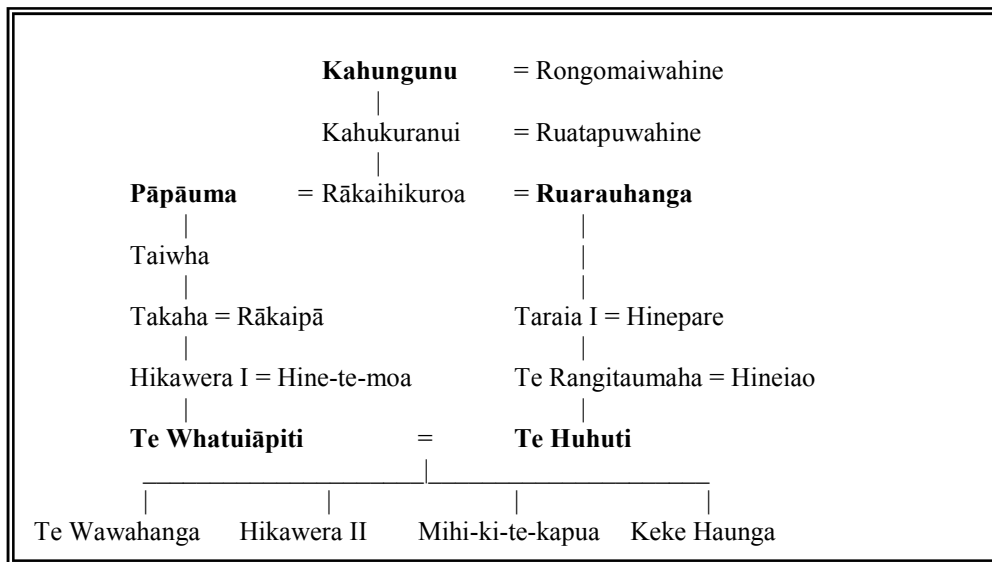


Figure Three: The Reunification of Te Hika-a-Pāpāuma and Te Hika-a-Ruarauhanga (sourced from Pat Parsons, personal communication, 2005).

The story of Te Huhuti swimming out to Te Roto-a-Tara pā is retold in a number of oral traditions; one being that Te Whatuiāpiti was pleasantly surprised to be told that a beautiful young woman was sitting naked by the water's edge, another being that Te Whatuiāpiti was expecting and waiting for Te Huhuti. Te Huhuti became his permanent wife and together they became the parents and ancestors of an illustrious line of chiefs who had direct links to the Te Aute district. The marriage of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti had reunited the two factions of Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Hika-a-Papauma and Te Hika-a-Ruarauhanga, and so they held the mana of the whole territory. They had four children, Te Wawahanga, Hikawera II, Mihi-ki-te-kapua and

Keke Haunga. It is from these children that many hapū of the district descend from, including chiefs present at the hui that gifted the Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti land in 1853 (see Figure Four).

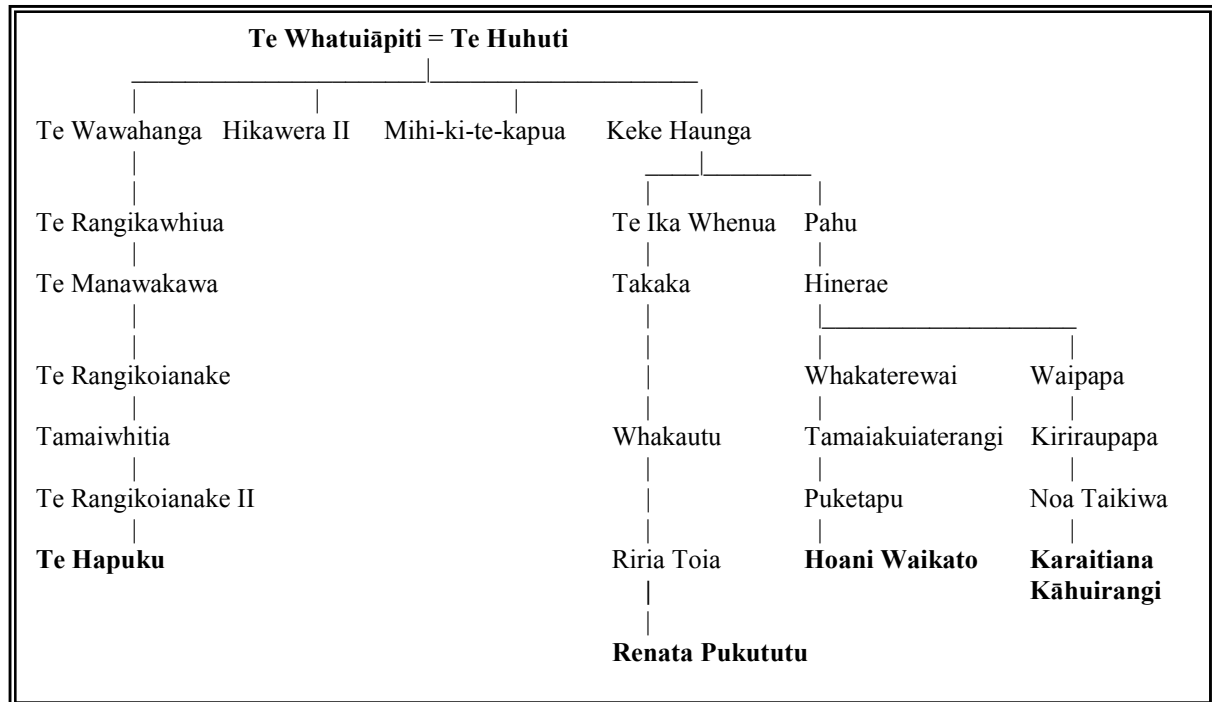


Figure Four: Descendant chiefs of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti (sourced from Pat Parsons, personal communication, 2005).

Keke Haunga was the youngest child of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti and was raised at Te Roto-a-Tara. Evidence supports his permanent occupation around the shores of Te Roto-a-Tara (Napier Minute Book 1. Moturoa Hearing - 1866). He married Tāmaiwa and they had a large family. It was in the time of Keke Haunga's grandchildren that peace throughout the wider district encompassing Te Aute and Waipukurau was broken. A range of inter-tribal skirmishes and events would change the course of history between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngai Te Upokoiri and a number of iwi from outside of the region. Since the days of Tara, succeeding generations were attracted to the Te Aute district by the abundance of food and resources. It is this very reason that the Te Aute district and its surrounding area was coveted by the 'eyes in the hills'; a term used to refer to outsiders who espied Ngā Puna-a-Tara from the Raukawa Range.

It is at this point that another important descendant of the wider Te Aute district and rangatira of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Ngāti Kahungunu (Ballara, 1991) enters the fray; Pareihe. He belonged to Ngai Tapuhara of the Pātangata district and although he was a generation older than his contemporary chiefs like Te Hāpuku, he encountered many problems with the issue of leadership even though his chiefly line came from Te Whatuiāpiti and his first wife Kuramahinono. Te Hāpuku and other chiefs claimed their seniority status from Te Wawahanga, Te Whatuiāpiti's son to Te Huhuti (Ibid). His full name was Pareihe Kai-a-te-Kōkopu and his daughter Ani Te-Patu-kaikino, was another rangatira present at the gifting of land hui for the establishment of Te Aute College.

Inter-tribal Warfare

After a period of peace in the wider district that had been maintained since the time of Te Whatuiāpiti, the chief and older brother to Te Hāpuku, Te Nahu died. As a mark of respect for his brother-in-law, Te Wanikau imposed a rāhui on Lake Poukawa to mark the tangihanga. In doing so, he was insulting Ngai Te Rangikoianake, as the lake was theirs to make such decisions. Consequently, Ngai Te Rangikoianake broke the rāhui and the rāhui poles were pulled out. Eventually, Te Wanikau found out and became infuriated and so called upon Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa to help him avenge this insult (Grace, 1959). In due course the combined forces arrived at the shore of Lake Roto-a-Tara where Ngai Te Rangikoianake and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti were holed up on the island pā safely out of reach from the invading party

Without canoes Te Heuheu and Ngai Te Ūpokoiri found Roto-a-tara impregnable so they divided their forces, half laying siege to the island fortress while the rest travelled to Maungawharau above Waimārama where some of the Roto-a-Tara people had gone fishing (Parsons, 2000:30).

Even though the invading party was unsuccessful at this time in attacking Te Roto-a-Tara, Pareihe instructed his people to reinforce the pā for he knew that their foe would ultimately seek vengeance. Not surprisingly a huge tauā consisting of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngai Te Ūpokoiri and

other tribes who joined the tauā (Wilson, 1976; Parsons, 2000) along the way, arrived again at the shore of the lake where the main highway and College Road are situated today.

As the land was still heavily covered in forest, Te Heuheu ordered his party to cut trees down to build a kahupapa out to the island fortress, which they did so over a period of months (Parsons, 2000; Graham, 2006). Finally the battle commenced with the invaders finding it more difficult at first. They had to overcome the pūhara built on the island pā shore and the rocks, spears and fireballs being hurled from it by Pareihe's forces. However, the attackers too hurled fireballs and although suffering losses, including some of their chiefs, eventually made their way along the kahupapa to the palisaded walls of the island fortress (Ibid). The pā was then stormed and though Pareihe and his party seemed about to be overwhelmed, they charged the invaders as their land assault began. The invaders were forced back onto the kahupapa where more lives were lost through injury and drowning. The invaders managed to retreat back to the lakeshore for the time being. It is said that up to 50 chiefs were killed; one of the more famous chiefs who lost his life in the fight was Te Arawai, from Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto (Parsons, 2000). A chief named Hawaikirangi who happened to be stationed on the pūhara killed him and from that day, his descendants bore the name Pūhara as a tribute to this occurrence (Graham, 2006).

The Nukutaurua Migration

Although victorious on this day, Pareihe did not have the numbers to sustain another attack the next day so he led his party south to Porangahau under the cover of darkness. The invaders eventually made it onto the island but it was too late, Pareihe had gone. Te Heuheu and his war party eventually returned home somewhat frustrated, knowing that Pareihe and his party had not been totally defeated. This battle was known as Te Kahupapa and occurred c1822 (Parsons, 2000). When Lake Roto-a-Tara was drained in the late 1800s, remnants of this battle (and other battles) including weapons, bones and the original stakes of the causeway were uncovered with parts of the causeway still visible by the mid-20th century (Wilson, 1976).

Because so many chiefs of the invading party had been killed, the local hapū and surrounding district became more vulnerable to invasion through the custom of utu. It was unsafe to reside in the district after this battle and so after meeting with the Ngāpuhi chief Te Wera, a resident of Te Māhia who was at Tāne-nui-a-rangi pā, near present day Clive (Parsons, 2000), Pareihe undertook to lead the people of the wider Heretaunga district including Wairarapa kin, Ngai Tahu and Ngai Toroiwaho of Whatumā and Takapau to Nukutaurua at Te Mahia to shelter under his protection. This event was known as the exodus to Nukutaurua and while its purpose was obvious, Pareihe had a difficult time convincing everyone to forsake their kāinga (Ballara, 1991) and to live in exile. This daring act though led by Pareihe saved the lives of many of his people, for those who did not heed his warning were either slaughtered or taken prisoner at a later battle at Te Pakake in Ahuriri. A young chief, Te Hāpuku was taken prisoner here as were other chiefs who stayed behind including Kurupo Te Moananui and Tiakitai (Ibid). The exile lasted for nearly 20 years with different chiefs and their hapū tripping back and forth sometimes to check their kāinga. Some even permanently stayed on at Te Māhia and so Ngai Te Rangikoianake and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti have strong kin ties there through intermarriage with Ngāti Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine.

It was due to Pareihe being informed by his scouts that two further major battles occurred at Te Roto-a-Tara in the mid 1820s. The first involved Pareihe leading a tauā back to their lands to attack Ngai Te Ūpokoiri, Ngai Te Kohera and Ngāti Raukawa who were occupying Kahotea pā and Te Roto-a-Tara pā under the chief Te Momo (Parsons, 2000; Graham, 2006). With no one actually living there at the time, it was too tempting for Te Momo and so he led the occupation in the Te Aute valley. However, Pareihe's party stormed one of their own strongholds, Kahotea pā and its surrounding pā and killed Te Momo and thus, expelled the 'squatters'. In taking back Kahotea pā they were unable to take the Te Roto-a-Tara pā because they had no waka to traverse the lake. This battle was referred to as Roto-a-Tara I (Ibid).

The Re-taking of Te Roto-a-Tara

Pareihe and his war party rested at Ahuriri and Te Pakake before returning to Nukutaurua. However, Ngai Te Ūpokoiri, Ngai Te Kohera and Ngāti Raukawa returned some time later to once again occupy Te Roto-a-Tara and the wider district. For a second time, Pareihe heard this news through his scouts and so led another massive tauā of some 2000 warriors that he assembled at Nukutaurua (Ibid). They paddled their waka across Te Matau-a-Maui (Hawke Bay), up the Tukituki River to Pātangata pā, up the Papanui Stream and then hauled some of their waka across a strip of land that separated Lake Roto-a-Tara and the Papanui Stream (Ballara, 1991; Graham, 2006) until they reached their revered Lake Roto-a-Tara. Pareihe and his tauā began a siege lasting close to two months in full view of those on the island; the ‘squatters’ were trapped on the island and were running short of food. Pareihe therefore judged their attack on the pā with another example of military precision and in doing so totally overwhelmed the defenders. Meihana Takihi recalled

The pā was invested and captured after two months. I was not there. Ngai Te Ūpokoiri was defeated. Motumotu, Te Puke, Whiuwhiu and others were killed. Renata Kawepō was taken prisoner (Napier Minute Book 19. Omahu Hearing - 1889:127).

It is from this battle that the chief Renata took his surname Kawepō, a shortened form of ‘kia kawē au ki te pō’ (let me deliver myself to the night) when he surrendered himself to be a captive of the Ngāpuhi faction of Pareihe’s massive force so that people left on the island could be saved (Grace, 1959). This was the final battle in the Te Aute valley and was known as Roto-a-Tara II (Parsons, 2000; Graham, 2006).

The Te Aute valley had never before seen as much warring and military action as in the third decade of the 19th century. Indeed, the inter-tribal battles at Te Roto-a-Tara are perhaps some of the biggest and most drawn out inter-tribal battles in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. About 1843, the first repatriation took place, which saw Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and its kin hapū including Ngai Te Rangikoianake, Ngai Tahu and Ngai Toroiwaho move back to Heretaunga, Te Aute and to the Waipukurau

districts (Graham, 2006). Unlike the mass exodus to Nukutaurua, the return home was not en masse nor was it as orderly. Pareihe did venture out of the district once more and went to Taupō where he attacked and then made peace with Te Heuheu. Both chiefs had the utmost respect for each other even though their paths had crossed a number of times and so the ‘dogs of war’ that had been unleashed some 30 years earlier were now put to rest when

Te Heuheu then said, you have fulfilled the promise you made at Nukutaurua and have established your mark in my lake. No other tribe has ever been able to make such a mark. We shall now make peace for all time....Pareihe stood up and said, I shall never be killed by the hand of man; the gods alone shall destroy me (Grace, 1959:336-37).

Pareihe returned to live his years out at Te Awapuni pā near Clive. On his return there the chieftainess of the pā; Winipere welcomed him

Naumai, nohia te whenua nei. Kāore he Tangata hei noho kāti rawa ko koe! Welcome, come to this land and occupy it. There is no person to do so except you! (Ibid:337).

Pareihe died on August 20th 1843 and the following words are taken from a lament composed when Pareihe died, such was his mana

*E te iwi e! tangihia mai rā e i, kia nui te tangi ki te Matua e i,
Ka maunu rā e te taniwha i te rua, taku whakaruru hau e i,
Taku mana ki te rangi e i, kia whakairihia rā koe rā,
Mo Pukekaihau e, mō Te Matau e, mō Te Whiti-o-Tū e,
He Mutunga pūkana, nā kōrua ko Te Wera
I te awatea e i, kia hoatu ana e i, ki te tai whakararo,
Ko Kekeparāoa, ko Toka-a-kuku e, kia whakahoki mai e i,
Ko Te Roto-a-Tara, ko Omakukara, kei Taupō, ka tarake te whenua e i!*

*Oh people! Wail aloud, deeply lament for the parent,
The taniwha has withdrawn from his cave, oh my shelter from the winds,
Oh my power from the heavens, depart then oh Sire!
Thou shall be exalted, on account of Pukekaihau, Te Matau, Te Whiti-o-Tū,
The last of the battles, by you and Te Wera,
In the broad daylight, in after days you went to the northern seas,
When fell Kekeparāoa and Toka-a-kuku, and on the return,
Was Te Roto-a-Tara, then Omakukara,
At Taupō, where desolate was the land! (Ibid:338-39).*

The ensuing 10 years had a significant impact on Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti with increasing Pākehā settlement, land sales, Christianity, new technology, alcohol and tobacco and, the subsequent internal bickering within the wider hapū of the Te Aute and Heretaunga district. These issues alongside the Crown's need for more land and social control between Māori and Pākehā in the region saw the Crown under Governor Grey intervene in the future of the Te Aute valley.

A Christian Influence

The links between the Anglican Church and the Te Aute district began with the first meeting between local Māori chiefs and Te Wera Hauraki, an ally chief from the Ngāpuhi tribe in the far north who was residing in Te Mahia (Parsons, 2000). In 1824, Te Wera came to Awapuni pā in what is the township of Clive today, with peaceful intentions and to meet with leading chiefs including Pareihe of Ngai Te Whatuiapiti. He had already encountered the early missionaries in Kerikeri and so on his visit spread the word of the 'gospel'; the first to do so in the Hawkes Bay (McBain, 2006).

William Williams was the first Pākehā missionary to be posted on the East Coast in 1840. Stationed at Tūranganui-a-Kiwa (Gisborne), his area extended as far south as Wairarapa. On his first journey to Napier he encountered a number of Christian Māori groups worshipping in purpose built chapels under the leadership of Māori church teachers (Ibid). The following year, 1841 saw the Bishop of New Zealand, George Augustus Selwyn set out for Hawkes Bay from Wellington and his party was met at Roto-a-Tara pā by William Williams on November 15th. The following is Selwyn's account of that meeting

Rotoatara is a small settlement on an island in the middle of a small lake surrounded with grassy downs; the whole scene the picture of repose, and a welcome sight as being first of the villages connected with the East Coast, which we reached after passing over a space of 60 miles altogether uninhabited. The natives, on seeing us, sent canoes to bring us to the island where we were received with speeches and presented with ducks, potatoes and lake shellfish. At one o'clock we had the pleasure of seeing Archdeacon Williams and Mr Dudley coming to meet us (In McBain, 2006).

On that same evening, the party travelled to Pareihe's pā at Pātangata to conduct a service, which the Bishop preached in Māori. This was the first sermon preached by a Bishop in Hawkes Bay and his gifts of St Matthew's gospel in Māori were well received by the local people of Ngai Te Whatuiapiti. Just over a decade later in 1853, another important event took place at Lake Roto-a-Tara. A meeting between Ngai Te Whatuiapiti, Samuel Williams and Governor George Grey was held at Roto-a-Tara pā. The purpose of this meeting was to secure Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti land and to at least match a Crown contribution for the establishment of a school. This meeting was formalised in the ensuing years with the signing of the first Crown Grants to the Bishop of the Anglican Church on June 10th 1857. The whakapapa of Te Aute College and the Anglican Church is evidenced by these foundational relationships.

Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti Leadership Mid-19th Century

After the inter-tribal wars of the first quarter of the 19th century, those surviving war chiefs such as Pareihe held the mantle of leadership. During this period the wider hapū of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti became more spread out all through the Heretaunga and Tamatea districts for a number of reasons that included

- Te Whatuiāpiti himself held the mana whenua over the whole Heretaunga, Tamatea and Southern Hawkes Bay / Wairarapa area during his lifetime;
- Te Whatuiāpiti had many wives, children and descendants that were spread throughout this area;
- Inter-marriage of smaller hapū members with other or Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hapū members;
- Strategically arranged whāngai or marriages in specific parts of the aforementioned area;
- The need to move based on an increasing hapū population in certain areas.

Consequently, from 1853 onwards, reference to the hapū name Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti for this thesis refers to that part of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti who held the mana whenua of the land of the Te Aute valley and Pukehou that became the Te Aute Endowment

Land (see Footnote 3). These chiefs and their people were principally descended from the marriages of Te Whatuiāpiti to his first wife, Kuramahinono, and to his senior wife, Te Huhuti. The following sub-sections provide some background into the chieftainship held by Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti in the Te Aute valley and Pukehou at this time (see Figure Four).

Te Hāpuku

Te Hāpuku Te Ikanui-o-te-Moana was born into Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti through his mother Tātari who belonged to Ngai Tapuhara and Ngāti Hinepare and, through his father Kuimate (also known as Te Rangikoianake II) who belonged to Ngāti Manawakawa and Ngai Te Rangikoianake. His ancestry meant that much was expected of him, especially when Pareihe died in the mid-1840s and he became the leading chief of the district. Te Hāpuku signed the Declaration of Independence⁵ in 1838 whilst in the Bay of Islands (Ballara, 1991). This was an international declaration, which recognised the sovereignty of the independent tribes of Aotearoa New Zealand at that time. Te Hāpuku was also a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi when it was brought through Hawkes Bay on its journey around the country to be signed by chiefs who had not attended the Waitangi Hui on February 6th, 1840 (Ibid).

Like his contemporaries, Te Hāpuku encountered a wide range of pressures on the traditional Māori lifestyle. Pākehā settlers and now including a number who were free to do as they pleased were more and more populating the district and so conflict between Māori and Pākehā was inevitable

Though suspicious of European Politicking, and accusing them of new diseases plaguing his people, he grew accustomed to their forms of governance, sometimes to the detriment of his kin. In 1850, he became

⁵ James Busby, the British Resident (appointed in 1833) orchestrated the signing of the Declaration of Independence by calling a meeting of thirty-four chiefs on 28 October 1835. At that meeting he persuaded them to issue a Declaration of Independence (He wakatanga o te Rangatiranga o Niu Tirene) that asked the King “to be the parent of their infant state ... its protector from all attempts upon its independence”. The Declaration was signed by the chiefs under the designation of the “United Tribes of New Zealand” and they proclaimed that they would meet annually to pass laws for the dispensation of justice and the preservation of peace (Butterworth and Young, 1990:14).

advisor to McLean who was influencing Māori to sell land in the Wairarapa and elsewhere (Simpson, 2003:171).

Te Hāpuku was present at the signing over of land for Te Aute College in 1853 in his role and function of paramount chief. In his later years Te Hāpuku farmed at Poukawa and was one of the Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti chiefs who called for an improved standard of education especially at Te Aute College. In his last days, Te Hāpuku was visited by Sir George Grey and as he lay dying after a long illness, asked that he lie in his bed facing his beloved mountain, Kahuranaki (Ballara, 1991). He died on May 23rd 1878 and a full military funeral was held in his honour on May 31st, the eighth day of his tangihanga; a public holiday, was also observed on this day.

Renata Pukututu

Renata Pukututu is the ancestor of the Renata family of Pukehou. Renata's father was Hakaraia Te Tunu. He belonged to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti of the Pātangata district. Renata's mother was Riria Toia who descended from Keke Haunga. This is how Renata acquired his interests in the surrounding blocks of the Pukehou and Te Aute district. Renata was born at Nukutaurua in the 1820s when his parents were there with the chief Pareihe and others from the district living in 'exile' (Napier Minute Book 27. Papa-aruhe Hearing, 1893). On his return to the Te Aute district, a young Renata was introduced to his tribal lands including his ancestral pā near Lake Roto-a-Kiwa; Te Maikuku and Te Umu-a-Tehe (Ibid). Renata spent the rest of his life in the Pukehou district and became an influential man. In his later years, Renata lived next to the main highway near where the Pukehou marae is situated today. Renata, as chief, was a principal land owner in the Pukehou and Te Aute valley and so he was another of the local chiefs present when land was gifted to the Crown, which resulted in the establishment of Te Aute College.

Hoani Waikato

The whakapapa of Hoani in the Pukehou and Te Aute district takes him back to both

Te Wawahanga and Keke Haunga, sons of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti. He therefore inherited his land interests from both of his tīpuna that linked him to Ngāti Manawakawa as well as to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. Hoani was a regular participant and authority in the court hearings recorded in the Māori Land Court minutes of the land blocks throughout the Te Aute and Pukehou district. He was also recognised as an authority on whakapapa as demonstrated in the following excerpts from Māori Land Court minutes by others giving evidence in the court minutes signifying his chiefly status and his chiefly knowledge of the people of the district and their ancestors

Hoani Waikato claimed the land through his ancestor Keke and produced a list of names to be inserted into the title. On 2 December 1869, Renata Pukututu corroborated the evidence of Hoani Waikato. There were no objections to Waikato's claim (Napier Minute Book 2. Te Ipu-o-Taraia Hearing, 1869:102-103, 122).

The island was claimed by Hoani Waikato through the ancestor Paahu ... Ngarue was an adopted son of Paahu, he cultivated the land and gave the produce to Paahu. The living representatives of Ngarue are Tonga, Roka Poroteke, Wheronaika and her son Rapata, Wi Whiriwhiu, Katene and Te Waito. These are the people who used to cultivate the land. It is an island called Moturoa ... Hamana Teiepa agreed with the statements of Waikato ... there were no objections to Waikato's claim (Napier Minute Book 1. Moturoa Hearing, 1866:12-15).

Hoani signed the Treaty of Waitangi with Te Hāpuku and Harawira Mahikai (Wright, 1994), representing Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and was another of the chiefs present in the signing over of land for Te Aute College.

Karaitiana Te Kāhuirangi

Karaitiana's name denotes him being baptised or 'renamed' after the missionaries had made their presence in the district for his name is a transliteration of the word 'Christian'. He was the son of Korito of Ngai Te Rangitekahutia, a local hapū, and Taikiwa who was a descendant of Paahu, the eldest son of Keke Haunga. Accordingly, he inherited his chiefly status from these two chiefs. He along with Te

Hāpuku and Hoani Waikato were a generation older than Renata Pukututu and he too was recognised as an authority in the Māori Land Court minutes of the district's Māori land blocks (see Napier Minute Book 2, 1868; Napier Minute Book 27, 1893). Karaitiana, like his contemporaries was present at the gathering of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti chiefs who donated land for the eventual establishment of Te Aute College.

The Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti Gift

The Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti gift begins with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The assimilation of the tāngata whenua was always high on the list of priorities of the Settler Government and the British Crown (Simon and Smith, 1998). One of the methods of accelerating assimilation of Māori to the life styles and habits of the Pākehā was education and so the establishment of schools for the education of the Aborigines of New Zealand was among the instructions that William Hobson, the first Governor of New Zealand, received (McNab, 1908). Indeed, Collier in his biography of Sir George Grey states that

His highest hopes for the civilization of the natives centred mainly in the education of the children (1909:78).

The Legislative Council of the recently (at that time) annexed New Zealand passed an Educational Ordinance in 1847 giving power to the Government to use public funds to establish and maintain schools, which would be subject to Government inspection annually (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). Under the terms of this Ordinance, the Roman Catholic, Wesleyans and Anglicans were allotted fixed sums of money and grants of land in recognition of the work done by the missionaries. Industrial and agricultural training was the emphasis of the day and so the Missionaries set up boarding schools within farm and rural settings (Ibid).

In 1852, an Anglican minister, the Reverend Samuel Williams, who at that time was working in Otaki, was visited by Governor Grey and asked if he would move to

Hawke's Bay. Grey was anxious about the settlement of Hawke's Bay especially after the sale of the extensive Ahuriri and Waipukurau land blocks in November 1851 to Donald McLean, which he feared would be too rapid for Māori to be able to cope with the sudden changes to their way of life, as they knew it (Wilson, 1976). Grey was probably more worried that Māori and Pākehā might find themselves in conflicting situations. By 1853, the missionary William Colenso had left the district and so the sole Christian influence had also been removed meaning that there was the danger of conflict in the potentially troublesome area. As it was, the sale of land brought local Māori into conflict with each other as is exactly what happened when

Hostilities began with clashes on 18 August, 14 October and 9 December 1857; in each case Te Hāpuku's party came off slightly worse and in the last battle his kinsman Puhara lost his life (Ballara, 1991:162).

Pākehā settlers too were vying for land even though Governor Grey's land regulations made it illegal for private individuals to purchase directly from Māori (Wilson, 1976) and, they were also competing among themselves; especially with the large run holders who were Pākehā men of significant wealth and capital. To further lure Williams, Grey offered him 4,000 acres, money, and stock to support the establishment of a school. He also stated that he would try to get Māori to give an equal amount of land. Governor Grey was very persistent (Woods, 1997) and must have been confident in Samuel Williams' ability to manage a sensitive and crucially important state of affairs to have selected him in the first place for the role at Te Aute.

On April 17th 1853, Samuel Williams, Governor Grey and other officials met with Māori on the island Te Awarua-a-Porirua at Lake Roto-a-Tara, Pukehou to ask them to donate some land to match that which the crown had already gifted to Williams. As already mentioned, Lake Roto-a-Tara was a place of special significance to local Māori. It had been the centre of much inter-tribal fighting as well as the romantic setting for the union of Te Huhuti and Te Whatuiāpiti. It was once again being employed for an event, which would prove to be of historical importance. The following letter of deed, signed by rangatira of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti was written for Governor Grey. This deed gifted what they called their home to the Crown for the

specific purpose of educating their children

*Te Roto-a-Tara
April 18th 1853*

E hoa, e te Kāwana, tēnei tō mātou kāinga ka tukua noatia atu ki a koe, arā, ki te Kuini. Māu e whakahoki atu, e whakapūmau hoki ki te Pihopa o Niu Tirenī, Ā ērā atu Pihopa hoki o Niu Tirenī. Āmua tū hei Kareti, kura rānei hei whakatipu i ā mātou tamariki, i a te Pākehā hoki kia tuputahi ai hei iwi tahi ki roto o te whakapono ki a te Karaiti, a te Whakarongo hoki ki te Kuini. Ko ngā rohe tēnei: - Ohinewahine, Kahatarewa, Te Whatupungapunga, Te Matauwahine, ko Te Awarua, Te Karaka, Puketarata, Manganui, Te Mapu, Purapura, hikitia Wharerau Te Karaka, Ohere Oreke, Te Kōwhai, rere mai, Waipapa ki te Kupenga, whakaeke ki Whangaipoka, rere atu ki Te Raroa, ka mutu i konei, rere mai, Te Totara, Te Umu-a-Tehe, Te Kōpua, Te Karamu, Paraeroa, Te Reinga, Paewhenua, Kōpuatoto, Ohinemanuhiri hoki. Ko ngā rohe ēnei o te wāhi tuatahi.

Ko te tuarua tēnei: - Ka timataia i tāwāhi o Te Aute. Ko Te Weranga o te Hei, rere atu, Te Ipu o Te Kakahiwi, Te Ruatītī, Te Hinga-a-kura, ki Matutūowhiro, Takanga o Tamakura, Ngā-puna-a-muia-i-rangi, Te Tupuhi, Te Pakihiwi-o-Mutu, Te Onepu, Manga-o-tai, Maramatitaha, Te Wai o Te Wiwikura, Te Ruakaka, Te Ahirara o Te Houkura. Heoti anō, ka mutu i konei.

Nā: Hupata Wheao, Marakaia Rite, Te Waaka Rewharewha, Erina Mokuru, Karaitiana Kāhui, Maika Iwikatea, Taukere. Nā mātou tēnei te pukapuka nā te huihuinga o te komiti ki Te Roto-a-Tara whakaatanga. Mō te kupu o Kāwana, ko ia tēnei. Nā mātou katoa: - Te Hāpuku, Ani Te Patu, Paraone Hakihaki, Wiremu Tipuna, Haimona Pita Te Pui, Hoani Waikato, Renata Pukututu, Paora Neia, Tamati Hapimana, Te Waaka Rewharewha, Paora Nikahaere, Raharuhi Takapau.

Here is an English translation of the letter:

Friend, Governor, we hereby and of our own free will make over to you, that is, to the Queen, a piece or portion of land for the purpose of being by you, eventually transferring in a permanent manner to the Bishop of New Zealand for the purposes of a college or school for the education of our own children and those of the white people, that they may grow up as one people, in the same Christian faith and in obedience to the Queen. These then are the boundaries of the gift: - Ohinewahine, Kahatarewa, Te

Whatupungapunga, Te Matauwahine, onto Te Awarua, Te Karaka, Puketarata, Manganui, Te Mapu, Purapura, up to Wharerau Te Karaka, Ohere Oreke, Te Kōwhai, onto Waipapa ki te Kupenga, then up to Whangaipoka, onto Te Raroa where the boundary end; starting again at Te Totara, Te Umu-a-Tehe, Te Kōpua, Te Karamu, Paraeroa, Te Reinga, Paewhenua, Kōpuatoto and back to Ohinemanuhiri.

The second part starts on the other side of Te Aute at Te Weranga o te Hei, then onto Te Ipu o Te Kakahiwi, Te Ruatīfī, Te Hinga-a-kura, then to Matutūowhiro, Takanga o Tamakura, Ngā-puna-a-muia-i-rangi, Te Tupuhi, onto Te Pakihiwi-o-Mutu, Te Onepu, Manga-o-tai, Maramatitaha, Te Wai o Te Wiwikura, Te Ruakaka, ending at Te Ahirara o te Houkura. And so, here it finishes.

Signed: Hupata Wheao, Marakaia Rite, Te Waaka Rewharewha, Erina Mokuru, Karaitiana Kāhui, Maika Iwikatea, Taukere. This deed was drawn up by us at the general meeting at Roto-a-Tara, having thus complied with the wish of the Governor. Done by us all. Signed: Te Hāpuku, Ani Te Patu, Paraone Hakihaki, Wiremu Tipuna, Haimona Pita Te Pui, Hoani Waikato, Renata Pukututu, Paora Neia, Tamati Hapimana, Te Waaka Rewharewha, Paora Nikahaere, Raharuhi Takapau (Grey, NZ Māori Autograph Series. Volume 14).

It is widely recorded that the amount of land granted for Williams to establish a school was in the vicinity of 7397 acres (AJHR, 1906; Williams, 1968; Wilson, 1976; Woods, 1997). 4,244 acres of this was originally issued under the Waste Lands Act 1856, but it was later recognised that 244 acres of this grant in fact belonged to local Māori of the Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hapū. A summary of this transaction reveals that the land gained by the Crown from Māori

Was granted upon trust as an endowment for a school (Alexander, 1951:39).

This transaction was completed by two separate grants that were dated 10th June 1857 and, that were issued under the Native Reserves Act 1856. The wording in the Māori grant reads

To hold unto the said George Augustus Lord Bishop of New Zealand and his successors for ever upon trust as an endowment for a school to be

maintained in the district of Ahuriri aforesaid for the benefit of aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand (Ibid:271).

This wording differs from that of the Crown grant, which reads

To hold unto the said George Augustus Lord Bishop of New Zealand and his successors for ever upon trust as an endowment for a school to be maintained in the district of Ahuriri aforesaid for the education of our subjects of both races in New Zealand (Ibid:269).

The endowment acreage mentioned above indicates that the Crown gave 4000 acres, which came from the Waipukurau Block purchase of 1851 between Te Hāpuku and Donald Mclean. This purchase is the subject among others of a Treaty of Waitangi claim by Heretaunga and Tamatea claimants today before the Waitangi Tribunal. The remaining figure equates to 3397 acres being bequeathed by Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. However, while this has been the widely recognised and documented figure throughout the last 154 years, as mentioned earlier, recent research by concerned parties has uncovered more acreage that was originally donated by Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. This too has now become the crux of another Treaty of Waitangi claim before the Waitangi Tribunal that cannot be commented further on at this time due to ethical considerations and confidentiality reasons.

Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Mana Whenua Today

Both the Te Aute Trust Board and the Te Aute College Board of Trustees (see Chapter Four) have specific roles, functions and responsibilities that culminate in the well-being of the school, its students and staff in conjunction with the tāngata whenua; Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti who hold the mana whenua. This chapter has explored these whakapapa links that Te Aute College has with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, its subsidiary hapū and to the earlier inhabitants of the district, Rangitāne and Ngai Tara. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti had a specific vision for the education of their children in 1853, as did the Church and the Crown in terms of education for all. This vision has transcended time to accommodate change, new knowledge and new technology.

However, from the perspective of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, this vision has remained firmly entrenched in the same consecrated ground in which it was first sown; land that at times has been prosperous and fruitful and that has caused Te Aute to prosper; land, which at other times has lacked nourishment causing Te Aute to decline but never die.

From the time whence the Crown Deeds were signed, the Te Aute Endowment Land has been a contentious issue as is evidenced by the Royal Commission hearings in the late 19th century, the early 20th century and the eventual integration of Te Aute College into the State education system in 1975 (see Chapter Three). Te Aute College unlike many other educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand has a unique connection with the tāngata whenua of its geographical location. While it is common practice and indeed educational policy today for mainstream schools to develop and maintain relationships with their local Māori communities (Ministry of Education, 2000), Te Aute College's relationship with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti goes back to 1853 and beyond. Kura Kaupapa Māori, the first of which was established in 1984 (see Smith, 1990) have distinct relationships with their local iwi and Māori communities too but these interactions are more recent and the histories of the first Kura Kaupapa Māori are only some 25 years old.

As tāngata whenua of the district, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hold mana whenua. This affirmation is undisputed as has been exemplified and documented throughout this chapter. The history of the relationship between the Anglican Church, the Te Aute Trust Board and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti is nearly as old as the college itself and while the relations between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and the Te Aute Trust Board have fluctuated at times, causing strain. Rightly or wrongly, the Te Aute Endowment Land has been the cause of such strain. Nonetheless, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti today aspire to an effectively and efficiently run educational institution as was originally envisaged by its chiefs back in 1853.

Whakapapa, Land and Education

The snapshot of the history of the wider Te Aute and Heretaunga districts covered in

this chapter represents an ongoing theme throughout the centuries and that theme is the land of the Te Aute valley; or the whenua, the papakāinga or what some Māori would also refer to as Papatūānuku. It is for this very reason that Te Aute College has a whakapapa that exists far beyond 1854. Te Aute has a spiritual link to the very land that it is built on, that is, a whakapapa or umbilical attachment to the land it sits on unlike the majority (but not all) of other educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The expansion of Pākehā settlement in the Ngāti Kahungunu region during the mid 19th century was rapid as it was in many parts of Aotearoa New Zealand (Wilson, 1976; Belich, 2001; King, 2003). At its outset, the historical examination of the establishment of Te Aute College can be interpreted as essentially a State mechanism for control over the wider Hawkes Bay district, which included social control, land acquisition as well as the control of land sales. Its establishment brought about the return of a missionary presence in Hawkes Bay as well as a State presence by virtual of the Crown Deeds that had been signed between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Anglican Church and the Crown. Te Aute College therefore has an important place nationally and locally in Pukehou and among the wider rohe of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti; not merely as a physical presence but also in a spiritual and social essence that recognises the links between the past and present. These aspects are pertinent to the objectives of this thesis in that while whakapapa establishes clear parameters for the research, there is a dual Māori focus too. This focus centres on examining a contribution to Māori advancement and the potential for establishing research guidelines for other educational institutions that have a special character similar to Te Aute College but that are contextually and geographically distinctive. That is, learning institutions established to meet the needs of Māori learners today, could utilise the notion of whakapapa to realise their own potential in order to contribute to Māori advancement and to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Summary

This chapter has provided a historical background to the establishment of Te Aute

College. It has also culturally contextualised Te Aute College and in doing so has geographically, physically and spiritually located Te Aute College within the tribal boundaries and histories of Ngai Tara, Rangitāne, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. Accordingly, a whakapapa of the pre-establishment history of Te Aute College albeit brief, has shown its relationship to Papatūānuku, to the land and to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti; the hau kāinga. In doing so, this chapter has revealed that the whakapapa of Te Aute College did not begin in 1854 or even on April 17th 1853 rather, in terms of te ira tangata or human ancestry of the district, it began with the original inhabitants of the Te Aute valley in the time of the ancestor Tara. It must also be reiterated that this whakapapa did not begin with Tara or his parents but from his and our ancestors who traversed the Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (Pacific Ocean) to Aotearoa

from Hawaiki⁶ (discussed in Chapter Five) as part of the distinctive migration traditions held by all iwi throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Five extends further on whakapapa, its origins and explication in terms of this thesis and so demonstrates the growth capabilities of whakapapa as a research methodology as opposed to what might be perceived at first glance as more of an ‘inward’ or deconstructionist approach to research. It is of paramount importance to this thesis that the reasons for the establishment of Te Aute College are clear. For instance, a brief historical overview indicates that there was a strong thrust by local Māori to strive for an environment that had a sense of being ‘strong in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds’ mentality; while not all Māori agreed with such a notion, indeed the notion was significant for a number of Māori nationally.

Chapter Three will provide a chronological historical overview of Te Aute College since its establishment. This account will be supported by images of key moments, events, personnel, trials and tribulations of a place that has managed to stand the test of time and that we know today as Te Aute College.

⁶ Hawaiki is the place from whence the Indigenous Māori people originally came from as they journeyed the Pacific Ocean before their eventual arrival at Aotearoa – New Zealand (see Penniman, 1938). Distinctive iwi oral narratives maintain this tradition as each iwi and waka have their own specific histories relating to their ancestors actually leaving Hawaiki, the undertakings of the journey across the Pacific Ocean and final settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Three

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TE AUTE COLLEGE

PART A: 1854 -1921

Hei Whakatipu i a mātou tamariki, i a te Pākehā hoki; kia tuputahi ai - so that our children and the Pākehā too can grow as one

Introduction

This chapter is by no means a definitive history of Te Aute College. It is merely an account of the history of Te Aute College since its establishment over 150 years ago. To do justice to the complete story of Te Aute College, one would need to undertake the mammoth task of interviewing the thousands of people who hold part of that oral and documented history in their family archives and then collate that information into another book which focuses solely on that topic. Nonetheless, as recent as 2005, a book titled *Te Aute College: - Koiri 1854 – 2004* was produced to celebrate 150 years of Te Aute College. Mr John Wehipeihana a former teacher at Te Aute College is the editor of this book that is a collation of contributions from former publications, past pupils, past staff as well as current pupils, staff members and the wider whānau of Te Aute. The book is not a complete history or a documentary of Te Aute College rather it ‘captures the spirit’ of the first 150 years of Te Aute College. Therefore it is the intention of this chapter to set a context for this thesis that details significant events and milestones specifically related to Te Aute College and that have helped to shape the college into what it is today. In doing so, this chapter continues on from the previous chapter and explores the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Samuel Williams

Introduced in the previous chapter, Samuel Williams arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1823 as a one year old with his parents, Henry and Marianne. He grew up in the Bay of Islands where he mastered the Māori language as well as tikanga Māori, especially whaikōrero (Woods, 1997). He learned farming there too before going onto St. John's College in Waimate to embark on his theological training. The college then moved to Auckland where he was ordained into the Anglican Church in 1846 (Ibid). Samuel then married Mary Williams, daughter of William and Jane Williams, his first cousin and in 1847, he was sent to Otaki to take charge of the Otaki mission where he was responsible for the establishment of the Otaki Māori Boys' School that accommodated up to 100 boys, the mission farm and, the construction of the Rangiātea Māori Church in Otaki.

Due to the successful establishment of this school under the direction of Williams, it is explicable to see why Williams was perhaps seconded by Governor Grey to undertake the mission at Te Aute; such was his mana among both the Māori (who had had contact with Williams before) and Pākehā populations, including the Church and the Crown. Along with his wife and infant daughter Lydia, they left Otaki for Hawke's Bay in October of 1854, arriving at Lake Roto-a-Tara on November 15th somewhat weary and lighter in terms of losing some of their possessions after the long, rugged trip through dense bush and uncleared forests. To make matters worse, upon arrival at Pukehou, no house had been built as promised by Governor Grey to accommodate them (Alexander, 1951).

This founding period proved to be a time of strenuous toil fraught with teething problems. In order to farm the land, it had to be cleared of the bush that covered it. Raupo huts were built on land offered by Māori and became the first classroom where reading, writing and arithmetic along with the gospel was first taught to the original students. Concurrently, Williams was the farmer, the headmaster and the missionary tending to his "flock" and this entailed travelling throughout the wider community (Woods, 1997). Another impediment hindering the establishment of a school at Te

Aute came about with the introduction of the Native Schools Act 1858⁷.

Previously, as promised by Governor Grey, Williams was to receive an annual grant of £300, but this funding was cut to £10 per student under the new Act (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). With a small roll, which had been steadily falling since 1856 (in 1858 there were five young males and no females), it was necessary to close Te Aute in 1859, much to the detriment of the local Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti people, until the land could be developed so that it might support a college (Woods, 1997). In the ensuing decade, an intensive programme of developing the Te Aute Endowment Land was undertaken by Williams who became the sole trustee acting on behalf of the trustees of the Te Aute Endowment Land (Ibid). Ten years after closing, a Royal Commission of Inquiry was set up in 1869⁸ to investigate what was happening with the Te Aute Endowment Land and the Te Aute Trust.

The 1869 Royal Commission of Inquiry

The Commissioners found that although the value of the land had increased significantly from its original worth as had the stock, and that the building situation had been improved, the Te Aute Endowment Land was still not bringing in enough revenue to run a school (Ibid). Government education grants ceased in 1859 (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974) and so the school had no income to sustain itself at that time. The Commissioners also found that the Māori land donors had received little benefit from their gift, their young ones had grown into adulthood and still there

⁷ The Native Schools Act 1858 granted an annual sum of £7 000 for a term of seven years. It was limited though to schools with connections to religious bodies and aid was only to be given where pupils were both boarded and educated. These financial clauses of the 1858 Act proved to be nearly as bad as the arrangements previously in force. Of the £10 per head annually paid to the religious bodies' education boards usually about £6 or £7 was paid out to schools. This amount rarely sufficed to keep a child, and the result of the system was to push a declining school down (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974:pp.78-89)

⁸ The Royal Commission of Inquiry, 1869, was held to investigate the ongoing affairs at Te Aute or the lack of. That is, there was still no education facility since it closed in 1859. As a result of pressure from local chiefs wanting their land back or compensation for its loss as well as a growing Māori and general public's suspicion about Williams' trusteeship of the land, the Inquiry was established (Alexander, 1951). Two more Royal Commission of Inquiries into Te Aute College were held, the second in 1875 and the third in 1906.

was no school (Alexander, 1951). One of the local Māori chiefs and donors of the land, Renata Pukututu summed up how he felt in his letter to the Commission

Te Aute, 20th April 1869.

To the Governor, Sir –

Salutations to you. Mr. Locke has been here, asking for some man to give evidence of the reasons why we gave the land for the school at Te Aute. I will tell you all about it. The reason why we gave that land was because the Governor and Bishop Selwyn asked for it in the year 1850, or sometime after, as a place for teaching of our children, and a place for our children to be fed at. That is the reason why we gave it, at the request of the Governor and the Bishop. It was done. But no school has been on the land at Te Aute up to the present time. This is what I have to say is, that the land given belonged to myself and Hoani Waikato. What we are very desirous is, that a school should be built on the land forthwith, as we have a great many children growing up ignorant and foolish, and untaught in the good work of the school. That is all –

From

Renata Te Pukututu (In Alexander, 1951:12).

In terms of Williams' position as sole trustee, the Commission eventually found in favour of Williams, who had wanted to make improvements to the Te Aute Endowment Land in order to provide a sound financial base from which a boarding school could be built and be self-sufficient. However, the Commission made it clear that the school must re-open (Ibid). Before the new buildings could be built though, there was an immediate need for capital to fund the project; all was not as straight forward as it seemed. Meanwhile, Samuel's uncle (and father-in-law) William Williams, the Bishop of Waiapu, along with his wife Jane had established and run a mission school at Waerenga-a-hika, inland from Gisborne. This school flourished from 1859 to 1865 at which time it was abandoned due to being destroyed in fighting between the Hauhau and government forces (Jenkins and Matthews, 1995). Bishop Williams moved his family to Napier, a safer environment where they could establish another mission school on land they had purchased on Mataruahau (Bluff Hill).

At this time Bishop Williams also advanced a loan for the building of the Te Aute School and at the same time set aside part of their land on Mataruahau for a Māori girls' school on Hukarere Road (Ibid). On September 15th 1871, R.H. Holt, Napier, signed the contract to build a school at Te Aute and the government architect Mr

Clayton, drew up the plans. These buildings were completed on June 21st 1872 and the school re-opened with Mr James Reynolds as Headmaster until 1877 (Alexander, 1951). By this time there were 35 students on the roll but, during this period, there were a number of letters written to newspapers, hui were held and petitions regarding the dissatisfaction of both Māori and the Pākehā settlers led to a motion being put to Parliament by Mr. Henry Russell

That it was expedient that the main object of the Trust - the formation of the school for the aboriginal inhabitants, should be carried out without delay (In Alexander, 1951:67)

The motion was put forward after the Report of the Select Committee on the Te Aute College Endowment Land had been communicated on the 16th October 1875. After the hearing and recommendations had been made, there continued to be discord with regard to the value of the property, fair rental rates and the renewing of the lease to Williams with allegations of nepotism based on trustee membership; Bishop Hadfield, Williams' brother-in-law was a trustee (Ibid). There was a feeling amongst some of the influential Māori of that time including leading chiefs such as Te Hāpuku, Renata Kawepo, Karaitiana Takamoana, Wi Parata and Henare Tomoana that among other suggestions, the Crown grants should be disregarded and that the land should be returned to its original owners. The primary reasons being that it had taken too long for the school to be established and that many of the local children had missed the chance at an education. The following is a section taken from a petition belonging to Te Hapuku and 168 others presented to the Native Affairs Committee in 1877

The petitioners state that more than fifteen years ago the chiefs and people of Te Aute, in Hawkes Bay, gave between three and four thousand acres of land to be invested in trustees for the establishment and maintenance of a school for the benefit of the Māori tribes, and that Sir George Grey, the then Governor of the colony, set apart for the same purpose an adjoining block, making in all seven thousand and five hundred acres.

The petitioners go on to say that in 1855 a school was started by the Rev S Williams, but that, owing to management, which they consider objectionable, the attendance decreased until the school had to be closed; that within the last three years the school has been reopened, but that the children attending are mostly from the tribes at a distance, which the petitioners consider wrong, as the land was intended to be set apart for the benefit of the Ahuriri Natives (In Alexander, 1951:69-70).

Once again Williams was thought upon favourably at the hearing and the committee felt that the management of the Te Aute Endowment Land had been good and that its increased value was due to his exertions. There was a further Royal Commission of Inquiry in 1906 (discussed later in the chapter) that once again centred on the Endowment Land but that this time also included a focus on the curriculum.

Hukarere

Hukarere Native School for Girls was officially opened on July 5th 1875 under the guidance of William and Jane Williams' daughter, Maria Williams who became the Lady Superintendent with assistance from her sisters, Kate and Marianne. The Bishop painstakingly sought government assistance to build Hukarere School, however the actual building expenses came from private funds (Jenkins and Matthews, 1995). These funds were provided for by the Te Aute Trust as were ongoing maintenance funds in an unofficial arrangement between the Bishop William Williams and Samuel Williams. In exchange for government funding through way of an annual grant, Hukarere became a 'Native School' under the jurisdiction of the Native Affairs Department. At the outset, Hukarere was accorded a lesser status than its brother school, Te Aute College

As a Native School we were not as nearly as 'flash' as our brothers' who were at a College (White in Jenkins and Mathews, 1995).

By the early 1890s, key persons and family members responsible for the establishment of Hukarere had either aged significantly or died, the latter of which included Bishop Williams (Ibid). Maria Williams therefore sought to formalise the maintenance funds provided by the Te Aute Trust under the provisions of the Hukarere Native Girls' School Act 1892⁹. At this time, the school and property were transferred to the Te Aute Trust in exchange for ongoing property maintenance (Ibid) and the Te Aute Trust was now the proprietors for both Te Aute College and Hukarere School and was responsible to the Anglican Church.

⁹ The Hukarere Native Girls' School Act 1892 incorporated Hukarere into the Te Aute Trust, which provided for part of the endowment income that Te Aute received to be used to maintain Hukarere (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974).

The Thornton Years

In 1878 Reverend John Thornton was appointed headmaster of the College. Thornton was born in Yorkshire and after graduating from Highbury College he joined the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and along with his wife spent 11 years working in India. Due to his wife's ill health they moved to New Zealand where he accepted the Rectorship of Oamaru Grammar School (Alexander, 1951). It was from here that he was appointed headmaster of Te Aute College, which then had a roll of 39 boys. The curriculum at this time was an elementary one based upon reading, writing, arithmetic (the 'three R's'), geography as well as religious studies. On his appointment, Samuel Williams left the teaching and administration of the College up to the new headmaster so that he could focus on his parish work and the management of the Te Aute Endowment Land (Ibid). Thornton and Samuel Williams made a formidable pair whose influence was felt far beyond the college. Both were influential in the affairs of the Diocese of Waiapu, the General Synod of the Anglican Church and they also had frequent contact with local Māori chiefs and politicians especially in the period of the Te Aute Conferences (Ibid). By the mid-1880s, the student roll of the college had increased to over 50, which required an assistant teacher to be appointed and, an academic curriculum had been introduced by Thornton consisting of English, Latin, Euclid, algebra, arithmetic and physiology; subjects of the matriculation examination, a requirement for entry into university (Ibid).

The Introduction of an Academic Curriculum

The direction of education of the period was based on a policy of assimilation and overtly promoted a manual and technical curriculum for Māori and to prepare Māori for jobs on leaving school

For much of the period between 1900 and 1940 there were aspects of official policy for Māori which reflected a narrow and limited view of Māori potential and the role of Māoris in New Zealand society: the place for Māori was in the country rather than in towns and the 'natural genius' of the Māori lay in manual labour rather than in the country's expanding professional, commercial and government sectors (Barrington, 1992:58).

On the other hand, Thornton believed that the aim of Te Aute College was to provide leaders for the Māori people and so the educational aims of Te Aute College needed to support this belief. He wanted the Māori students at Te Aute College to have access to higher education (Alexander, 1951), which ultimately brought him into conflict with the Department of Education including the Premier, Richard Seddon where the thinking at the time was on extending technical and agricultural instruction to Māori. Seddon for instance stated that

Te Aute taught its pupils first 'how to go to heaven' and secondly 'to become gentlemen without means' (Ibid:93).

However, Thornton was adamant on maintaining a 'Grammar School' curriculum (Ibid) and so by the turn of the 20th century, the academic standards at Te Aute College were significantly advanced where a number of Te Aute boys had already gone on to become doctors, politicians, lawyers, clergymen and emerging leaders of the Māori people. The fact that these young men quickly became Māori leaders in their respective fields was timely, for this period saw a rapid decline in the population of the Māori people and in the overall health, cultural, economic and social status of Māori. Durie for instance notes that just over 100 years ago

In 1896, the population reached its lowest ebb. At 42 000 there was every reason to believe that survival had come to an end and that the next millennium, if not the next century, would see the passing of the Māori (2003:20).

Nonetheless, in defiance of this prospect, the Māori survived (Ibid) and it is fitting to mention here that a number of Te Aute old boys along with their male and female peers at other Māori boarding schools of the period, contributed significantly to the renaissance of the Māori people. Some of these prominent Te Aute old boys included Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Maui Pomare, Sir Peter Buck, Reverend Reweti Kohere, Dr Tutere Wirepa, Sir Turi Carroll, Paraire Tomoana and Dr Edward Ellison to mention a few; and in retrospect, they certainly justified Thornton's ideals as is explained in the following passage he made at the 1906 Royal Commission of Inquiry

I tried from the very first to raise the standard of the school and a few years later I conceived the idea of preparing Māori boys for the matriculation examination of the New Zealand University. What led me to this idea was that I felt that Māori should not be shut out from any chance of competing with English boys in the matter of higher education. I saw that the time would come,

when the Māoris would wish to have their own doctors, their own lawyers, and their own clergymen, and I felt it was only just to the race to provide facilities for their doing so (Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives, 1906. G-5, p.32).

The Te Aute College Students' Association

In 1887 three students of the college, Maui Pomare, Reweti Kohere and Timutimu Tāwhai spent their summer vacation walking around the Māori pā and kāinga of Hawke's Bay promoting a healthy lifestyle (Alexander, 1951; Lange, 1999), such was the poor state of Māori living conditions; no doubt a reflection of colonisation, land loss, assimilation and cultural change. While they were not successful in their tour due to the resistance from many Māori taking exception to 'young' Māori preaching Pākehā values on the marae, their passion ignited the formation of the Association for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Māori Race (AACMR) at the college in 1891 (Ibid). The realisation of the huge challenge of introducing change among Māori communities and that it wasn't going to happen overnight brought out the determination and commitment of these Te Aute boys and their successors. For instance, such was the socio-economic, cultural and political understanding of these young men that they established the Te Aute College Student's Association (TACSA), which had its first conference on January 29th 1897 (Ibid). At the opening of this inaugural conference, Thornton the chairman, stated that the immediate aim of the TACSA was to unite past and present students of the college with the intentions of creating an instrument by which

Reform work might be carried on amongst the Māoris. Reform could not be forced on a people, but the suggestion must come from within, from the people themselves (In Alexander, 1951:108).

TACSA conferences were held every year around the country and were addressed by old boys including Buck, Ngata, Kohere, Pomare, Wirepa, Tomoana and Hamiora Hei who spoke on issues such as Māori employment, politics, Māori land, education, health and sanity, religion and, the debilitating effects of alcohol on the Māori people (Ibid). In 1902 a resolution was put forward by Ngata to widen the constitution of the TACSA to be inclusive of other Māori colleges and institutions because everything

about the Association now was not only about Te Aute boys but all Māori people. Consequently, the constitution was amended and the name of the Association was changed to the Young Māori Association (Ibid). Ngata realised that worthwhile results would be achieved only through existing tribal organisations, and generally this was the method under which the Young Māori Association functioned. As its programme was aimed at influencing Parliament to obtain legislation directly beneficial to the Māori (Butterworth and Young, 1990), it became essential for a member of the party to enter the House of Representatives. In 1905, Ngata was elected a Member of Parliament, where he remained until 1943. The Young Māori Party was a further development of this Association (Ibid).

Whakatangata Kia Kaha

The college crest and motto were developed in the 1890s under Williams and Thornton in association with the students and old boys. They were both finalised in 1896 (Alexander, 1951). The arms have been adapted from those of the Diocese of Waiapu whose Bishops have administered the Trust for over 150 years (see Chapter Four). The motto '*Whakatangata kia kaha*' translates as '*Quit ye like men be strong*'. This is taken from the New Testament of the Holy Bible, Verse 13, Chapter 16 of the First Letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians. The motto also appeared on the badge of the 31st reinforcements to the 1st NZ Expeditionary Force in World War I and was also the subject of the final hymn sung at the opening of the Churchill Block in 1922 (Wehipeihana, 2005).

Rugby - The Early Days

While the college had established its academic reputation by the turn of the 20th century, without a doubt, rugby or football as it was called then put Te Aute College on the map for the prestige of Te Aute in football from the mid-1880s to the early 1900s was outstanding (Alexander, 1951). This reputation was not only well known among secondary schools but among the senior Hawke's Bay club competition as well where the Te Aute College 1st XV won the senior club championship a number

of times during this period. Notable players in this period included Thomas (T.R) Ellison and Davy Gage, who as Te Aute old boys were members of the Native Football Team that toured New Zealand, Australia and England in 1888-1889; Ellison later captained the New Zealand team in 1893 (Ibid). In 1897 the Te Aute College 1st and 2nd XV's first played Wanganui Collegiate in a fixture at Palmerston North (both schools were established in 1854) where Wanganui won both games. This traditional rugby fixture is one of the oldest among secondary schools where games are still played today between the two schools. During this period it was common for the Hawke's Bay senior representative football team to have Te Aute boys in its team as the following passage confirms

The year 1900 was indeed one of the most successful of a series of successful years. Te Aute won the Hawke's Bay Championship and the match against Wanganui; they had seven members in the H.B. representative team (Ibid:167).

Thornton also used football to increase the boys' experiences and opportunities and so in 1904, Te Aute College toured internationally where Thornton and an assistant teacher Anson Cato took twenty boys on a six match rugby tour of New South Wales, Australia, where they won three matches, drew two and lost one. The college also participated in cricket, tennis, and athletics and had an excellent cadet unit during Thornton's reign but rugby football was by far the greatest extra-curricular activity (Ibid).

The 1906 Royal Commission of Inquiry

In 1906 a 3rd Royal Commission of Inquiry was held to investigate the affairs of the Te Aute Trust who were responsible for administering the Te Aute Endowment Land to ascertain whether the terms had been faithfully adhered to and to define the curriculum of the college. The following excerpts are taken from the submissions of Inspector-General Hogben and other Department Inspectors at the hearing and demonstrate the Department of Education's determination to implement a manual and technical curriculum in the Māori denomination boarding colleges such as Te Aute

When the plans for agricultural instruction and other practical subjects were fully established, Te Aute would have no role to play in preparing boys for matriculation and higher education (AJHR. 1906. G-5, p.84).

It was important for the Māori to be trained to 'use his hands intelligently', (but) I do not think that should go to the length of making him an artisan (Ibid:E-2, p.100).

With respect to industrial training of Māoris, I think we should endeavour to make the Māori a handy-man as far as possible (Ibid:E-2, p.101).

Te Aute's interests and submissions were made by Samuel Williams and John Thornton and also encompassed the general views of Māori parents which consisted of the views that

The academic instruction Te Aute provided was what Māori parents wanted; instruction in agriculture would be against their wishes because their attitude was we can teach this (agriculture) ourselves. We sent them to you not to be taught what they can learn at home, but to teach them what they cannot get at home (Ibid:E-3, p.25).

Te Aute, a school where the best Māori intellects could be developed, should never be done away with: the most promising boys should go to Te Aute and be 'sent to university' (Ibid:E-1, p.71).

We did not send our boys to Te Aute to learn to plough - we can teach them at home; we sent them there so that they may receive a good secondary education and so be placed to compete with English boys in the higher walks of life (Ibid:E-1, p.224).

Under Thornton, the reputation of Te Aute College for academic excellence was such that St Stephen's Māori boarding school encouraged its 'top' students to go there, which is reflected in the following submission

We do not give any boys secondary education.... We are very glad to have Te Aute to send our particularly clever boys to, I think it would be a loss if there was no such place (Ibid:G-5, p.34).

Recommendations to be made from the Royal Commission of Inquiry included that both Te Aute College and Hukarere should be maintained as secondary schools, that Te Aute especially should give prominence to an agricultural, manual and technical curriculum at the expense of other subjects with Hukarere concentrating on the latter two areas and that the schools be reconstructed with suitable amenities (Alexander,

1951; Woods, 1997). These areas had to be improved on and progress reported back to the Department of Education. In regards to the Te Aute Trust, recommendations included that the number of Trustees be five, that Māori representation should also be included on the Trust, powers to appoint Trustees were made, auditing was to be on an annual basis, there should also be appointed a [non-trustee] solicitor, secretary and general agent and; that the Te Aute Endowment Land be sub-divided (Alexander, 1951).

This latter condition has been a most contentious issue for Te Aute College since this time due to the nature of the sub-division of the Endowment Land. The eventual sub-division of the Endowment Land was performed in a manner consistent with crown policy of the day that revolved around getting settlers onto land as well as enabling them to eke out a living from the land. Consequently, the land to be sub-divided was leased under a system known as ‘Glasgow’¹⁰ leases. Indeed, the Endowment Land has become the basis of a forthcoming Treaty of Waitangi claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, introduced briefly in the previous chapter. The five Trustees appointed after the recommendations were made were the Right Reverend the Bishop of Waiapu, Captain the Honourable H.R. Russell, J.H. Coleman, J.M. Fielder and J.N. Williams.

Thornton’s Legacy

Prior to the 11th TACSA Conference in 1907, the news of Archdeacon Williams’ death, one of the fathers of the movement, cast a great sadness among all those associated with Te Aute College (Ibid). At this Conference, it is said that all of the papers presented were done so by Te Aute old boys, considering that the Association was now a pan-tribal one; subjects were varied and showed the diverse and capable

¹⁰ Glasgow leases are perpetually renewable leases with 21 year rent reviews. These leases are a leasehold structure that requires the rental to be fixed at a rent per annum that doesn’t change for a term of 21 years; after which it is reviewed either to a predetermined percentage of the land value or to a market rental for a further 21 year term. Interestingly, the latter has never happened for Te Aute College. The improvements on the land are developed, owned and managed by the lessee. There have always been tensions in this leasehold land system as each rent review brings about competing perspectives, the lessor seeking the maximum rental after a long period of no rental increase and the lessee endeavouring to protect its interest in the investment by keeping the rent at the minimum level.

talents of Te Aute old boys (Ibid). In his final sitting as chairman, Thornton's opening address reflected upon the grand and national status that the TACSA had attained. He opened the 1910 Conference at Waipawa by referring to the previous Wellington Conference

I recall the grand spectacle presented in the Wellington Town Hall on the opening day. There were gathered together on the platform the Governor of the Colony, the Chief Ministers of the State, prominent representatives of the Bench and the Church, representatives of education and last but not least a striking assemblage of Māori chiefs and representatives of the Young Māori Party. It was a thrilling scene with wide significance (In Alexander 1951:121).

Thornton was determined to develop a generation of young men who could work, play and study hard, men who would become role models in their own right. Sir Peter Buck, paid tribute to this period in his life in a letter to Richard Webb in 1951, the headmaster of Te Aute College. Whilst writing this tribute, Buck outlined his policy ideas for a healthy Māori leadership and he stressed the role of the college

In Te Aute there prevails the spirit of stimulation and progress that augurs well for the future of the Māori people. I do not think that there was anything extraordinary about Api Ngata, Maui Pomare and others of our generation, but we studied hard at Te Aute and we made the most of the opportunities that came our way (<http://www.nzedge.com/heroes/buck.html>).

In 1912, John Thornton resigned as headmaster of Te Aute College due to ill health and died a year later. His time at Te Aute College built up its academic record and a reputation for Māori secondary education of the highest order. For instance, the many young Māori scholars who went on to have outstanding careers were often referred to as the 'Thornton boys', such was his reputation

It was obvious that Thornton had a vision: an opinion that Te Aute must provide the leadership of the race. To do this, examination success was essential - matriculation, the examination of the accepted standard ...undoubtedly too, Thornton's views were producing practical results. Small but important numbers of boys were passing the matriculation examination (Dwyer, E. 1948. Māori Education in Hawkes Bay - A Radio Address).

In the 32 years that Thornton was at the helm of Te Aute College, it reached a peak of achievement that saw many of its pupils go onto have a tremendous influence on Māori; indeed, on all of Aotearoa New Zealand. One of the other contributing reasons to academic success at Te Aute was the provision of scholarships such as the

Makarini and Buller Scholarships from 1891 and 1910 respectively as well as other Government scholarships of the day (Alexander, 1951; Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). Therefore many boys from outside of Hawke's Bay attended Te Aute and eventually in future years, Te Aute old boys across the country worked together in politics, health, the Church, armed forces, education, business, farming and other areas. While many Te Aute old boys have followed in the footsteps of their predecessors who attended college in Thornton's time by excelling across the whole of society, what is remarkable about the success of the 'Thornton boys' is that their achievements occurred in an era where the Māori people were considered 'nearly extinct' by the majority of the country (Durie, 2003).

World War One

On the appointment of the Reverend J.A. McNickle to the position of Headmaster after Thornton's retirement, Te Aute College had received favourable reports from the Inspectors of the Department of Education (Alexander, 1951), so much so that McNickle had a very smooth transition into his new role. However, the ensuing years would see Te Aute College and the Endowment Land encounter a number of difficult situations, the first of which was the outbreak of World War I. While the whole country was affected; so too was Te Aute College in its contribution to the war effort, which was led by some of its former pupils and leaders of the Young Māori Party. The Māori Pioneer Battalion was formed in 1914 and commandeered by a Te Aute old boy Sir Peter Buck, who was awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) (Wehipeihana, 2005). Officers and soldiers of the battalion were used to reinforce allied positions in Gallipoli, France and Belgium throughout the war. Most of the officers and a number of soldiers of this Pioneer Battalion were Te Aute old boys including Captain Tura Hiroti (Military Cross), Sergeant William Bennett (Military Medal), Lieutenant George Stainton (MC) and Sergeant Henry Burns (MM) (Ibid).

Trials and Tribulations - Glasgow Leases

As mentioned in Chapter Two, on its establishment, Te Aute College was very

generously endowed with an excess of 8000 acres. Its future was ostensibly ensured, however, as a result of the 1906 Royal Commission of Inquiry recommendations; the potential of the Endowment Land was severely eroded. The Commission for instance, recommended that the Endowment Land be sub-divided into smaller blocks and that roads be constructed to provide access. The Trust secured a loan from the Waiapu Synod for £15 000 to pay for the surveying of the land and the construction of the Te Aute Trust and College Roads.

In 1916 the Te Aute Endowment Land was subdivided into 23 blocks when the Te Aute Trust Board formalised and signed leases that followed the Anglican Church model of tenure known as Glasgow leases. These blocks were leased under a Glasgow lease system of periods of 21 years with perpetual right of renewal and rentals calculated at 5% per annum based on separate valuations (Alexander, 1951). The Glasgow leases created a property interest for the lessees similar to that of a freehold land title because Glasgow leases operate over the land in perpetuity. All improvements to the land are owned by the lessee and currently, the leases administered by the Trust Board can only be reviewed every 21 years with the review being based on improved land value only. Of the original Te Aute Endowment Land (see Chapter Two), 758 acres of land were left in 1916 and this remained with the Trust with a portion set aside as part of the college site and the remainder being farmed by the college.

The Te Aute Trust Board in recent years has undertaken to purchase these leases when they have been in a financial position to do so, with the most recent purchases being in 1998, 933 acres and in 2000, 249 acres. Subsequently, the Te Aute College farm has increased in size from 758 acres in 1916 up to 1937 acres today. The Glasgow lease system has had major implications for the economic strength and

potential of Te Aute College throughout the last 90 years¹¹. Of the original 8000 plus acres that formed the Crown Grants and that have been referred to as the Endowment Land, nearly 7000 acres remain under the Trust Board's administration today. This figure is significantly lower than the original Endowment Land acreage and accordingly is part of the Waitangi Tribunal claim introduced in the previous chapter.

It seems that in 1916, the trustees had no idea that the decision to offer Glasgow leases would have huge ramifications for the financial future and security of Te Aute College. It might be argued too that the State had no apprehension for future implications either although forthcoming research (see Chapter Two) reveals that the State went some way into pressurising the trustees of the time to implement a Glasgow lease system. Throughout the 20th century and beyond, the college has severely felt the financial implications of the fragmentation of the Te Aute Endowment Land in 1916, which will be referred to in the ensuing sections of this chapter.

Fires level Te Aute College

On March 6th 1918, devastation struck the college in the form of a fire

At 4 o'clock in the morning, the Te Aute Māori College, an old landmark, was almost totally destroyed. The fire was discovered by an employee who usually milked the cows at that hour ...he immediately gave the alarm (The Hawkes Bay Herald, 6th March, 1918).

A good part of the college was destroyed with both boys and staff losing most of their

¹¹ At the outset of the research, it was not the intention of this thesis to extensively examine the nature of this lease system and its impact upon Te Aute College. However, analysis of the data obtained from the research participant interviews and questionnaires revealed that the Te Aute Endowment Lands were quite a controversial issue for many people. Consequently, this issue was seen to necessitate further discussion and analysis due to its importance to the research topic as well as its indirect association with the thesis objectives. The concern among the wider Te Aute College community with the Endowment Land is one of huge importance and passion, yet these concerns also demonstrate the ongoing struggle that Te Aute College and tāngata whenua have had since 1916 over the nature in which the Endowment Lands are leased and the [lack of] recompense from this land. The land is not just seen as 'land as such' but it is a taonga of immense spiritual significance; it is also a physical resource from which Te Aute College should be comfortably nourished. However, the annual income alone received from the lease land today, some 7000 acres; cannot support the boards' abilities to ensure Te Aute College functions successfully and competitively on a day-to-day basis, including Hukarere (see Chapter Seven).

effects. While the college was able to continue through temporary accommodation arrangements and by reorganising the usage of remaining buildings and other means, the influenza pandemic of 1918 struck the college hard in November. The following year saw another fire destroy the rest of the college buildings (Alexander, 1951)

The school was hit by several tragedies while Golan was there. After fires ravaged it in both 1918 and 1919, the boys lived in canvas tents. In November 1918 the influenza pandemic swept through the school (Haami, 2004:100).

These fires and the influenza epidemic crippled Te Aute College in terms of its financial position and in its ability to effectively provide for its pupils educationally at the time, thereby breaking the academic mould that had been established earlier by Thornton. Coupled with these circumstances was the resignation of John McNickle at the end of 1919.

Loten comes to Te Aute College

In 1919 the trustees commenced the planning for the rebuilding of Te Aute College; a more modern brick school that was still some five years away. The Department of Education was funding scholarships to a large number of boys and so naturally required certain subjects to be taught in the curriculum; in particular agriculture, woodwork and science (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). In keeping with the department's demands, the trustees appointed a new headmaster, Ernest Loten whose qualifications stemmed from Hawkesbury College in New South Wales where he had gained a strong agricultural background. Within six months of his appointment, Loten outlined his school policy

It is proposed to give agricultural training a prominent place in the school curriculum (Diocese of Waiapu, 1920).

While the academic side of the curriculum was maintained for a small section of the college, the rest of the pupils undertook an agricultural based curriculum. This change in curriculum direction took Te Aute back along the lines of government policy from which Thornton had skilfully and successfully veered some 30 years earlier. While it is also important to recognise the importance of an agricultural curriculum for Māori students at this time; the debates of the day centred on control of the curriculum by

non-Māori for Māori

The matter was debated in the House, and the Minister of Education, C.J. Parr, complained that 'for some reason parents in agricultural districts are often averse from their children taking an agricultural course' John Porteous, now Senior Inspector of Native Schools, reported as a matter for regret that a large number of boys at Te Aute did not take the agricultural course, which was likely to be of more benefit to the majority of them, and that 'the tendency to prefer the more academic type of education is to be deplored' The Director of Education, James Caughley, subsequently wrote to the Te Aute Trust Board, drawing the members' attention to the ratio of students in academic and agricultural courses, and reminding them that in the Department's view it would be preferable if the ratios were reversed (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974:190)

During Loten's term, one of the teachers appointed at Te Aute and one held in high esteem by many old boys was a Mr. E.H. (Sam or Haami) Dwyer. Haami was also a Hawkesbury graduate and became Loten's son-in-law when marrying his daughter Lillian (Tuppy) Loten in 1931. Dwyer was regarded as one of the outstanding educators at Te Aute by students of his time; he is also the longest serving staff member to date

Mr Dwyer's years of service covered two separate periods. The first... 'arriving at 4.30pm on 28 January 1929...' lasted through until the end of 1934; and this was followed by the second, covering the full school years from 1942 until his 'retirement' at the end of 1971. Even then, Mr Dwyer undertook relieving teaching at Te Aute throughout 1972, and part-time teaching into 1973. Thus he completed 37 full years, and entered his 38th year - a teaching record unsurpassed at the school (Wehipeihana, 2005:58).

Tuppy lived at Te Aute for 50 of her 94 years and also taught for a brief time there. Their two elder sons Michael and Peter attended Te Aute with Peter achieving Dux in 1954; youngest son Jeremy taught at Te Aute between 1972 and 1976 was a Board of Governor member for 14 years and was also the Mayor of Hastings for 15 years, retiring in 2001. Sadly, Jeremy passed away due to ill health in 2006.

To many students of the day, life at Te Aute was enjoyable but also very hard and strict. For instance, Peta Awatere recalls a typical day in the mid 1920s

At College the routine was fixed: wake up at 5am ... a half an hour for callisthenics ... cold shower ... breakfast ... then chores ... then learn by heart the daily half a dozen verses from the Gospels for the classroom ... church parade ... march to chapel ... back to classroom at 9 am ... lunch 12 noon to 1

pm. ... school lessons again till 3.30 pm ... then sport! Rugby? Up to a point! ... Then there were boxing, military training, small arms firing on the special range; there were tennis, cricket in summer, music and singing under Mr. Campbell and Mr. Dunn ... all of these activities had to be fitted in from 3.30 pm to 6 pm when tea was served. At 7 pm we were back in the classroom for more school work till 10 pm; then prayers, then to bed, then lights out at 10.30 pm; wake up again at 5 am to start the new day. The programme and the daily routine were always tight. There was no time to moan, nor to waste, nor to get into mischief (In Awatere, 2003:38-40).

Some of the more able senior students became ‘assistant teachers’. Golan Maaka was one such student who became an assistant teacher at the age of 16 (Haami, 1995). In 1921 he was made third assistant teacher to Mr Loten. As an assistant teacher he taught history, geography, physiology and English to students whilst continuing with his own learning. Golan had arrived at Te Aute College in 1915. He was a ten year old who had to mix with boys up to the age of twenty. Dr. J. McNickle was the headmaster during the first years of Golan’s college life and upon his death Loten eventually became the headmaster; a strict disciplinarian either liked or loathed by students. Many ‘old boys’ of this era have stated how hard these times were. They had to work very hard at chores, which included growing, and collecting their own food as well as keeping up with their schoolwork (Ibid). The boys were often very hungry during this time and if the opportunity arose would resort to raiding the fruit trees on surrounding properties in a bid to stave off their ever-present hunger (Haami, 2004). Cadet training was an extra-curricular based activity that was actively encouraged and taken very seriously. The smaller boys had to train just as hard as their bigger and older counter-parts. Cadet training at Te Aute carried on right through to the mid 1970s.

By 1922 and at the age of 18, Golan Maaka had become disillusioned with his schooling at Te Aute. Reasons included a strong agricultural focus of the curriculum, very little Māori culture or language being taught and he was still tutoring students as well as having to teach himself the subjects needed for him to matriculate. Golan left Te Aute that year, completing his secondary schooling at Dannevirke High School where he matriculated in 1924 (Ibid). His success led him into medicine where he went onto become a doctor and enjoy a successful career in the medical profession

that included working at the Napier hospital during the 1931 earthquake, working in China before World War II and having his own private practice in Whakatāne for over 30 years. Dr. Golan Maaka was also the first 'Western' trained doctor of medicine to be allowed by the Tūhoe people into their area to practice medicine (Ibid).

PART B: 1922 - 2007

Mate atu he kura, ara mai ra he kura!

The Rebuilding of Te Aute College

On 9th September 1922, the Archbishop of New Zealand, Churchill Julius, laid the foundation stone for the new college buildings. Other dignitaries at this ceremony included Reverend Pine Tamahori, Apirana Ngata and Maku Ellison, granddaughter of Te Hāpuku who spoke on behalf of the local Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti people (Alexander, 1951). The Julius Wing was opened on 10th April 1923 and later in the year the next foundation stone for the second new building was laid by Lord John Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet of the British Royal Navy. Again, this occasion marked that of the first with large numbers of people and speakers (Ibid) including, Hori Tupaea of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Reverend Frederick Bennett. Both the Julius (South Wing) and Jellicoe (North Wing) Blocks were built in an ecclesiastical style of architecture with the college's arms, crest and motto 'Whakatangata Kia Kaha' bearing each wing.

1925 was a great milestone year for Te Aute rugby when the 1st XV defeated Wanganui Collegiate to win the Moascar Cup 29 - 0. The Moascar Cup was made from the propeller of a German warplane shot down in World War I and after being used as a trophy by military teams overseas was donated to the New Zealand Rugby Union for annual secondary school competitions. The team that won the cup for Te Aute for the first time in 1925 was regarded as one of the greatest that the college has ever produced (Ibid).

On March 27th 1926, Governor General Sir Charles Fergusson laid two foundation stones for the third and last of the new brick buildings; the main block or Fergusson block. This housed the general assembly hall, a library, clerical rooms and offices and was the most prominent of the three impressive brick buildings. Nearly one year later on March 10th 1927, the Governor General Sir Charles Fergusson who returned to Te Aute to preside, officially opened the new building (Ibid). The Reverend H.W.

Williams took the service, Mr Russell of the Te Aute Trust Board spoke and Hori Tupaea once again spoke on behalf of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, while Apirana Ngata translated his speech for the hundreds assembled. The Prime Minister Joseph Coates also had a telegram read out at the ceremony to honour the new building, which was labelled a 'great landmark' by the Governor General. Ngata also made a plea for Māori help with the carvings and artwork to adorn the interior of the assembly hall. These were later installed for the centennial celebrations in 1950

The new building was an imposing double storeyed red brick structure. In the centre of the hall frontage is the Gothic entrance, inside of which, in the portico, hangs the portrait of the founder. A striking feature of the hall is the ceiling with its kauri reed work and with dark brown Oregon pin beams giving the place a Māori atmosphere. The whole building is surmounted by a tower. In the middle is set the clock, beneath which is placed the school's coat of arms, splendidly wrought. Four turrets rear themselves at each corner of the tower and in the middle is erected a flagstaff (Ibid:134).

At 11am on February 3rd 1931, tragedy struck the college again when the great earthquake levelled much of Napier and Hastings, changed the landscape of Napier and its harbour and levelled the top stories of both the Jellicoe and Julius Wings. The Fergusson block top story was undamaged apart from the tower that collapsed. While no lives were lost or injuries sustained at Te Aute, the cost of the earthquake damage to the Trust Board was £7 769 and thus placed huge financial strain on the college (Ibid). Te Aute also felt the full brunt of the worldwide depression, placing further strain on the college (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). All three brick buildings were repaired although slight changes to their design were made compared to when they were first built, which included the strengthening of the original buildings against future earthquakes.

In 1934, the connection with the Anglican Church continued with a number of Māori theological students enrolling (Alexander, 1951), not only boosting the roll, but the standard of rugby too! Subjects offered at the college were now grouped into three categories; theology, matriculation and agriculture, with the latter being the main subject. However the Department of Education considered that the general efficiency of the college especially its curriculum was still not satisfactory (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). For instance, in the mid 1930s the agricultural, domestics, manual

and technical course requirements were still not being fulfilled according to the Department's requirements. A consequence of this was the extension of post-primary facilities to schools in the far north and on the east coast of the North Island (Ibid) and thus, combined with financial strain, Māori families were now inclined to keep their boys at home to have them schooled instead of sending them away to Te Aute.

World War Two

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 gave rise to the formation of the 28th Māori Battalion and Apirana Ngata was prominent in requesting to the government that Māori have their own battalion (Butterworth and Young, 1990). At one part during the war, all but one of the officers were Te Aute old boys and two of the Commanders at different times were Lt-Colonel Charles Bennett (Distinguished Conduct Medal, Distinguished Service Order) and Lt-Colonel Peta Awatere (Military Cross, DSO, Mentions in Despatches - MID), both old boys of Te Aute (Alexander, 1951). The Chaplains of the 28th Māori Battalion throughout the duration of the war were all Te Aute old boys and were (in order) Captain Kahi Harawira, Captain Ngātai Wānoa, Captain Wharetini Rangi, Captain Wi Huata (MC), Captain Manuhua Bennett and then Captain Wi Huata again at the conclusion of the war (Wehipeihana, 2005). Other Te Aute old boys to lead with distinction were Captain Matarehua (Monty) Wikiriwhi (MC, DSO, MID), Squadron Leader John Grace, Major Jack Baker (MC and Bar), Captain Ivor Harris (MC, MID), Lieutenant Watene Pahau (MM) and Private Keepa Rangi (MM) (Ibid).

While there were many deeds performed during the Great War in Africa and Europe and many awards by Te Aute old boys, the highest award was made after fighting in the Tebaga Gap, Tunisia, where Lt. Moana Ngarimu gained the highest award for gallantry - the Victoria Cross (VC). Ngarimu was killed here and awarded the V.C. posthumously. The following passage is taken from the citation made by Lt-Colonel Bennett

He led his men with great determination and strength up to the face of the hill, undaunted by the intense mortar and machine-gun fire, which caused considerable casualties...Under cover of a most intense mortar barrage the

enemy counter-attacked and 2nd Lt. Ngarimu ordered his men to stand up and engage the enemy man for man...He was twice wounded, once by rifle fire in the shoulder, and later by shrapnel in the leg. He refused to leave his men and always rushed to threatened areas during counter-attack.... He was killed on his feet defiantly facing the enemy with his tommy-gun at his hip (Bennett In Ngata, 1943).

The fact that a number of Te Aute old boys went on to become officers in the 28th Māori Battalion was no doubt in part attributed to their time spent at Te Aute

For young men, they knew as much about the operational side of war as any senior officer did ...and they were only back privates ... and were avid readers ... the reading message of Te Aute College again! (Awatere, 2003:155).

At the outbreak of war a number of staff left the college for active service and so the staff shortage had to be overcome by Loten. At that time there were five teaching staff, principal Loten, first assistant Haami Dwyer, the Reverend Hogg and junior masters Mr W.R. Young and Murray Roberts. Mr Roberts was remembered as a cultured, charming, talented and marvellous teacher and was greatly missed when he left after a couple of years. However, the name and person, Murray Roberts is more well known to a number of older New Zealanders for his notoriety where he became perhaps New Zealand's most famous con man. His highly publicised exploits (Roberts, 1975) kept many, especially those who knew him from Te Aute, entertained for years.

In 1942, St. Stephen's School in Bombay, Auckland, was temporarily closed as a college and converted into a hospital for American soldiers at which time its pupils were transferred to Te Aute for the duration of the war (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). In the short term, this boosted the college's student roll but also taxed the accommodation with an intake of 40 boys from St. Stephen's. At the conclusion of World War II and the reopening of St. Stephen's School, the roll dropped again and maintained a downward spiral throughout the 1950s. Well-known Māori scholar Professor Hirini Moko Mead was one of these students who came to Te Aute from St. Stephen's and recalls the positive experience that Te Aute gave him and the fact that it had its own wairua (Wehipeihana, 2005).

Life at Te Aute during the war was very hard. Te Aute had to support itself as far as possible also employing a cook, nurse, dairy farm manager and sheep farm manager; however, it was the boys who did all of the work (Alexander, 1951). Everyone had jobs to perform before and after school with 5.30am being the normal wake up time; consequently, teaching staff were often tolerant of boys falling asleep in class. Education was limited; there was matriculation and agricultural courses with all of the subjects being European orientated subjects apart from te reo Māori where the pupils were taught or studied their Māori language. Rugby continued to be the main sport during these years, the boys took charge of their own kapa haka and Māori concert party. However, with petrol rationing and transport hard to find during the war, many extra-curricular activities were deferred.

Like the rest of the country, the war hung over Te Aute constantly, especially with there being no end in site. Subsequently, cadet training was stepped up and the boys took to this “*like ducks to water*” (J. Northover, Personal Communication, 2006). The Army often sent out instructors and weapons for the cadets to practice with including 3.03 rifles, bren guns, anti-tank guns, mortars, hand grenades and gas while, there was also the branch of the Air Training Corps at Te Aute with a number of pupils going on to join the Air Force; just as many of their peers went onto join the Army. The tales of the battles fought by the Māori Battalion combined with ‘cadets’ strengthened those at Te Aute College during the war even though times were tough. However, usually once a week, the ‘boss’ Loten would read out the names of former pupils and masters killed in action (Ibid). They were often relatives of boys at school and sooner or later everyone was affected. There was also a period during the war when the college would be blacked out and senior students went on exercises with the Home Guard due to the ever-increasing threats of a Japanese Invasion. The war eventually ended as many recall and Te Aute’s journey continued on towards its 100th Centennial.

The Te Aute College Centennial

With the centennial celebrations due to be observed in 1954, it was decided to bring the occasion forward to 1950 (Alexander, 1951) in order that some of the aging old

boys could attend the centennial of Te Aute College. However, one month prior to the official celebrations one of the Te Aute's greatest students, Sir Apirana Ngata passed away. Nonetheless on August 28th 1950, over 5000 people attended the celebrations that were opened by the Bishop of Aotearoa, the Rt. Reverend Frederick Bennett. Archdeacon Brocklehurst in his address stated,

We miss his voice, but as the day's proceedings advance we feel that, though dead, he speaketh (Ibid:224).

There were many dignitaries in attendance including the Headmaster Mr Loten, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Prime Minister - Rt. Hon. S.G. Holland, Leader of the Opposition - Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, Under-Secretary of Māori Affairs and old boy Tipi Ropiha who opened the Memorial Assembly Hall and, Lieutenant-Colonels C.M. Bennett and P. Awatere of the 28th Māori Battalion, along with other leaders of the Battalion (Ibid). This occasion also celebrated the addition of carvings, panelwork and painted rafters to the Assembly Hall with the carving been done under the supervision of a Te Aute old boy and perhaps one of the great carvers of the modern era, Pine Taiapa. This was a great day not only in the life of the college but also in the contribution that Te Aute had made to the community and to the country in its 100 (96) years. However, the occasion was also a sad day for many old boys in attendance because many of their companions like Ngata were no longer around to partake in the celebrations (Ibid). Indeed, the Rt. Reverend Bennett, Bishop of Aotearoa although not an old boy, nonetheless a leader of the Māori people, passed away a few months after the centennial celebrations and so the time was again tinged with sadness, such were the kinship links among Māoridom that had been forged at Te Aute College and through two World Wars.

A Yale University Honorary Graduate

Sir Peter Buck had earlier moved to Honolulu, Hawai'i in 1927 where he eventually became the Director of the Bishop Museum, a position he held until 1948. His last visit to his native homeland was in 1949 and although sick with cancer, he toured the country and caught up with old friends like Ngata; Pomare had died earlier in 1939. During this last visit to New Zealand, the knighthood that had actually been awarded

in 1946 was finally conferred on him by the Governor General Sir Bernard Freyberg at an investiture in Wellington (Durie, 2004). It was one of many awards and honours that had been bestowed on him from several universities, nations, and scholarly bodies and on his death he bequeathed them all to Te Aute. Buck's university degrees, awards and medals included

- MB ChB (University of Otago, 1904)
- MD (University of Otago, 1910)
- MA (Honorary, Yale, 1936)
- DSc (Honorary, NZ, 1937)
- DSc (Honorary, Rochester, 1939)
- DLitt (Honorary, University of Hawaii, 1948)
- DSc (Honorary, Yale, 1951)
- DSO (1918), KCMG (1946)
- Royal Order of the North Star (Sweden, 1946)
- Hector Medal (New Zealand Institute, 1936)
- Rivers Memorial Medal (Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1936)
- Terry Prize (Yale University, 1939)
- S Percy Smith Medal (University of Otago, 1951)
- Huxley Medal (Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1952, posthumously).

This list of Buck's many awards, honours and degrees from Institutes and Universities across the world is an outstanding achievement for any individual. Headmaster Richard Webb wrote to congratulate Buck on his honorary Doctor of Science Degree from Yale University in 1951. Buck's reply on September 10th 1951 was to be his last message for his beloved Te Aute College. Sir Peter 'Te Rangihiroa' Buck died three months later.

Te Aute College Post-World War Two

In 1951, Ernest Loten retired after 32 years at the helm of Te Aute College. He was the longest serving headmaster to date and lead the college through a period of recovery and rebuilding between the two Great Wars. Mr. Richard Webb was appointed headmaster in the same year. He was born in Stratford, Taranaki and so was the first headmaster of Te Aute College to be born in Aotearoa New Zealand. He became a foundation teacher of Rotorua High School in 1927 where he remained until 1951. During this period Mr Webb saw war service in the Middle East and was the Commanding Officer of the 24th Battalion in 1942. It was here that he was also wounded and taken prisoner of war until his release in 1945 (Wehipeihana, 2005).

Paddy Webb (as he was known) provided strong leadership and direction at Te Aute even though the wider Māori population was changing and thus affecting the student roll at Te Aute. Webb was an active member of the community of Pukehou and the wider Central Hawkes Bay district where he was involved in a range of sports at an administrative level as well as community church and club groups. He was headmaster of Te Aute College until 1965 when he retired due to ill health before dying soon later. The Webb family still maintains strong links to the college today through Paddy Webb's daughter Jennifer who annually attends prize-givings and other important occasions at Te Aute College.

The urban migration¹² of Māori people away from their traditional kāinga to towns and the cities further impacted upon the need for many young Māori boys and girls to attend the Māori boarding schools during this period. Furthermore, the Education Act 1944 and the change from District High Schools to full multi-course high schools helped make these high schools suitable for offering courses giving access to tertiary

¹² The mass movement of Māori to urban areas began during the Second World War, when manpower regulations and the Māori War Effort Organisation opened up a variety of manufacturing and labouring jobs to Māori men and women. The consequences of this relocation were economic as well as social and cultural. These various developments led, inevitably, to some kind of review of education policy at both the primary and secondary levels where ultimately the Maori (Native) Schools were brought under the control of the Department of Education, having previously been under the control of the Department of Native Affairs / Māori Affairs (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974).

studies. Consequently, the Māori boarding schools like Te Aute College came under increasing pressure after World War II to survive let alone function at all. It was during Webb's term that the college began to run into greater financial difficulties and a lessening student roll. For instance, in 1951 the roll was 153 and by 1961 it had plummeted to 71 (school records). The Māori Education Foundation began scholarship support for students at Te Aute in 1962, the Henry and William Williams Trust provided scholarship assistance and so did the Māori Purposes Fund Board. The roll peaked at 125 on Webb's retirement; however, this did not last and dropped to below 100 by 1968.

Between 1927 and 1950, the Moascar Cup became the symbol of supremacy between Te Aute and Palmerston North Boys High School in their annual fixtures but in 1950 the Te Aute 1st XV lost the Moascar Cup to Northland College by 9 points to 11 (Alexander, 1951). Te Aute continued to play its other traditional fixtures against Wanganui Collegiate and New Plymouth Boys High School throughout the 1950s and 1960s as well as in the local competition.

A number of old boys have continued the precedent set by their predecessors before World War II and have gone on to make names for themselves nationally and have carved prominent careers in their respective fields. Some of these old boys include Judge Edward Durie, Sir Howard Morrison, Paki Harrison, Professor Piri Sciascia, All Black George Skudder, Dr. Pita Sharples, Anaru Takurua, Dr. Hirini Melbourne, Rongo Wirepa, Dr. Apirana Mahuika, Robin Kora, Rowley Habib, Professor Mason Durie, Enoke Munro, Pehi 'Bos' Stainton, Tuahine Northover, Bill Stirling, Sandy Adsett, Tom Mulligan, Bill Whaitiri and Neville Baker.

Trying Times for Te Aute College

Noel Vickeridge was appointed as principal of Te Aute College in 1966. He too like Webb before him came from the Taranaki province and had taught at a number of High Schools throughout the North Island before taking his position up at Te Aute College. The Cadet Unit was re-established although the agricultural course was

terminated with greater emphasis returning to the academics and raising examination pass rates among the students. In Vickeridge's time, the Trust Board did its best to improve the facilities at Te Aute including improvements to classrooms, refurbishing of the dormitories, a new common room (the 'new rec') and the building of a modern 25-metre swimming pool. The swimming pool also doubled as a water reserve in case of fire. However, despite attempts to boost Te Aute's physical image and its facilities, the roll steadily dropped to 68 in 1969; the lowest it had been for well over 30 years. During the 1960s, the Te Aute Trust Board recommended to the General Synod that Parliament be petitioned to alter the leases as follows

*Rent reviews every seven years;
The Trust Board to have the right to take possession of the land at the end of
21 years;
Lessees to receive compensation for the above changes (McBain, 2006).*

The General Synod did not accept this recommendation and so the ensuing decade was to be one of the most difficult for Te Aute College. Leading up to and during this period in Te Aute College's history, the Anglican Church, in particular the Ministers of the Māori Anglican Pastorate, played an active role in endeavouring to get members 'of the flock' to enrol their sons and daughters in Te Aute College and Hukarere. However, urbanisation and assimilation were taking their toll on influencing the young as well as their parents. While refurbishments had been made to the buildings at Te Aute by the late 1960s and early 1970s, an engineer's report stated explicitly that the earthquake risk to these once fine brick buildings was unacceptable. According to records, the Te Aute Trust Board lost \$ 26 000.00 in keeping the college running on the low roll. Some 100 years earlier, the Te Aute Trust had encountered severe financial difficulties; this same dilemma was about to surface once again.

Towards State Integration

On 31st July 1972, the State agreed to the establishing of a joint working committee with representatives from the Department of Education, the Department of Māori and Island Affairs, Treasury and the Te Aute Trust Board to prepare and report on a plan for the future of Te Aute College. At the end of the year, the Department of Education met with the Trust Board again but onsite at Te Aute College and explained a list of alternatives recommended by a Cabinet paper. The outcome from this meeting was that it was approved that the Ministry of Works and Development would carry out a full survey of the college facilities and property that appeared to be in a rundown state (Hakiwai, Sword and Sigley, 1974).

This survey was completed in February 1973 with the key findings being that the main buildings had ‘a limited life’ for use as classrooms and would only be any good as office space in the long term. A number of fire hazards were also identified as being in need of immediate resolve and a special grant of \$30 000 was made for fire protection maintenance of which the Te Aute Trust Board also financially contributed to (Ibid). Minimum expenditure was committed to the existing buildings due to their limited life status; the Hawke’s Bay Education Board had already provided temporary toilet blocks. The possible alternatives for the redevelopment of the college had been considered with costing based on realistic application given its setting, current facilities and future status. The roll in 1973 had grown but stabilised at 140 with no capacity to grow given the position of the college at the time. The recommendations to come out of the working committee were based on the integration of Te Aute College into the State school system with the Te Aute Trust Board continuing to control the hostel (Ibid).

Te Aranga o Te Aute

It is worthwhile at this point to make reference to the dedication of three students of Te Aute College who undertook a research project to campaign for the preservation and development of the college on its present site in 1973, Mark Hakiwai of Bridge

Pā, Malcolm Sword of Avarua (Rarotonga) and Dene Sigley of Palmerston North. The impetus for their campaign came from Te Aute's precarious situation. In conjunction with one of their teachers, Jeremy Dwyer, they met twice weekly for concentrated periods and quickly soon came to realise that the task they had undertaken to fulfil was quite complex and immense. Their weekly task involved collecting and collating information and data that would contribute to the concept that they had conceived, Te Aranga o Te Aute - Resurrection of Te Aute

Te Aranga o Te Aute is the voice of the young men of Te Aute College in 1973. There is no new precedent in that, for it was the young men of Te Aute seventy and eighty years ago who conceived and formed the T.A.C.S.A., better known in its work for the rejuvenation of a 'worrysick' race as the Y.M.P. What is new is the idea embodied in Te Aranga o Te Aute (Ibid:6).

The immensity of the research project touched all four corners of Aotearoa New Zealand including the office of the Prime Minister, the Rt Honourable Norman Kirk. The students wrote a letter to the Prime Minister in October 1973 outlining what they had been doing with regards to compiling a document about the history, achievements and hopes of Te Aute College and that they would like to meet with and present this document personally to the Prime Minister including some of his Ministers (Education, Māori and Island Affairs). The following text is a copy of the reply by the Prime Minister in response to the young men's request

*Prime Minister,
Wellington,
New Zealand,
23 October 1973.*

*Mr Mark Te Aranga Hakiwai,
Te Aute College,
Pukehou,
Hawke's Bay.*

*Dear Mark,
I was deeply impressed by the message contained in your letter to me of the 15 October, co-signed by your fellow students, Malcolm Sword and Dene Sigley, seeking Government's support and aid for Te Aute College.
I will be happy to receive a small delegation from the College students and to accept the documents prepared by the students in support of their case.
As you are aware we are to be honoured by a visit from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and her family towards the end of January. However, I am sure a*

suitable opportunity can be arranged for a small deputation to meet me towards the end of January.

I suggest you contact my office early in the New Year and a mutually suitable appointment will be arranged.

Yours sincerely,

Norman Kirk (Ibid:10).

The end document titled, *‘Te Aranga o Te Aute - Tā te Rangatira tana Kai he Kōrero, tā te Ware he Muhukai’* was professionally bound and printed and distributed widely and undoubtedly significantly contributed to the future of Te Aute College; albeit a condition that forced a ‘changing of the guard’. That is, the eventual demolition of the face of Te Aute College, its brick buildings that were famous among the nation and the construction of a new face, modern buildings and a whare-nui.

Eventual State Integration

Eventually it was resolved that Te Aute College would remain on its present site and be re-built at a cost of approximately \$3 million with the Te Aute Trust Board contributing the land and a minimum of \$300 000 towards the cost of the hostel buildings. On October 1st 1975, a deed was signed between the Te Aute Trust Board and Her Majesty the Queen; a redevelopment programme commenced and Te Aute College became part of the State education system. The Te Aute College Board of Governors was formed with membership consisting of representatives of five parents, one Hawke’s Bay Education Board member, one member of the teaching staff and four Trust Board members; later, provision was made for a Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti representative (Kupa, 1994). On August 18th 1976, another deed was signed between the Trust Board and the newly formed Board of Governors setting out the Board of Governors’ responsibility of the day to day running of the hostel (Ibid).

The rebuilding stage of Te Aute was divided into seven phases; it began in 1975 and continued through to the mid-1990s. While the redevelopment of Te Aute from the mid-1970s was a great occurrence, sadly the demolition of the old brick buildings, the Churchill, Jellicoe and Fergusson Blocks began as well, with the Fergusson Block

being the last of these old buildings to come down at the end of 1984. Without a doubt, the outward appearance of these buildings framed a significant prestige that essentially was 'Te Aute College'; not only to all those who were a part of the college indeed, to the nation and the general public too who drove past along State Highway Two and couldn't help but admire their appearance. The Reverend Joe Northover remembers

You drove past on the main road or went on the train past Te Aute and saw the Hall block standing tall and you felt proud every time, you said to yourself 'I am part of that institution – that College (In Wehipeihana, 2005:119).

The building of new classrooms, an administration block and a boiler house were the first phase of the redevelopment followed by four hostels and ablution blocks and then a new kitchen, dining room, laundry and maintenance block. Having just under gone State Integration and a new rebuilding phase, on Labour weekend of 1979, the College celebrated its 125th Anniversary. The weekend was well attended by hundreds of old boys, though not on the grand scale of the 100th Jubilee held in 1950. Interestingly, at this gathering, the majority of the old boys expressed their extreme frustration and disgust at the fact that it had already been decided that the brick buildings would be 'coming down'; such was their affiliation to these 'monuments' that were Te Aute College (J. Northover, Personal Communication, 2006). While these sentiments were not of his own doing or control, the principal at this time was Mr. Aorere (Awi) Riddell who had been appointed in February 1977 and his task was to drive Te Aute College through the beginning of integration with the State and to oversee the ongoing development of the rebuilding programme. Awi remained at the helm from 1977 through to 1989. More classrooms and hostels were added at various stages, a new recreation block on the sports field was built and the new Whare-nui, Te Whare o Rangi opened in 1993.

A Booming College

Looking back at the college's recent history since the late 1970s, this was a period of prosperity; they were golden years. The roll increased to the point where more dormitories, Pomare and Carroll 'flats' were added to the hostel facilities. These flats

were capable of housing another forty students. The 'new rec' became known as Tāpere, a recreation block and, was remodelled and became Te Rangihiroa; a dormitory that accommodated 32 students. The Te Aute College Hostel now had the room to house 240 students. During this time, probably for the first time in its history, Te Aute was full to capacity with a waiting list. As one area prospered, there was a flow-on effect, which became evident in other areas of the college.

There were 12 rugby teams and all did well within the weight grades. The 1st XV won the Moascar Cup again in 1979 defeating St. Stephen's School. Te Aute was well represented in Hawke's Bay secondary school rugby as well as having several students who went on to play representative rugby in the New Zealand secondary schools team. The 1st XV also won the national 'Top Four' rugby competition in 1984 to be the best team in the country. In 1988, Te Aute won the New Zealand secondary school 7 a side rugby tournament (Condor 7s). Te Aute had students who broke athletic records and competed at Hawke's Bay and National level in athletic meetings. The softball team was very strong throughout the 1980s and went on to win the national championships in 1986 and represented Hawkes Bay schools well at these championships a number of times. Te Aute also continued to encourage those students who were academically inclined, turning out young men who were well prepared to face the challenges that the next phases of their lives would offer (A, Riddell, Personal Communication, 2006).

Co-education at Te Aute College

During 1991 the Te Aute Trust Board made the decision to put Hukarere into recess for a one-year period. This move was and remains the subject of much debate and conflict between the respective schools and their supporters (see Jenkins and Matthews, 1995). The Te Aute College board of trustees made the offer of accommodation and school facilities to the girls for this period. Two consultation hui were held with both old boys and old girls of Te Aute and Hukarere and the feelings remained fairly divided on both sides about whether such a huge step should be undertaken. A decision was reached by the Te Aute College board of trustees to

accept the Hukarere girls for this one-year period. However, there had been no enrolments up to January of 1992, which undoubtedly jeopardised the move.

Eventually, Te Aute received 22 enrolments of those Hukarere girls who chose to come to Te Aute for one year on the understanding that they would return to Hukarere and, also of girls from year 9 (third form) through to year 13 (seventh form) who were not part of Hukarere. Coincidentally, a group of 12 girls remained at Hukarere and in doing so, with their whānau and ‘friends of Hukarere’ resisted the move. They became known as ‘Ngā Ahi Kā’ and wanted to keep Hukarere alive (Ibid). At the end of the 1992 year, the Hukarere girls were either ready to leave Te Aute College or to return to Hukarere; there were a few exceptions. Hukarere held no appeal to those girls who had never been enrolled there. The board of trustees was in a dilemma and after much deliberation decided to apply for full co-educational status, a legal requirement if girls were to continue their education at Te Aute College. Conflict between the Te Aute Trust Board, the schools’ boards of trustees and their respective old boy / girl associations aside, it is interesting to note too that at this time the Te Aute College roll was in a downward spiral.

Over the ensuing years, the goal of raising the female roll to a size that would make things more equitable between the genders was never realised. Whilst the female roll remained small, Te Aute College is proud to have sent forth young women who have done particularly well for themselves in their chosen employment. In 2003 the Te Aute Trust Board commissioned a task force to examine both Te Aute and Hukarere. One of the recommendations accepted by all three school boards was to return Te Aute College to a single sex (male) status from the end of 2004 (Te Aute College and Hukarere Taskforce Report, 2003). This decision was reluctantly accepted with a deep sense of sadness and regret by many but not all. For instance, from the time Te Aute College gained its co-educational status, feelings remained divided by the whole Te Aute College community. Although the female roll had remained small, during the twelve years that girls had boarded and schooled at Te Aute, they had become a force to be reckoned with, academically, culturally, and in the sporting arena.

Te Whare o Rangi

In the 1920s, Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck proposed the idea of a carved meeting-house or assembly hall at Te Aute College as a memorial to old-boys who lost their lives during World War One (Alexander, 1951). The Rotorua Carving School was commissioned to carve 14 poupou, upright slabs that form the solid framework of the walls of a meeting-house. The poupou were four metres by one metre in dimension and were installed in the Te Aute College assembly hall along with appropriate tukutuku panels, kōwhaiwhai panels and other carved pieces in 1950. By this time, it had been decided that all of the carvings would be a commemoration to old boys who had been killed in all battles overseas; including the Boer War, World War One and World War Two (Ibid).

While the old assembly hall was demolished in 1984, the poupou, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai were put into storage awaiting their new home in a new whareniui that began construction in 1985. Te Whare o Rangi is the name of the whareniui at Te Aute College that was eventually opened on May 8th 1993. This building is unique as it is designed to house the original massive poupou of the old assembly hall as well as new poupou, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai. While there is a period of some 60–70 years between the time that the original carvings and the newer carvings were done, past principal Ngahiwi Tangaere at one time stated

We have a beautiful whare, where the new carvings have been executed to match the style of the old poupou, and where modern materials and patterns have been used in the embellishments (In Daspher & Dowling, 1993:1).

While the present day Pukehou, Te Whatuiāpiti and Kahuranaki Marae represent ancestral links to the district, Te Whare o Rangi represents the ties of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti to all of the waka and iwi of Aotearoa New Zealand firstly, through those old boys who have fallen in overseas wars and secondly, to all of those ex-students who have entered into the portals of Te Aute College.

Te Aute College - 150 Years Young

During 2004, Te Aute College celebrated its 150th anniversary. Koiri was the name and symbol chosen to represent this milestone. The koiri symbol is derived from a kōwhaiwhai pattern and represents a return to one's roots in order to progress confidently into the future (Wehipeihana, 2005). It was decided by the Koiri 150th Anniversary Committee to run a series of celebrations and commemorative events rather than stage one big reunion. This way, Te Aute could truly pay tribute to the contribution made by its students to the many facets of New Zealand life.

The year began with a Chapel service and the raising of the Koiri flag as well as a re-enactment of the signing of the original Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti deed of gift on February 1st 2004. Te Aute has contributed much to the area of music and an outdoor concert was held at the end of summer in 2004 culminating with an impressive display of fireworks choreographed by old boy, Te Rangi Huata. This was followed by a commemorative Australian New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) ceremony, which was attended by all divisions of the New Zealand Defence Corps. A series of lectures, named for Sir Maui Pomare, Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangihiroa) and Sir Apirana Ngata were held, the lectures being delivered by Professor Piri Scia Scia, Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Professor Mason Durie, with a final lecture being delivered by Dr. Pita Sharples at the September reunion weekend. Kia Kaha, an exhibition of artwork by past and present students as well as ex-staff, including an overview of archival material, was staged at the Hastings Exhibition Centre and proved to be so popular that the exhibition of archival material continued through to November of that year. In September 2004, a reunion weekend was held where past students returned for that weekend to catch up with old friends and to reminisce about their time spent at Te Aute College.

Te Aute College Today

While the ensuing chapter focuses on Te Aute College today, the penultimate subsection of this chapter roots the historical chronology of Te Aute College to the

present day. Looking back through the history of Te Aute, it becomes apparent that there have been very few, if any periods where times have been 'easy'. However, from its proud past through to the present day, Te Aute continues to churn out young men (and young women during the co-educational period) who excel in their chosen field. Some have gone on to become national representatives in a variety of sport codes, not least of which is rugby and All Black status. In the 1990s there has been Norman Hewitt playing as hooker for the All Blacks and more recently, Piri Weepu filled the position of half-back.

Te Aute College continues to be identified as a stalwart of the Anglican Church, a fact that was demonstrated with the fully attended, moving services held at the conclusion of the reunion weekend. Students and staff attend chapel services on a daily basis. The school day begins with a service every morning and this activity is a vital start to the day in the classroom, preparing both students and staff for the day ahead.

Te Aute College also continues to hold its own within the field of academia although an examination of academic statistics placed alongside other educational institutions might digress here. Nonetheless, recently old boy Poia Rewi had his doctorate conferred upon him in 2005, the first to be accepted by the University of Otago in Te Reo Māori. Dr. Rawiri Durie, head prefect 1981 and dux of 1980 and 1981, specialises in sports medicine as well as running his own sports academy in Palmerston North. Te Aute College is proud of the many ex-students who have made a name for themselves in the area of art. Sandy Adsett is currently head of Toimairangi, a School of Contemporary Māori Visual Arts in Hawke's Bay, as well as being a Board member of Toi Māori Aotearoa and one of the three principal art tutors at Toihoukura, School of Contemporary Māori Visual Arts, Gisborne. There are other younger ex-students, such as Ngatai Taepa, Leilani Ohia and the Couper brothers, Todd and Daniel, who are making names for themselves in art and yet others who are currently still studying within this field. There are also a number of recent Te Aute College graduates who hold high profile positions in the mass media, in academia, in law and in business. At the beginning of 2005, Tauria Takurua, an old boy and son of former chaplain and old boy, Anaru Takurua, began his term as principal and so the

story of Te Aute College continued; striving to serve its people and to send forth students who will take their place proudly with honour, in Aotearoa New Zealand. Indeed, Te Aute College continues to sustain its special relationship to the land, to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, to Pukehou and the Te Aute valley.

Summary

This chapter has sought to locate the tradition and story that is Te Aute College by providing a chronological account of its history throughout the last 153 years. While this account has been brief, it has been necessary in order to create an image of Te Aute College that sets it apart from other educational institutions and that rationalises the intentions of the researcher and this thesis. This thesis though does acknowledge that other educational institutions, especially the Māori boarding schools, do have their own histories and ethos'. However, as stated in Chapter One of this thesis, the focus is on Te Aute College and so aims to explore the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the brand that has developed out of the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

The story of Te Aute College told in this chapter has highlighted the many layers of Te Aute College, the generations of students and staff, the outstanding achievements of Te Aute College and the numerous hardships that have constrained Te Aute College. In doing so, this chapter has revealed a lineage of history; a lineage that is bound by whakapapa. The following chapter continues to explore and unfold these layers of whakapapa that make up Te Aute College. In doing so, Chapter Four investigates a number of external and internal factors that impact upon the provision of education at Te Aute College today.

Chapter Four

TE AUTE COLLEGE TODAY

Mate atu he toa, ara mai rā he toa

Introduction

First, it provides an opportunity to acknowledge Te Aute and to recognise the part the College has played as a platform for Māori education over the past 150 years. Along with Christ's college, founded in 1850, and Wanganui Collegiate, founded in 1854 (the same year as Te Aute), Te Aute ranks as one of New Zealand's most enduring educational institutions that has contributed significantly to the development of the nation and the advancement of Māori people (Durie, 2004:1).

Chapters Two and Three of this thesis explicated a whakapapa of Te Aute College that located the college's lineage in terms of its relationship to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and of its story since 1854. This chapter contextualises Te Aute College in terms of its spiritual and physical presence today, building on and illuminating the whakapapa of Te Aute College. For instance, the previous chapter provided a history of the conception, eventual birth and evolution of Te Aute College that covered a period of over 150 years. This chapter locates the position of Te Aute College today by introducing a number of external contexts that have impacted and continue to impact upon Te Aute as well as essential elements that make Te Aute and thus, sustain its unique brand of education that is Te Aute College.

Durie (Ibid) notes that Te Aute College is an enduring educational institution based on the length of its existence and its achievements. While this thesis affirms the use of a whakapapa methodological approach to its research, the thesis also seeks to examine how Te Aute College can perhaps maintain its endurance in the future (see Section Three). In doing so, the provision of education at Te Aute College today will be investigated alongside the forces that impact on this delivery.

The Impact of State Integration and Tomorrow's Schools

Te Aute College, like all educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand, has encountered a range of both internal and external dynamism throughout the last 30 years that has contributed to a changing educational environment; physically, socially, economically and culturally (Graham, 2002). Such dynamism can be attributed firstly to the integration of Te Aute College from the private education sector into the State education system in 1975 (see Chapter Three) and secondly, to the major changes carried out to the administrative structure of the country's education system under the implementation of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms in 1988 by the fourth Labour government (Department of Education, 1988).

At the beginning of the 1970s Te Aute College had faced closure due to the financial constraints that it found itself facing in its status as a private school. This dilemma was overcome by integrating into the State education system in 1975 at which time Te Aute College commenced a major rebuilding phase. Between 1977 and the late 1990s, Te Aute College reached its peak in terms of the school roll and there were a significant number of achievements, particularly in the sporting arena that set Te Aute College apart from other schools. However, while Te Aute College rode the crest of this wave, the wave eventually subsided.

The major changes to the education system under the Tomorrow's School reforms instituted a shift to school-based management from centralised management within the then Department of Education in order to position decision making within school communities. This greater scope for influence in education was envisaged through the creation of mechanisms such as school boards of trustees who were to be representative of a school's community. However, the level of empowerment created by the government came with a number of technical flaws for some schools. The changes for Māori boarding schools for instance, imparted to them the challenge of finding parents to fulfil these new roles. Even so, if this task was fulfilled the next hurdle was the insufficient time available to prepare the parents for these roles (Johnston, 1992). Māori needed greater time to be able to assume these roles

competently and confidently; the time frame for the changeover established by the government was unrealistic. While all educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand have had to comply with these changes, Māori were especially affected by the shift in government socio-economic policies that saw the country move to a market based economy throughout the last 30 years. Smith alludes to the impression of these changes stating that they have

Had little impact on alleviating the Māori educational crisis related to underachievement (1996:13).

The realities for Te Aute College were the same as those realities for other Māori boarding schools, 'little' schools and the majority of whom were rural based in that, many schools were restricted in the 'board of trustee' sense. A lack of adequate access to resources and relevant knowledge according to the required management goals of the Department of Education, led to unnecessary risk taking. Thus the velocity and intricacy of the single-minded government agenda was overpowering for some school communities who within a very short timeframe were expected to volunteer time and effort by means of participation on school boards of trustees (Ibid). Consequently, Te Aute College like many other schools throughout Aotearoa New Zealand underwent major changes to its organisational and management structures that saw the college encounter both internal and external impediments. Such impediments arose in an era where significant changes were occurring to the way in which the government administered services across the social sector of society. For instance, the changes could be summed up by the government's role becoming a minimalist one, that is, from a State interventionist role to a user pays system in attempts to promote concepts such as efficacy, accountability, decentralisation, management, governance and profit. Indeed the Māori boarding schools such as Te Aute College have not overcome the structural impediments contained within these educational reforms and subsequently

Choices with respect to access, participation and outcomes in education and schooling are correspondingly limited (Ibid:14).

Whereas these educational reforms [ostensibly] focussed on enablement, access and participation in order to promote greater successes and achievements across education, the reality was that not all schools fared as well as each other (Graham, 2002). The rationale for such differences can be attributed to more than one context as

has been examined to date for instance by a number of researchers including Smith (1996), Johnston (1997), Graham (2002) and Durie (2002). It is important to state here that during the change process that the education system underwent, Māori boarding schools such as Te Aute College were impacted upon by a number of macro-influences that included privatisation of State-owned assets and deregulation of the economy. External factors related to economic policy, the labour market and greater access to Māori education for instance, have also compounded the sustainability factor of Te Aute College and the remaining Māori boarding schools.

Correlating with these structural changes and indeed impediments, Te Aute College and the remaining Māori boarding schools entered a downward spiral in terms of school performance and achievements. For instance, St. Stephen's and Queen Victoria Māori boarding schools have since closed. Issues of State compliance be it hostel issues or educational issues, have seen Te Aute College consistently battle to provide the type of education that is pertinent to its special character, to its students and to the Māori leaders of tomorrow. While the educational reforms have provided for greater transparency and accountability in the provision of education, overall the downward trend indicates that time, education policy and technology have not been as kind to Te Aute College as one may have expected from these dynamics.

Privatisation, Deregulation and Kura Kaupapa Māori

In the 1980s the fourth Labour Government engaged in a radical programme¹³ of change across the sphere of society in Aotearoa New Zealand; there is much research and published discourse on this topic (see Smith, 1991; Codd and Gordon, 1991; Kelsey, 1999; Johnston, 1998). The impact of these changes on Māori has been huge. Firstly, the privatisation of State-owned enterprises such as the rail system, the electricity network, the telecommunications network, the postal service and the

¹³ In response to pressures of globalization, from the 1980s to the mid-2000s, New Zealand pursued neo-liberal economic policies as the country opened up its markets during terms of both conservative and Labour governments. In New Zealand, individualized market-based thinking in the Treasury had been fomenting long before 1984. The incoming Labour government embraced the Treasury vision and embarked on a radical programme of economic restructuring, privatization and deregulation (McClland and St.John, 2006:181).

roading industry where the Māori population formed a significant number of employees, streamlined employment across the country, which ultimately led to greater Māori unemployment in the interim; for instance in the form of redundancies and lay offs

Northland and its people are still recovering from the 1980s and 1990s, when many urban unemployed were drawn back into the north's rural areas. The local economy was also severely affected in the last two decades of the 20th century by government restructuring. When the forestry sector became a state-owned enterprise, for example, many people lost jobs, especially Māori who were a high proportion of the forest work force. Employment opportunities remain limited
[\(<http://www.teara.govt.nz/places/northland/northland/13/en>\).](http://www.teara.govt.nz/places/northland/northland/13/en)

Manufacturing industries and Freezing Works in particular, were closing down across the country as a result of these changes. Whakatū and Tomoana, two of the largest freezing works in Aotearoa New Zealand situated in Hastings both closed in this period and both were significant employers of Māori in the Hawkes Bay region (see Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare, 2001). Te Aute College drew a large number of students from the Hastings and Napier cities especially when reviewing the school roll statistics of the 1970s and 1980s. However, there was a significant drop in the numbers of students from these cities when these freezing works closed down. High Māori unemployment meant less income and combined with other factors such as greater access to Maori education or individual families' economic prioritisation in general, led to greater pressures for whānau in terms of their whānau affairs (Ibid). Cheaper education such as that offered in non-boarding schools became a priority and as a consequence, whānau were no longer able to afford to send their sons and daughters to Māori boarding schools; Te Aute College, in the catchment area of Whakatū and Tomoana suffered this fate.

Secondly, a less direct impact upon Māori boarding schools has paradoxically been brought about largely by Māori and the Māori protest movements of the 1970s that focussed on the inclusion of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the school curriculum. While such protests were not specifically driven to significantly impact upon the Māori boarding schools, the outcome is that curriculum change has led to greater

choices for whānau (Smith, 1991; Durie, 2006). Under the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, schools were now obliged to include Māori and tikanga Māori in the curriculum albeit, across a continuum of Māori programmes including

- Taha Māori;
- Biculturalism;
- Bilingual (including Total Immersion);
- Kura Kaupapa Māori;
- Whare Kura;
- Whare Wānanga.

These developments that began in the 1980s saw Māori people take greater control over the education of their children. Te Kōhanga Reo (Irwin, 1990) (see Chapter Five) were set in motion at which time a series of schooling and educational interventions driven by Māori also gained greater momentum

These initiatives were initiated as 'alternative' ideas, developed as resistance initiatives outside of the 'mainstream' system....In quick order Kura Kaupapa Māori Elementary schools (Māori immersion philosophy and practical schools), Kura Tuarua (Māori immersion secondary school options) and Whare Wānanga (Māori tertiary options) were established (Smith, 2003:7).

While these movements were momentous for Māori and their communities, ironically, they were also taking their toll upon the Māori boarding schools. Urban Māori communities now had the opportunity to keep their children at home and educate them at their local Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori or Whare Kura. Prior to having these options and therefore greater access to an education based on a Māori worldview, parents had no choice but to send their boys and girls to one of the Māori boarding schools. Obviously gender, religious background, history and whānau connections chose which school this was. However, greater access to Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Kura has conversely seen a decrease in the number of Māori boarding schools as well as their respective rolls (Smith, 1996). The choices for whānau meant that schools such as Te Aute College were not the only schools that were now delivering and offering te reo Māori and tikanga Māori; 'the school or

college down the road' was now too. Therefore, it was now possible to be immersed in one's own culture, language and tikanga Māori by attending a local school.

Combined with high Māori unemployment, the prioritisation of whānau in terms of the education of their children is appreciated. However, the effects on the Māori boarding schools have been hugely felt and meant the need for the development of strategic directions for their respective futures. In 1996, Paerangi Ltd¹⁴ (also, see Chapter Nine) was established to assist the Maori boarding schools in their respective yet, collective strategic direction. Ultimately, empowerment has not been as forthcoming as presupposed by the educational reforms because firstly, Paerangi Ltd has ceased to operate as an entity and secondly, schools such as Te Aute College have continued to struggle throughout the last 20 years. St.Stephen's and Queen Victoria schools in Auckland were both closed by the end of 2002. Te Aute College's declining student numbers in this period are also testament to this lack of empowerment. The competitive educational environment has not been kind to Te Aute College; indeed, to the Māori boarding schools.

In spite of the successes and tribulations of the last 20 years; Te Aute College has endured and without a doubt flourished at times. Indeed, Te Aute College has strongly and ably competed across a range of fields inside and outside of the classroom with successes and distinction. A determining factor for the likes of Te Aute College has no doubt been its brand, its character and its whakapapa. It has been whakapapa that has bonded the people of Te Aute College together by virtue of work or education; it has also been this same notion of whakapapa that has undoubtedly seen Te Aute College endure in its role and function as an institution delivering education to young Māori today. This endurance has mirrored the successes of the past that include a prominent number of Māori scholars, leaders and role models throughout the last 150 years, various achievements in the sporting arena, the Māori cultural environment,

¹⁴ Paerangi Limited is a limited liability company with charitable status. It was established and constituted to support, assist and advocate for the Māori boarding schools. The company's main task is to work collaboratively with the Ministry of Education to support and further develop the Māori colleges. Six Māori boarding schools form the core shareholders of Paerangi Limited: Turakina Māori Girls College, St Joseph's Māori Girls College, Te Aute College, Hukarere College, Hato Petera College, Hato Paora College (Paerangi Ltd, 2002).

positive contributions to the growth and development of Māori communities nationwide and a contribution to Māori achievement.

The competitiveness element of Te Aute College and its whānau has often occurred with a lack of resources or inequitable resources in comparison to those whom the college has competed with. However, this lack of resources has not deterred the college's ability to perform; instead, Te Aute College has performed with credit and distinction throughout the last 150 years and with the appropriate direction and guidance can continue to do so. Te Aute College continues to be represented today by its students in many arenas that include sport and recreation, media, politics, education, law, Māoritanga, hospitality, local marae and community work, health, information technology, State Services, agriculture and horticulture, trade industry, finance and the arts (sourced from registrations to the 2004 150th celebrations and research into the occupations of students in the last 60 years).

Administration at Te Aute College Today

Today, there are two entities responsible for the governance and day-to-day management of the college. These entities are the Te Aute Trust Board and the Te Aute College Board of Trustees. While each board has its own areas of responsibility, they simultaneously share the definitive responsibility and that is the wellbeing of Te Aute College, its students and all those who are a part of the wider community associated with the college; including its past and its future. Therefore it is important to know who are responsible, who are accountable and what their respective functions are. Parents and caregivers of students need to be aware of these roles so that they are aware of the lines of communication and of what is happening daily, weekly or strategically at their son's school today. For instance, it's these very whānau who send the sons to Te Aute and that have faith in the college and its continued existence. Their faith ebbs from a history that points toward a living and dynamic Te Aute College that has given a continued service to communities, to Māoridom and to the nation as a whole. It is therefore important for the boards to acknowledge this role that parents and caregivers play in their children's education and in doing so, nurture a

relationship based on utu.

Te Aute Trust Board

In 1862, the General Synod of the Anglican Church¹⁵ appointed 4 trustees to be responsible for the Te Aute College Endowment Land. The Te Aute Trust Board was formally established later in 1884 to administer the Endowment Land (Alexander, 1951). This Trust is subject to a Private Act, the Anglican Church Trusts Act 1881 and was incorporated under the provisions of the Religious Charitable Education Trust Board Incorporation Act 1884 (Ibid). The Te Aute Trust Board was then incorporated as a charitable trust under the Charitable Trusts Act 1957 (Kupa, 1994). The responsibility for the administration of the Endowment Land remains with the trust board today that are charged with a responsibility of nearly 7000 acres. Current membership of the Te Aute Trust Board is eleven members, with appointments made by the General Synod of the Anglican Church who receive nominations to replace retiring or vacant positions. The aim of the trust board is to provide education funding to Te Aute College and Hukarere and, to protect and enhance the value of the trust board using the Endowment Lands. As proprietors of Te Aute College and Hukarere, the Te Aute Trust Board has direct financial and legal responsibility for the operation of both schools' hostels.

Significant changes to the board's composition occurred in 1985 when the trust board after its first and only meeting with Māori at Kohupātiki marae agreed that all Pākehā members would retire over the next two years and the trust board would comprise Māori. By 1987 the trust board was made up of eight Māori and one Pākehā, the Bishop of Waiapu; quite a radical change from the status quo. The trust board is the

¹⁵ The General Synod is the national assembly of the Church of England. It came into being in 1970 under the [Synodical Government Measure 1969](#), replacing an earlier body known as the Church Assembly. It continues a tradition of synodical government which, in England, has its origins in the medieval period. The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia is a constitutionally autonomous member of the worldwide Anglican Communion. The 1992 Constitution of the Church provides for three partners to order their affairs within their own cultural context. Within Aotearoa New Zealand, [Tikanga Pākehā](#) comprises seven Dioceses, [Tikanga Māori](#) comprises five Hui Amorangi, the boundaries of which differ from those of the dioceses. [Tikanga Pasifika](#) encompasses Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands, and is known as the Diocese of Polynesia.

partner with the Crown in the integration deeds applying to both schools and, as mentioned has numerous administration responsibilities where today the trust board is answerable to the Kōmiti Whāiti o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, a subsidiary of the General Synod of the Anglican Church.

Te Aute College Board of Trustees

When Te Aute College integrated into the State education system in 1975 through a Deed of Arrangement signed between the Te Aute Trust Board and Her Majesty the Queen (Ibid), the Te Aute College Board of Governors was formed (see Chapter Three) with certain responsibilities associated with the general provision of education at Te Aute College. The Te Aute College Board of Trustees took over from its predecessor in 1989 with the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. The board of trustees are contracted by the Te Aute Trust Board to administer the day to day running of the school's hostel. The Hukarere Board of Trustees is also contracted to the trust board in the same manner. The Te Aute College Board of Trustees is elected every three year period as is set down in the Education Act 1989. Since 1988, the Te Aute College Board of Trustees (formerly known as the Te Aute College Board of Governors 1975 - 1987 and established under the terms of the Integration Act 1975¹⁶) has not only had to face the challenges of the internal dynamics within Te Aute College, it has also had to confront the legislative requirements of the Ministry of Education. The representation of this board comprises the principal, the secretary, parent representatives, staff representative, student representative, Te Aute Trust Board representatives and Te Aute Trust Board appointed persons. For instance, in 2007, the Te Aute College Board of Trustees membership numbered 11; the principal, one staff representative, five parent representatives, two Te Aute Trust Board representatives, one student representative and one co-opted member.

¹⁶ The Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975 is an Act to make provision for the conditional and voluntary integration of private schools into the State system of education in New Zealand on a basis which will preserve and safeguard the special character of the education provided by them.

Board Performance

The two boards' operations are ultimately measured by the Education Review Office¹⁷ (ERO), a statutory arm of the Ministry of Education charged with assessing and reviewing education practice within the early childhood, primary and secondary education sectors as well as the student roll. However, the Anglican Church, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and whānau also observe the boards' performance via a number of mechanisms including academic results and the school roll. While it is the 'education institution' such as the school or in Te Aute's case the college that is reviewed by the ERO, responsibility at the end of the day rests with the governing and managing bodies of Te Aute College. Since 2000, the ERO have visited and reviewed Te Aute College seven times; once in 2000, twice in 2003 and once each in 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007. Since 2003, the Ministry of Education have had four Limited Statutory Managers¹⁸ (LSMs) at Te Aute College in various capacities to support the respective boards and professional leadership at the college. Full responsibilities of the LSM have included

- Finance;
- Property management;
- Community relations;
- Personnel management;
- Health and safety;
- Hostel management;
- Implementation of action plans;

¹⁷ The Education Review Office (ERO) is a government department whose purpose is to evaluate and report publicly on the education and care of students in schools and early childhood services. ERO's findings inform decisions and choices made by parents, teachers, managers, trustees and others, at the individual school and early childhood level and at the national level by government policy makers (<http://www.ero.govt.nz/ero/publishing.nsf/Content/ERO%27s+Role>).

¹⁸ Limited statutory managers or commissioners are appointed if there is serious risk to a school's operation or to the student welfare or educational performance. It is also appropriate for a board or, in the case of an integrated school, the school's proprietors, to request the application of an intervention to resolve a problem at its school. A limited statutory manager takes over particular board functions and responsibilities. The board members continue to hold office and are strengthened by the knowledge, experience and capabilities of the limited statutory manager (http://mediacentre.minedu.govt.nz/fact-sheets/schools_at_risk.html).

- Appointment and induction of new principals;
- Curriculum management (ERO, 2007:6).

When reviewing the exhaustive list above that covers all aspects of educational provision at Te Aute College, it would be highly conceivable that any educational institution in Aotearoa New Zealand who has been guided by an LSM or successive LSMs operating according to this criteria for five years would be in a very strong position throughout all areas of its governance and management. Ironically, successive reports (ERO, 2003; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007) tell a different story even though in these same reports, favourable comments applaud the work of successive LSMs. For instance,

The LSM appointed in 2005 has provided the board with sound advice and guidance. He has put in place a considerable number of effective procedures and systems that enhance the quality of management and governance practices. The LSM has identified the areas within the curriculum that need strengthening and provided relevant advice Recently, the relationship between the principal and LSM has become strained and they have struggled to maintain an effective working relationship. Despite this tension, the school has benefitted, particularly in governance, from the work of the present and past LSMs (ERO, 2007:6-7).

Despite the presence of an LSM during the last four years, Te Aute College has not flourished or functioned to its potential. From this observation, there is a strong argument that accountability for Te Aute College's performance lay with the Ministry of Education and not solely with the respective boards who are charged with governance and management. Great expenses will have no doubt been spent on providing for the LSMs' presence at Te Aute College but good economic practice would reveal that this has been money not well spent given the predicament that Te Aute College finds itself in according to its most recent report (Ibid). Consequently, Te Aute College has continued in recent years to be denied the guidance that the LSMs are ostensibly there to provide thereby suffering in terms of negative media coverage, a poor student roll and unfavourable student educational achievement rates according to percentages of students leaving school with levels of the National

Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA)¹⁹.

International Currency

On a global scale, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) have identified five pillars of education. For instance, the ultimate goal of the UNESCO Institute for Education's (UIE) programme is to contribute to the realisation of learning societies. This is based on a vision of an open learning world where people can learn anywhere, at any time and by means of formal schooling as well as non-formal and informal learning. The realisation of this goal is based on the following four pillars of education

- *Learning to be;*
- *Learning to know;*
- *Learning to do;*
- *Learning to live together (International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, 1996).*

Also, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) identified five key roles for schools (Durie, 2004). The overall goal associated with these key roles is to create education structures that contribute to social solidity and economic strength and, that provide people with the opportunity to realise their potential and make the most of their innate abilities (Istance, 2003). An investigation into the type of learning environment that Te Aute College provides reveals that both of these global institutions' goals for education indeed have the capacity and potential to be addressed by the special character of Te Aute College. These international goals are also mirrored by the goals set by the Hui Taumata Mātauranga (see Chapter Eight) that not only reflect the individual wellbeing of Māori but, the collective capacity for

¹⁹ The NCEA (National Certificate of Educational Achievement) is New Zealand's national qualification for senior secondary students with three successive levels of the NCEA available for each of the final three years of school. NCEA is part of the National Qualifications Framework, along with approximately 1,000 other qualifications. Students may be able to study toward qualifications other than NCEA while they are at school. These may be instead of NCEA, or as well as NCEA.

Māori to actively participate as citizens of the world. Te Aute College can also be seen to be addressing these global educational goals where the environment of Te Aute College promotes UNESCO's four pillars by virtue of its special character curriculum where it aspires to realise the potential in all of its students and maximise their innate abilities; a goal of the OECD. While the Māori component of the ethos of Te Aute College is paramount, it also recognises that Māori live in a variety of contexts today; locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. Accordingly, the special character of Te Aute College aims to equip and prepare students for the world beyond Pukehou.

Special Character

The philosophy²⁰ of Te Aute College is what has more recently become known as its 'Mission Statement' and is captured in the following statement where the purpose is

To send out from Te Aute College young men academically qualified, strong in the knowledge and practice of Māoritanga, with an insight into the Christian conception of being an influence among their fellows during their lifetime (Hakiwai, Sword and Sigley, 1974:3).

This statement represents the heart and soul of Te Aute College and even though its origins stem from as recently as 1974, its essence encapsulates Te Aute College's history as well as its future. The mission statement of Te Aute College goes onto state

To achieve this the College must continue to strive to be a community where Māori etiquette and its niceties of behaviour are practised on all occasions.

A place that the students regard as home; their tūrangawaewae.

A place where Māori values, attitudes, and practices are fostered thus enhancing the young person's identification with their people.

A place where with the help of understanding Pakeke they realise their potential in academic and personal growth.

A place where with the help of dedicated teachers they are inspired to have confidence that things they are taught are a base on which they can pattern their lives in a multicultural society.

²⁰ The philosophy of Te Aute College is relatively recent in terms of its formal documented presence. It is taken from a letter presented to the Prime Minister, the Right-Honourable Norman Kirk on March 10th 1974 as part of the Te Aranga o Te Aute project (see Chapter Three).

A place given to God so that the Christian ideals of the College may have a lifelong influence.

Here at Te Aute on land given by Māori people we have the ideal place where these things can be done. The young person comes to this Whare Wānanga where leaders of Māoridom have been trained for generations and here has a chance to consider what their part in New Zealand society will be. True leadership in the world is essential and at Te Aute they will receive training to prepare them for their part in the world today and tomorrow. Many parents and students do not wish education to be solely in Pākehā terms but to be bilingual and bicultural. In this area, Te Aute will fulfil many of their desires and aspirations. As a boarding College, Te Aute has advantages which may not be possible in the home. At Te Aute everybody belongs to a community which values the things close to the heart of every Māori. Pupils are part of one community within which they can share every aspect of their lives. Te Aute will always be predominantly a Māori Boarding College, a marae centered village community. This community is keen to share its special values and beliefs and so welcomes Pākehā, young men from the Pacific Islands, from Australia, and from all other races (Te Aute College, 2007).

Its metaphorical representation is seen in the Te Aute College ‘crest’ (see Figure One) where the Anglican Church and a Māori worldview underpin the provision of education at Te Aute College. The mission statement above acknowledges those who have served Te Aute College in the past, those who are currently at Te Aute College and those persons yet to come to Te Aute College. This ethos therefore embodies the whakapapa of Te Aute College and gives it its special character, a character and brand that is unique and that sets Te Aute College apart from other educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand. The special character of Te Aute College is recognised by the Ministry of Education and is done so through its integration into the State education system by the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975.



Figure One: Te Aute College Crest and Motto.

In 2007, the special character of Te Aute College is represented by the following five pou

1. Pou Mātauranga - Academic
 - To improve Student Engagement, Achievement and Retention, and take Te Aute College to the forefront of education for Māori boys.
2. Pou Whare Ora - Hostels
 - To provide quality residential facilities and develop a welcoming, safe, healthy and disciplined environment for our young men.
3. Pou Tikanga Māori - Things Māori
 - To strengthen te reo me ōna tikanga Māori throughout the school and ensure our young men are strong, proud and secure in their identity.
4. Pou Wairua - Church
 - To strengthen the role of the Anglican Church and Christian values in our daily lives at Te Aute.
5. Pou Hākinakina - Sports and Recreation

- To continue to produce strong sports teams and sportsmen from Te Aute (Te Aute College, 2007).

This special character interweaves throughout all facets of life and education at Te Aute College. The whakapapa of the history of Te Aute College also binds these five pou together where education (1), whanaungatanga (2), te ao Māori (3), spirituality (4) and rugby (5) have featured significantly across the layers that have made Te Aute College what it is today. Subsequently, the special character of Te Aute College continues this same lineage where by virtue of attending the college today, students, add to the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Māori Educational Achievement

While the educational achievements of Te Aute College have been noted in the past through the outstanding successes of the late 19th century under headmaster, John Thornton and in the ensuing years of the 20th century under the leadership of headmasters Ernest Loten and Richard Webb (see Chapter Three), measurements of educational achievement today are predominantly statistically based. These same measurements are also viewed by the public ‘gaze’ in terms of student educational achievement rates, that today, are based on

- NCEA attainment;
- The numbers of school leavers progressing to tertiary education;
- Student stand-down;
- Suspension;
- Exclusion and expulsion rates; and
- Retention rates (Ministry of Education, 2007).

The most recent educational statistics for Māori students across the country reveal that Maori students formed the second largest ethnic group in schools where the majority

attend either decile²¹ one or decile two schools such as Te Aute College (Ibid). These same statistics demonstrate that Maori students have made positive gains in terms of NCEA qualifications since 2004 but in comparison to the European student statistics, Māori are still lagging (Ibid).

At present, according to the New Zealand Qualifications Authority²² (NZQA) the NCEA statistics of Te Aute College are not favourable when measured with the ‘yardstick’ that compares Te Aute College to other similar secondary schools. For instance, overall NCEA results taken from the NZQA website for student achievement in 2006 show that, students at Te Aute College are underachieving even though in Years 11 and 12, Te Aute College’s success rates are higher than national averages for all secondary schools; 54.4% and 56% respectively (NZQA, 2007). Nonetheless, Te Aute’s educational achievement rates measured against similar secondary schools are employed by the Ministry of Education to highlight what they perceive to be underachievement

In 2006, 52% of Year 11 students obtained NCEA level 1 compared with 78.5% in decile 2, single-sex boys’ schools. Of Year 12 students, 64.3% achieved level 2, compared with 83.5% in decile 2, single-sex boys’ schools. Year 13 students achieving level 3 was 23.1% compared to 41.9% in similar schools. University entrance requirement was achieved by

²¹ A school's decile rating indicates the extent to which the school draws its students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students. A school's decile does not indicate the overall socio-economic mix of the school nor the socio-economic status of individual students. Deciles are used to provide funding to State and State integrated schools to enable them to overcome the barriers to learning faced by students from low socio-economic communities. The lowest decile schools (deciles 1-3) receive supplemental funding.

²² The New Zealand Qualifications Authority's primary function is to coordinate the administration and quality assurance of national qualifications in New Zealand. NZQA works closely with other education agencies, including the [Ministry of Education](#) and the [Tertiary Education Commission](#), to achieve the [Government's education goals](#). The New Zealand Qualifications Authority is a Crown entity established under the section 248 of the [Education Act 1989](#).

15.4% of students, compared to 37.8% in decile 2 single-sex boys' schools (ERO, 2007:4).

There is a range of contributing factors to these statistics that include

- Many junior (Year 9 and 10) students arrive at Te Aute College with below average reading and numeracy levels;
- Many students are uncertain or aware of the NCEA structure and subsequently this has implications for their [lack of] progress towards achieving NCEA;
- Inadequate curriculum guidelines for some essential learning areas prepared by some teachers;
- Some teachers continue to teach from a 'deficit' perspective where a lack of achievement is attributed to students themselves;
- The application of policies that do not consider the impact of cultural diversity on educational outcomes (Ibid).

The first instance above is obviously beyond the control of Te Aute College however, there is the capacity to plan for, specifically address and monitor the importance of catering for students who arrive at Te Aute College with poor literacy and numeracy skills. The next two instances are directly related to the provision of education at Te Aute College and so can be managed by senior management under the guidance of the LSM for instance, or educational advisors who deliver professional education programmes. The fourth instance undoubtedly comes from a background that has held to this ingrained belief, albeit an incorrect one (see Pihama, 1993; Smith, L., 1999; Bishop et al, 2007). However, while the individual teacher may hold such beliefs, responsibility rests with senior management to ensure that professional development reverses this belief, including the board of trustees who are responsible for employing staff. The fifth instance above relates to a macro-influence that concerns the State not acknowledging cultural difference when applying 'blanket' educational policies to all schools. That is, the diversity among Māori models of education provision today has created many options for parents and caregivers while at the same time introduced difficulties with equivalence to what Durie refers to in terms of

.... Standards, assessment tools, pedagogies and conditions of work. Increasingly it has become clear that the application of policies that do not recognise the impact of culture on educational outcomes will not only disadvantage students who sit outside dominant cultural paradigms but also run the risk of reaching misleading conclusions about effectiveness and significance (2006:7-8).

Consequently, while schools like Te Aute College maybe providing the spiritual direction for their students as well as a Māori cultural dimension to all aspects of the environment in which they are educated as is outlined in the special character of such schools, there is no reference to these elements in Te Aute College's most recent ERO report (2007). Although this thesis does not disregard the academic dimension of Te Aute College and instead focus on the spiritual or Māori dimensions, the nature of Te Aute's special character and schools like Te Aute College must be factored into such reviews. A failure to do so is ethically unsound and subsequently there will always be misconceptions about the effectiveness and functionality of institutions like Te Aute College as Durie (2006) alluded to earlier when referring to the disadvantages faced by students or institutions that do not reside in dominant cultural paradigms.

Another disadvantage to institutions such as Te Aute College is that while educational success is primarily measured by individual achievement, there is a wider goal, education has both a private and public good (Durie, 2006). While Te Aute College indirectly makes significant contributions to the wider community and society (see Chapter Eight); a phenomenon that has been a part of Te Aute College throughout its entire history, these are not necessarily acknowledged; formally or informally. Consequently, there is the potential to factor this ideal into State education policy directives in terms of future planning for Māori education and the wider goal of the 'public good'. Durie for instance, notes that it is possible to identify strategic goals that encompass both 'goods'

- To unleash the potential within all Māori learners (a private good);
- To contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations (a public good);
- To strengthen the national economy by building a knowledgeable Māori society (a public good);

- To protect and promote the interests of future generations of Māori learners (a private good);
- To add value to New Zealand's education portfolio by indigenising policies and practices (a public good) (Ibid:9).

The Te Aute Trust Board, the Te Aute College Board of Trustees, the Ministry of Education, the Education Review Office, the Limited Statutory Manager(s), the National Certificates of Educational Achievement, student background and the curriculum have all been discussed within the context of educational provision at Te Aute College. Teachers though have perhaps the greatest influence on a student's education both in and outside of the classroom. This statement is especially pertinent to Te Aute College where great teaching has been synonymous with great academic achievement by students at Te Aute College (see Chapter Three).

Recent research by Bishop et al (2007) titled *Te Kotahitanga*²³ *Phase 3: Establishing a Culturally Responsive Pedagogy of Relations in Mainstream Secondary School Classrooms* has produced a number of findings related to teacher - student relationships and a corresponding link to the educational achievement of these students in mainstream schools. It was identified earlier that some teachers at Te Aute College still held deficit views of some of their students (ERO, 2007). Such views directly conflict with the special character of Te Aute College and as such it is incomprehensible to understand why such teachers would want to work in an environment such as Te Aute College. The fact that recent statistics reveal poor educational achievement by Te Aute College students in comparison with similar schools though is comprehensible; given the deficit nature and thinking of some teachers, according to the ERO (2007). Another important aspect associated with being a teacher at Te Aute College is the time and commitment required of staff. Past

²³ In 2001 and 2002, the first phase of the Te Kotahitanga research project was undertaken by the Māori Education Research Institute at the School of Education, University of Waikato and the Poutama Pounamu Research and Development Centre in Tauranga. This research sought to investigate, by talking with Māori students (and other participants in education) how a better understanding of Māori students' experiences in the classroom and analyses of these experiences might lead to improved policy and teaching and learning that would ultimately result in greater Māori student achievement in mainstream schools. It also sought out to identify those underlying teacher and school behaviours and attitudes that make a difference to Māori achievement (Bishop et al, 2007:7).

Principal Awi Riddell, reflects on his time at Te Aute College

In my experience, teachers who give of themselves outside of normal school time to give extra tuition, or to be involved in extra curricula activities, are those who are most respected by students and whose students will respond to the demands placed upon them. There is no place in a boarding school for teachers who see their role merely as a 9.00 to 3.00 position. Unfortunately, this is the case all too often. Before appointing staff, the principal and BOT must be clear as to what they require of teachers whom they appoint. For many students, the classroom is not a place where they excel. However, many exhibit skills outside the classroom that can and should be encouraged and harnessed. Such skills may be in music, in drama, in culture, in sport, in leadership, in outdoor pursuits and so on. The important thing is that each student be nurtured, be encouraged, and be valued (Personal Communication, 2006).

Teachers choose to work in a school, it is therefore imperative that teachers, indeed, all staff at a college such as Te Aute, be prepared to respond to the demands put on them outside of the academic day. It is also essential that all teachers and all staff, senior management included, are of the one vision and one mind as is reflected in the following whakataukī '*Nāu te mātauranga, nāku te mātauranga; ka puawai ngā tamariki*' that can be interpreted as, '*With your contribution (of teaching and learning) and my contribution; the children will blossom*'.

The opposite of this scenario, which ultimately manifests in poor educational achievement by students, is represented by another whakataukī '*He tōtara wāhirua, he rua kai nā te toki*' meaning, '*A tōtara split in two is food for the adze*'. An interpretation of this whakataukī refers to a 'group' being in two minds and the divisiveness that ultimately leads to the deterioration of the whole group. Teacher - student relationships at Te Aute College undoubtedly influence a student's time at the college and so will have implications for student educational achievement at Te Aute College (see Chapter Eight); indeed, national Māori student educational achievement.

Curriculum Development

The curriculum at Te Aute College has undergone many changes and cycles throughout its history. Successive governments, educational policies, technology, the brand of Te Aute College and student enrolments have significantly guided the

educational curriculum. As discussed the spiritual and Māori dimensions of the curriculum at Te Aute College are unique; just as important today is the academic curriculum. While Te Aute College is a State integrated secondary school with its own special character, the college is obliged to comply with the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993; 2007). The former national curriculum for schools underwent a process of redrafting in 2006 with submissions and consultative hui prior to its release in 2007. This document outlines the essential learning areas, essential skills, principles and values of which should be being taught to students in all schools throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Student enrolments at Te Aute College determine the number of teachers as well as the feasibility of subject choice for students.

Although the essential learning areas are taught at Te Aute College alongside its special character dimensions, students are disadvantaged by subject choice in Years 11, 12 and 13 by virtue of the practicality of delivering subjects with small classes and with suitably qualified teachers to do so. At bigger schools, a greater student population and staff numbers would alleviate such issues at Te Aute College where for instance, it is impractical to teach subjects such as horticulture, farming and agriculture, specialised subjects such as computer graphics, industry trade training courses, other languages, accounting and economics alongside the traditional subjects and special character dimensions. Nonetheless, an advantage to Te Aute College is the opportunity to strengthen teaching in these traditional subjects, improve student achievement in these areas and or specialise in one or two curriculum areas such as economics or information technology. The disadvantage is that not all students want to take these subjects, therefore they either go through their time at Te Aute College with negative undertones and subsequently underachieve or, they enrol at a school that will provide for them; either way the predicament is that Te Aute College suffers in the short and long terms.

In terms of the assessment policy of Te Aute College, this is reviewed as part of the managing national assessment (MNA) by the NZQA, the most recent of which was in June 2006. Te Aute College was commended in this report for addressing the recommendations made in the previous visit in 2004 where quality assurance practices

are seen to be developing within the college and teachers are taking efforts to ensure that all students are treated fairly in assessment matters (NZQA, 2006).

In 2007, Te Whare Tū Tauā o Aotearoa²⁴ was formally introduced into the junior school curriculum at Te Aute College. Te reo Māori is paramount in the teaching and learning in Te Whare Tu Tauā and so using the taiaha as a vehicle to learn Māori knowledge and Māori values rationalised the decision to implement the programme into the curriculum that would enable students to develop a Māori world view in its full entirety (Te Aute College, 2007). The vision and aims of Te Whare Tū Tauā o Aotearoa complemented the special character of Te Aute College that seeks to empower students with Māori, spiritual and academic knowledge in order that they will develop into future leaders of their communities, iwi, Māoridom and of Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so, it is envisaged that this part of the curriculum will assist in the empowering of Te Aute College students to become positive contributors to Māoridom and society in general.

Te Pou Hauora

The health and safety of Te Aute College students in their everyday school and hostel environment is a not only the paramount concern of whānau who send their sons to Te Aute College, it is also the concern of the respective college boards and all teaching and hostel staff. Contrary to recent ERO reports that consistently refer to this phenomenon in various forms still being evident at Te Aute College, the boards and staff are proactive in countering students' perceptions of entrenched negative boarding school traditions (ERO, 2007).

²⁴ Te Whare Tū Tauā o Aotearoa was initiated by Dr Pita Sharples of Ngai Te Kikiri o te Rangi in his home town Takapau, Central Hawke's Bay. Te Aute College was also involved in the early establishment of Te Whare Tū Tauā during the New Zealand Polynesian Festival held at the Tomoana Show Grounds in the early 1980's. The vision was to create a learning institute of Māori weaponry to ensure the survival of this ancient art and tikanga Māori. With the steady decline of the Māori Language and the loss of Māori knowledge in the second half of the 20th century, Te Whare Tū Tauā is an opportunity to use the taiaha as a vehicle to help to revitalise Māoridom. Just as important was the opportunity to empower rangatahi with Māori knowledge to develop future leaders and positive contributors to Māori and general society.

‘Bullying’ is a term that has been associated with Te Aute College throughout its history albeit, under different contexts, social tolerance, changing social attitudes, different names (for example, ‘fagging’ was a term used up until the 1970s) and in varying degrees. Bullying is not a term of behaviour that is solely confined to Te Aute College; indeed, it has been the cause for concern in many secondary schools throughout the country and indeed internationally (Rigby, 1996), for decades and not just a concern in the Māori boarding schools. There is a remarkable similarity in the incidence of bullying from country to country, school to school. Bullying knows no international boundaries, socio-economic status or ethnic boundaries. Nonetheless, St.Stephen’s School, a former Māori boarding school finally closed its doors in 2002 for a number of reasons that included successive excoriating ERO reports, poor academic results and bullying. For instance, Peter Malcouronne, staff writer for the *‘North & South Magazine’*, in an article about Te Aute College and Wesley College rugby tradition compared the two colleges to St.Stephen’s in terms of their own respective dynamics including, health and safety issues (2006).

According to ERO (2007), the main issue associated with student health and safety at Te Aute College has related to supervision levels in the student hostel and residual negative boarding school practices since 2003. Significant improvements have been recorded in Te Aute’s most recent ERO report (Ibid) although the problem still festers as it does in schools throughout the country (Rigby, 1996).

In 2005, the student hostels underwent refurbishment after 25 years of ‘wear and tear’ and minimal maintenance. The Te Aute College Trust Board as proprietors are responsible for the living conditions of the students and so have to comply with Ministry of Education requirements to improve the living conditions (ERO, 2003). In 2007, ERO reported that the trust board had made significant improvements to students’ living conditions. For instance, students are now housed in year level dormitories with senior prefects attached, house parents live on site but not in the dormitories and the hostel was providing students with improved quality of care through the development of a range of positive strategies that included access to pastoral care; guidance counselling services and other support personnel including

teaching staff and the college chaplain (ERO, 2007).

Tikanga Māori

While religion and spirituality form one of the main pou of the special character of Te Aute College, the other central pou originates from a Māori worldview and so is manifest in the nurturing and practice of tikanga Māori. For instance, at Te Aute College, 'Māoritanga' is seen as a way of life where it encompasses all facets of Māoridom and does not just consist of songs and haka. Māoritanga is alive and relevant to the lives of all who are a part of Te Aute College where it has practical application in everyday life alongside religion and faith (Te Aute College, 2007). This very essence directly implicates the notion of whakapapa (see Chapters Five and Six) and all of its nuances that innately link te ao Māori to the past, the present and the future. For instance, teaching and learning at Te Aute College also has its own kawa - '*Te Kawa o te Ako*' that directly relates to te ao Māori; traditionally and contemporarily. This kawa is based on three elements

- Tika, which inspires the drive for excellence, being responsible and respectful;
- Pono, which concerns the supporting and nurturing the whanaungatanga within the Te Aute College community; and,
- Aroha, which fosters nurturing and practice of aroha towards all students, staff and whānau members (Ibid).

This kawa aligns with the motto of Te Aute College - '*Whakatangata Kia Kaha*' too and so whakapapa is seen to be the all encompassing essence that is Te Aute College. That is, whakapapa enables the retention, practice and continual development of the essence of Te Aute College. It is through te ao Māori, tikanga Māori and a Māori worldview that this phenomenon is manifest, retained and emanated throughout the Te Aute College community and the many affiliated communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. At Te Aute College this pou denotes that to be and act Māori, is the norm.

Religion and Spirituality

The links between the Anglican Church and the Te Aute district began with the first meeting between local Māori chiefs and Te Wera Hauraki in 1824, an ally chief from the Ngāpuhi tribe in the far north (see Chapter Two). These links were continued in 1841 and later in 1853 at the meeting held at Te Roto-a-Tara between Grey, Williams and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti to acquire land and permission to establish a school. Since this time, Te Aute College has been a Māori boarding school that has had a strong Anglican influence and is one of 28 State Integrated secondary schools (Year 9 - 13) in the country today²⁵ and because of this unique position, its philosophical approach to education caters for the development of the whole man that encompasses sporting interests, cultural interests, academic attainment and spiritual fulfilment. In doing so, Te Aute College is geared to develop the cultural, intellectual, physical and spiritual requirements of its young men. The continued provision of religious education and spirituality at Te Aute College is recognised by the Integration Act 1975 where clauses 6 and 7 validate this provision

The Trust Board shall provide for the religious education to be given at the college.

The College Board, in the conduct of the College including the management of the hostel, will afford the Trust Board full opportunity to provide for the religious education of the boys at the college (In Kupa, 1994).

The Whare-karakia is an integral part of Te Aute College. If for instance, the Whare-karakia is excluded from Te Aute's parameters such as the marae, the classroom, the sports field, the Whare-kai and the Whare-puni; the essence of Te Aute College is lost (Takurua, 1988). Subsequently, the holistic ethos that produces the very values that are essential for the smooth running of the college as a whole and its special character would be illusory. The late Anaru Takurua, an old boy and chaplain at the college in the 1980s reflected on te taha Wairua, the spiritual dimension, in the 1988 college magazine 'Te Wero' where he explicated the following whakataukī 'Ko te amorangi

²⁵ For a full list of these State Integrated secondary schools as well as a full list of all secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, visit the following website www.tki.org.nz

ki mua, ko te hāpai ō ki muri’

This reflects the very essence of two whare, karakia and puni, each giving to one another the honour and glory due from its kete wānanga. The first part refers to the whare atop the sacred hill, the Arepa-Omeke o Te Aute. ‘Ko te hāpaiō, hei kaitautoko’ is in reference to the wharenuī. The two houses referred to as Te Amorangi and Te Hāpaiō within the context of Te Kaupapa o Te Aute complement each other; te taha Atuatanga, te taha Tangatatanga, Wairua-Māori (Ibid:12).

These expressions represent the Christian component and the human-being element that sit alongside a Māori worldview that is distinctly Te Aute College, as recounted by the late chaplain. It is also this very tradition that retains the Christian foundation on which Te Aute College was built and that continues to be a cornerstone of its future place in education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Te Aute Trust Board provides a chaplain’s residency at Te Aute College for the purposes of providing the necessary religious education for the students and any expenses associated with the college chapel and chaplain are met by the Trust Board. Currently, Te Aute College has its own chaplain who resides at the college in the chaplain’s residence and as mentioned earlier, the trust board are answerable to the Kōmiti Whāiti o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa.

Sport and Extra-Curricular Activities

Te Aute College endures to compete admirably in the sporting arena albeit their sport teams are drawn from a significantly smaller student population base than the majority of its counterparts. Of significance at Te Aute College is the sport of rugby (see Chapter Three) as is reflected in the following passage

Let the old football cry of Te Aute inspire us all to future efforts on behalf of our school Haere tonu Te Aute Haere tonu rā! Ake ake kia kaha! Haere tonu rā! (Bennett In Alexander, 1951).

Success on the rugby field has also led to successes off the rugby field with the wairua of the school being enhanced by the overall sense of esteem generated by rugby; especially in 1979 when Te Aute College defeated St.Stephen’s school to win back the Moascar Cup. Even though Te Aute College lost it back to St.Stephen’s the

following year, the flow on effects for rugby throughout the rest of the 1980s was immense. In recent years, the 1st XV has sought to regain some of the successes of the 1980s and in 2007 made the top eight secondary schools in the country; a huge feat for a college whose total student roll at the time fluctuated around 100 Year 9 - Year 14 students.

Te Aute College is able to offer other sporting codes today but not as predominantly as it did when its student roll was at its maximum of 240 students in the 1980s where the range of sport teams and sports offered by the college included rugby, soccer, basketball, tennis, yachting, mountaineering, softball, cricket, volleyball, badminton, athletics, clay bird shooting, swimming, cross country and orienteering. All of these codes were represented by senior and junior teams and individuals where in some instances; there were multiple teams in particular codes. The fact that Te Aute College could field such a range of competitors and teams was also well supported by the staff and mentors of the period who gave of their time to enable the sporting successes of Te Aute College to endure. Rugby maintains a special place at Te Aute College today as do other sporting codes; winter and summer. However, Te Aute College's roll and resources impact upon the range of sports offered.

Ngā Piki me Ngā Heke

Chapter Three provided a historical account of Te Aute College and in doing so highlighted the highs and lows of the college's existence. These trends continue today where Te Aute College experiences periods of success as well as low points. Such phenomena are to an extent controlled both by Te Aute's own doing and by external dynamics or macro-influences. For example, low points may include financial difficulty, a low school roll, negative media coverage, censorious ERO reports, serious student misconduct or a 'poor' 1st XV rugby season. Regardless of such instances, Te Aute College has endured and continues to do so; despite the adversities that conversely like the achievements of Te Aute College, incessantly challenge the college.

During the 1980s, the student roll at Te Aute College increased considerably in comparison to the 1960s and 1970s student enrolments and stabilised above the 200 mark to sit near the college's maximum student accommodation number of 240 full-time boarders.²⁶ This figure was sustained throughout the 1990s where at the end of this decade, student enrolments began to taper off; this trend continued into the new millennium. The reasons for the student gains in the immediate post-State integration era have been discussed earlier where the decline in student numbers since the late 1990s through to the present have also been discussed as a product of macro-influences as well as a culmination of internal dynamism at Te Aute College that included professional leadership, governance and management, the health and safety of students and student achievement (ERO, 2007). Undoubtedly, the internal structures at Te Aute College have had an adverse effect in determining whether or not prospective parents and caregivers would enrol their children; both boys and girls between 1992 and 2004 and boys since 2005. Nonetheless, Te Aute College continues to endure where this endurance is undeniably linked to the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the brand that this whakapapa continues to emanate. That is, the whanaungatanga links between old boys, affiliated whānau throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and Te Aute College are evident as the ensuing generations of students enter the college immersed in this whakapapa and become a part of the lineage and whakapapa of Te Aute College.

The legacy of Te Aute College has been consistently challenged by its ability to sustain itself, including Hukarere from its economic resource base; the Te Aute Endowment Land. Currently, research is being conducted on the Te Aute Endowment Land where a claim has been lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal (see Chapter Two). Notwithstanding its successes, Te Aute College undoubtedly would have been in a stronger position to nurture greater success and achievement for its student population had the genuine economic benefits from over 8000 acres of the original endowment land been accumulated annually, effectively managed and continually developed. For example, benefits such as first class student educational, accommodation, recreational,

²⁶ The student enrolment figures were obtained by examining the student rolls from the late 1970s through to 2007.

sport and technology facilities and resources as well as first class facilities for all staff that were efficiently governed and managed would nurture an environment conducive to student achievement and success in the classroom, on the sport field and outside of Te Aute College.

The economic growth in the agricultural field in the wider Pukehou and Te Aute valley today is unquestionable as can be seen in the crops that are grown and the sheep and cattle that are reared. A significant portion of the land that these agricultural operations utilise as their resource base is Te Aute Endowment Land. However, such is the nature of the Endowment Land, its annual return is less than 5% of its value. For example, one of the Glasgow lease properties is 80 acres in size, it has a government valuation of \$80 000.00 and as recently as the 1990s, the annual rental income for this property was \$3250.00, which equated to \$40.63 per acre or a 4.1% annual return from the asset (Kupa, 1994). When these figures are put into context of the socio-economic status of the college today, it is no wonder that Te Aute College struggles financially to develop, let alone maintain the college facilities.

Te Aute College has a decile rating of two. Even though this rating is based on where students come from and the socio-economic statuses of their whānau and communities, this system of rating is unfathomable when put into the perspective of Te Aute College being one of the most and if not the most, land endowed school in Aotearoa New Zealand today. That is, Te Aute College is labelled with the stigma of being a low decile school when in reality its economic resource base includes nearly 7000 acres of land. Nonetheless, the decile two rating should also ensure adequate funding to address the issues associated with low socio-economic status; Te Aute College's situation though still reveals issues and problems that directly relate to a lack of adequate resources (see ERO, 2003; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007).

Summary

This chapter has investigated the status of Te Aute College today and in doing so has had to revert back to specific episodes in the history of the college, which have been

necessary in order to examine its position. State integration and a changing economy in the 1980s impacted deeply on the college where the effects of these instances can be seen to be delayed as opposed to immediate. For instance, the late 1990s onwards have seen Te Aute College struggle considerably at times and this has included unfavourable educational achievement statistics in comparison with similar schools, a falling student roll, greater Māori education options for parents around Aotearoa New Zealand and financial insecurity. However, the special character of Te Aute College, its wairua and its taha Māori have upheld its mana and whakapapa, ensuring its endurance for the time being and possible future directions. The quiescent nature of the whakapapa of Te Aute College that is continual emerges strongly at times to rekindle the aroha within many old boys, the aroha for one's college or what Arapeta Awatere referred to as his '*Alma Mater*' (2003). Since the 150th anniversary celebrations in 2004, there has been an increase in old boy driven support for Te Aute College to ensure its future status. This support has unquestionably stemmed from the lineage or whakapapa that these old boys have through their links to Te Aute College.

This Chapter's sub-title is taken from the Te Aute College haka and says '*Mate atu he toa, ara mai rā he toa*' - '*One champion dies, another rises to take his place*'. Just as this saying gives meaning to life and to the students who enter Te Aute College, so too does the notion of whakapapa in that it too is continuous and links the past, present and future. Te Aute College is a place where students can be guided by the traditions of the college as well as its future. In doing so, there is the capacity and potential to preserve these students' connections to the past in their quest for excellence; advancing the descent line of Te Aute College and advancing their understanding of the world. Section Two of this thesis, Māori Research, introduces Chapter Five. This chapter introduces and examines a Māori worldview and formally explores the notion of whakapapa. The whakapapa of Te Aute College has been contextualised in Section One of the thesis in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Section Two not only explores the notion of whakapapa but also investigates the application of whakapapa as the research framework that underpins this thesis.

SECTION TWO:

MĀORI RESEARCH

WHAKATANGATA KIA KAHA

Introduction

This section of the thesis introduces the diverse yet distinctive field of Māori research. These two contrasting terms are used to illustrate the nature of Māori research by virtue of the complexities that impact upon Māori research, including the broad question what is Māori research? At the same time though, there do exist Māori research paradigms with clearly established parameters that negate ambiguous interpretations of such questions stated above. For example, a Māori worldview and Māori epistemology that underpins this view support the body of knowledge known as mātauranga Māori.

Section Two is divided into two chapters where Chapter Five explores the notion of whakapapa and in doing so makes the case for whakapapa as a basis for a research framework; one that enables Māori researchers to engage in research among Māori communities in a particular way. Whakapapa is viewed as the basis of the organisation of knowledge. In this way whakapapa is seen as a phenomenon that methodologically links the past to the present. That is, it is a genealogical framework that systematically rationalises our being in the world as well as our understanding of the world. Chapter Five connects the notion of whakapapa to the research community, Te Aute College that was contextualised earlier in Section One.

Chapter Six is divided into two parts where Part A extends on the explication of the notion of whakapapa as research methodology by specifically focussing on the nature of Māori research and its development more specifically in the last 30 years. Part A also explores the specific relationship between whakapapa and the layers of this research where a series of figures are used to represent these connections. Part B specifically centres on the methods aspect of this research including, utilising the notion of whakapapa as a research tool in examining the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement.

Chapter Five

A MĀORI WORLDVIEW

Tihei mauriora ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama e

Introduction

This chapter explicates the custom of both a traditional and a contemporary illumination of whakapapa and its application to Māori research by Māori researchers among Māori communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so, this chapter also advocates a connection between Māori research and Indigenous people worldwide researching among their respective Indigenous communities; such are the distinct yet comparable characteristics associated with Indigenous people that emanate from a unique relationship with land. While the notion of whakapapa as a research framework is the core focus of this chapter, the chapter develops this focus from the outset by establishing the context and points of relevance that are significant to the thesis. The intention of these discussions is to explicate the relevance and connection that whakapapa has with the research community concerned with this thesis. That is, the discussions will expound the links between a Māori boarding school of Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Aute College; and its wider community, the researcher and a Māori worldview.

Ko wai ahau - Who am I?

Tēnei te ara o Ranginui e tū nei, tēnei te ara o Papatūānuku e takoto nei. Tēnei te pō nau mai te ao, karangatia te ao kia ita, karangatia ko Tāne i whakairihia i āpiti ki runga i āpiti ki raro. Whano whano hara mai te mārama; haumi e hui e taiki e! Otirā, ko Kauhehei te maunga, ko Te Roto-a-Tara te waiū, ko Te Whatuiāpiti te tāngata, tihei mauriora ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama e!

I am Indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand and belong to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti of the Tamatea rohe in Central Hawkes Bay. I also affiliate to the Ngāti Kahungunu iwi on the East Coast of the North Island. The subtitle to this chapter introduces an Indigenous Māori worldview; a worldview founded upon Māori narratives and oral histories of the creation of the universe. This creation account is described as a dynamic movement conveyed in Māori by the expression

‘i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama’ translated as ‘out of the nothingness, into the night, into the world of light’ (Henare, 2001).

This account and tribal variations of it has its foundations in a Māori worldview that points to the creation of the universe as the origin of Māori thought. These accounts also form the basis of mātauranga Māori and of tikanga Māori. Explicitly, mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori descend from this dynamic creation movement and so intrinsically implicate whakapapa, a phenomenon that has been reciprocally guided by tikanga Māori and a Māori worldview since the beginning of time. Whakapapa, mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori and a Māori worldview are mutually supporting of each other.

The opening passage also identifies where I am from, a place that I can call my tūrangawaewae. By virtue of belonging to an iwi, a hapū and through whakapapa, all Māori have a tūrangawaewae, although it might be fair to say that as a result of the effects of colonisation, not all Māori today know their tūrangawaewae because of repeated assimilative State policies (Snook, 1989; Johnston, 1998; Durie, A.E. in Te Whaiti, McCarthy and Durie, 1997; Graham, 2002). Nonetheless, through whānau, hapū and iwi kinship alliances, tūrangawaewae are shared. While this sense of belonging is dependent on tribal affiliations it is also dependent on whenua as well. Whenua is the physical and spiritual bond that links Māori to Papatūānuku, Mother Earth. Tūrangawaewae

Literally means a place to stand, and it indicates the rights and obligations associated with a certain place. It is a situational identity that gives a person, through genealogy or association, the right to say humbly, ‘I am monarch of all that I survey’. Tūrangawaewae enables a person to say with confidence, ‘I belong’ (Tauroa and Tauroa, 1993:153).

By referring to my tūrangawaewae earlier, I was establishing a connection to my

ancestral mountains, my waterways and my tribal places of historical significance. Whakapapa and knowledge of my own whakapapa enables me to do this by legitimating my relationship to these places through my tribal and kinship connections. A Māori worldview of whakapapa establishes the conceptual basis for human descent from the beginning of time and locates our ancestors within a wide network of relationships with aspects of their respective and specific environments. Barlow for instance states that

Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things; it is through genealogy that kinship and economic ties are cemented. Whakapapa is one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts are made to preserve it (Barlow, 1991:173).

While traditional definitions of whakapapa have been documented by a number of authorities (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003; Marsden in Royal, 2003), the application of the notion of whakapapa to contemporary research methodology is contextual. Traditional meanings and interpretations of whakapapa can be appropriated within contemporary Māori society as can contemporary interpretations of whakapapa be appropriated as research method tools for conducting Māori research by Māori people researching among Māori communities today. For the purposes of this thesis, these contemporary contexts are seen to reflect and view the notion of whakapapa as a shared illumination of the relationships between Māori people within specific Māori communities and institutions and not solely their shared biological connections.

Whakapapa - Meaning and Tradition

While iwi, hapū and whānau narratives and oral histories are distinctive and cannot be assumed to be homogeneous, the commonality stems from Indigenous Māori traditions that have their foundations in the creation of the universe. The preservation and practice of these oral traditions has maintained their validity and hence application to everyday life today. Durie, A.E. recognises this diversity among iwi traditions but also refers to the capacity to generalise in that narratives concerning the creation traditions are effectively

Representative of the genesis of Māori thought (In Te Whaiti et al, 1997:144).

Acknowledging that subtle differences exist among tribal and family traditions, cohesion centres on accounts that the world is ordered by networks of kinship and alliance (Salmond, 1997). Māori oral narratives for instance, in the form of waiata and karakia, describe the formation of the universe in a language and framework based on whakapapa, genealogical descent that brings congruent forms of life together, to produce new life. The creation account is seen as continuous in that all things of the natural world were constantly emerging and always unfolding as conveyed by the following metaphor and oral tradition that represents the developing cycle of a plant

<i>Te pū</i>	<i>the primary root</i>
<i>Te more</i>	<i>the tap root</i>
<i>Te weu</i>	<i>the fibrous root</i>
<i>Te aka</i>	<i>the trunk</i>
<i>Te rea</i>	<i>the tendrils</i>
<i>Te waonui</i>	<i>the massed branches</i>
<i>Te kune</i>	<i>the buds</i>
<i>Te whē</i>	<i>the fronds (Marsden, In Royal, 2003:20).</i>

These interactions eventually materialised as a lattice of relationships connecting people, things and places; and were invigorated by mutual exchanges where the concept of tapu was the source of all creation. The following Te Arawa tradition recalls the whakapapa of the kūmara and is recalled by Makereti Papakura, the internationally renowned Māori guide of the hot springs and geysers of the Rotorua district

It was thought much of because of its tapu origin, as it was brought from the heavens. It was an old belief, told me by my old people, that although the kūmara was produced by Whānui, the star Vega, it was through Rongonui-maui and his wife Pani-tinikau that we have it on this earth. Rongonui-maui, when he heard of the kūmara, thought he would visit his elder brother Whānui who lived in the heavens, and let him have some to bring back to earth.... Whānui replied, I will not agree that you should take any of our children with you unknown to Whānui, Rongonui-maui took some of the seed with him. This seed he hid in his body, and then returned to Mataroa and slept with his wife Pani-tinikau, who became hapū (pregnant) and brought forth the kūmara So from Rongonui-maui and Pani-tinikau came all the varieties of kūmara... (Penniman, 1938:176-77).

Whakapapa is therefore not only about the subsequent lines in which genealogy is

methodically recorded it also expands our understanding of the creation of the universe further by explaining

Te Kore as a state of potential, Te Pō as the celestial realm, the domain of the Gods and the source of all mana and tapu, and lastly Te Ao Mārama the world of light and reality, the dwelling place of human beings (Walker, 1990:11).

Although this three phase dynamic is consistent among iwi traditions as mentioned earlier, the important factor here is that within each of the three phases are a multitude of creations that are validated through whakapapa. Buck (1949) for instance, refers to expressions of learning as comprising the sequential ordering of the phenomena of nature before arriving at a genealogical table of human descent and sees such action as providing an opportunity for the expert to add length and prestige to the human line of descent. This thesis confirms Buck's expressions and expounds them by adding length and prestige to human descent lines based on collective pan-tribal activities as opposed to solely individual tribal activities. This affirmation is reflected by the following whakataukī

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini (Mead, 2003).

When translated alongside Buck's expression, this thesis contextualises its meaning as '*my well being and status in life is not of my doing alone rather, my well being and status are the result of a collective exertion*'. That is, the whakapapa infrastructure already exists throughout the Māori world and therefore the impetus is on knowing this knowledge and overtly expressing it in a manner that it can be used as a legitimate research methodology. A Māori worldview already exists and has been validated through oral traditions for generations and so it is not necessary to validate it (Sharples, Personal Communication, 2005). It is though necessary for Māori researchers to challenge such knowledge when conducting research among Māori communities today in order that its use as a research methodology is strengthened against the external 'gaze' looking in and therefore untarnished in its rightful place; as a research methodology. Whakapapa recollects the past, in doing so it establishes a pathway for the present, which in turn sets future pathways. Challenging and questioning our research techniques as well as research itself can only serve to strengthen the discipline, thus resulting in a position where whakapapa

- *Legitimizes Māori knowledge;*
- *Provides the basis for the organisation of this Māori knowledge;*
- *Is a means of acquiring new knowledge, being the all-important link between the past, present and future (Graham, 2007:7).*

A Māori Worldview of the Pedigree of Mankind

According to some Māori oral traditions, the supreme or ‘first’ being is Io-Matua-kore who created the first Atua, Ranginui and Papatūānuku (see Figure One). It is from these two Atua that the male and female principles originate and from whence the pedigree or whakapapa of mankind descends through Hine-titama, the daughter of Tāne. Accordingly, this thesis is located within a Māori worldview that infers that whakapapa

- Represents the genealogical descent of all living things;
- Legitimizes Māori epistemology;
- Is at the heart of Māori ways of knowing and mātauranga Māori;
- Provides the basis for the organisation of Māori knowledge.

For these reasons, the whakapapa research methodological approach embraced by this thesis also supports Māori epistemology underpinning the broad field of contemporary Māori research across different contexts in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

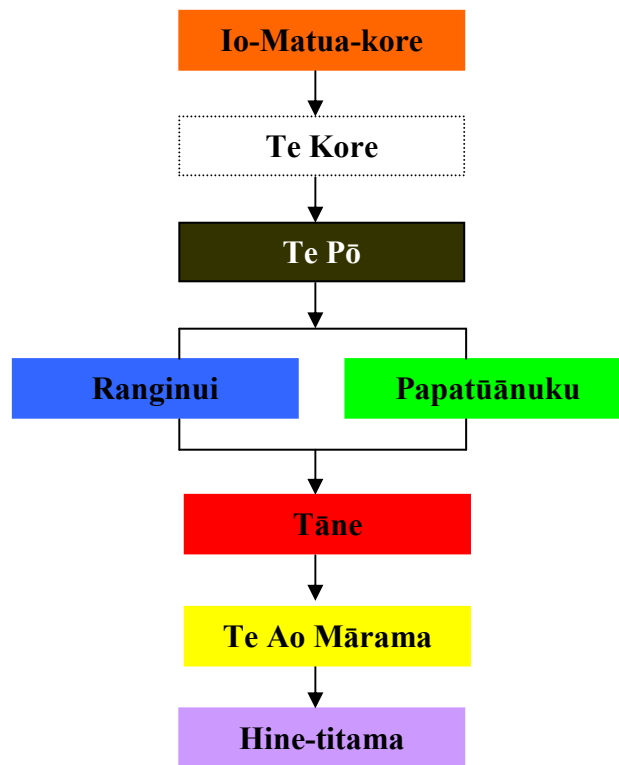


Figure One: A Māori worldview showing the pedigree of mankind.

The esoteric knowledge behind the worldview set out above is at the heart of Māori ways of knowing and knowledge. Whakapapa is embedded within the Indigenous knowledge of Aotearoa New Zealand. In view of this affirmation, whakapapa is held in as much esteem today as it was in the generations of our past. It interrelates with contemporary research in a number of ways in that Māori are related to all other living things including trees, fish, animals, insects and other life forms (Mead, 1984). The intrinsic nature of whakapapa is continually in a state of cultivation and it always has been. Whakapapa has underpinned Māori tradition from the beginning of time and this significance is especially pertinent today to Māori researchers engaged in research with Māori communities.

The notion of whakapapa itself begins with *Io-Matua-kore*. From *Io-Matua-kore*, *Te Kore* was conceived, in turn giving birth to *Te Pō* from whence *Ranginui* and *Papatūānuku* gave birth to their children, represented in Figure One by *Tāne*. The children of *Ranginui* and *Papatūānuku* brought forth *Te Ao Mārama* and gave light to their world; light that enabled them to see, light that enabled *Tāne* to procreate with

Hine-ahu-one and give birth to *Hine-titama* and the pedigree of human life. *Te Ao mārama* enabled the acquisition, retention and transmission of mātauranga Māori. These traditions are recollected in a memorial to Makereti Papakura after her death in 1930

Turn once again your face to the shadowy land from which we came, to the homes of our ancestors far away, to great Hawaiki, to long Hawaiki, to Hawaiki-of-great-distance, to the Hono-i-wairua, the place of spirits, the land where man was formed from the earth by great Tāne-of-the-sky and had life first breathed into him (Penniman, 1938:27)

A real test for Māori researchers and the academic community today then is in going one step further than just generating research and that is by challenging our own Māori research to strengthen its vigour as a legitimate research tool in research with Māori communities that is credible to the Academy yet sincere to its specific research communities. Another option but not an absolute prerequisite for a whakapapa research methodology might be the validation of the role of the Māori researcher engaged in research with their own community; that is, a community to whom the researcher is bound to by whakapapa.

Whakapapa - Characteristics of Indigenous Thought

The significance of tikanga Māori with the notion of whakapapa is not only 'normalised' when observed through a lens that is constructed from a Māori worldview, this relationship is also paramount in strengthening the kinship ties among Māori communities today. Tikanga Māori and the English equivalent 'value, custom or ideal' does not exclusively belong to Māori, for example, Indigenous Hawaiian people use the term 'kuke', which means 'custom' or 'habit'. The values of Indigenous peoples are similar in that commonalities centre on an Indigenous bond with the land (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Durie, 2003). The ensuing bullet list illustrates a sample of contemporary tikanga Māori being interpreted in both a traditional and contemporary sense. While this is not an exhaustive list, the interconnectedness with the supernatural, Papatūānuku and the land, the universe, all living things and whakapapa is highlighted in the explanations that accompany each tikanga. These interpretations are such that they may vary slightly among tribal knowledge systems

or different contexts. However, they all draw from a Māori worldview that is rooted in a shared creation tradition.

- Whenua - land and the inherent link to Papatūānuku - Mother Earth. Whenua is also the term for the placenta or afterbirth and so it relates to what gives a person sustenance. In this way, whenua connects with ones biological mother and mother earth and that which provides us with a range of support systems where 'she' deserves aroha and respect (see Royal, 2003:44-45).
- Tāngata whenua - Indigenous people and their link to land, Papatūānuku. Through the whenua or placenta and traditional tikanga associated with this after childbirth, a Māori worldview places significant value on land. In this way, people are connected to land, individually and collectively (see Mead, 2003:269-270).
- Tapu - sacredness and the power and influence associated with the Atua and the supernatural realm. Land is sacred, as are rivers, forests, the ocean and all living things on earth including people (Barlow, 1996). Consequently, tapu is inseparable from Māori identity and a Māori worldview (see Mead, 2003:30).
- Kaitiakitanga - conservation customs and traditions linked to Papatūānuku and land, including its purpose and means through rāhui, a system and means of maintaining balance and harmony within the ecosystem (Marsden, In Royal, 2003). This tikanga relates to the notion of offering aroha and respect to Papatūānuku as described above.
- Wairua - spiritual essence, the source of life and an essential part of the universe, land and all living things. The land, Papatūānuku, is a living body and so it too has wairua (Barlow, 1996, Marsden, In Royal, 2003; Mead, 2003).
- Mauri - life force that generates life and bonds the universe together, hence the formation of an interconnecting network of relationships, including the animate and inanimate. Mauri gives uniqueness and being to individual objects including people, animals, rivers, trees and land (Ibid).

Interpretations of tikanga emphasise the research methodological approach of this

thesis in that they elucidate the relevance and legitimate place of whakapapa as the basis for research that encompasses contemporary Māori communities. Like narratives and oral histories, tikanga interpretations and practices will vary among tribes emphasising their importance in terms of the relationship between the researcher and the research participants. Tikanga embodies the genesis of Māori thought. A thorough comprehension of tikanga is of the utmost importance in order for a whakapapa research methodological approach such as that employed by this thesis to be clearly understood, recognised and accepted as being valid by both the Māori researcher, the Māori research participants and the Māori research community. A lack of understanding of tikanga Māori would seriously erode the authenticity and legitimacy of examples of contemporary Māori research such as this thesis in that the whakapapa-centred nature of this methodological approach would be compromised and therefore viewed as being reminiscent of early Māori research methods that were both denigrating and unproductive to Māori (see Chapter Six).

Indigenous models of practice have been developed and employed across the socio-economic sphere of Indigenous communities worldwide since the latter stages of the 20th century. Some examples include language revitalisation programmes, health initiatives and environmental management (Durie, 2003; 2005; Royal, 2002; Semali and Kincheloe, 1999; Howitt, Connell and Hirsch, 1996). Such practices naturally assume an Indigenous worldview as their epistemological base; for instance, an Indigenous Aotearoa New Zealand model presupposes a Māori worldview albeit having to function sometimes under State parameters of compliance that are not necessarily considerate of a Māori worldview. Despite the cultural heterogeneity among Indigenous peoples of the world, a unique spiritual relationship with the land underpins a belief commonly shared by Indigenous peoples that is an impression of unity and harmony with the environment (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Based on this profound connection to the land and the surrounding environment, like Māori, Indigenous communities throughout the world are at one with their land

People are the land and the land is the people and the tradition is reflected in song, custom, subsistence, work, approaches to healing and birthing, and the rituals associated with death (Durie, 2003:298).

A traditional custom among many Māori communities is the ongoing maintenance of a spiritual connection with ancestral lands; even if such lands have been retained, passed over, sold or even stolen. Wairuatanga helps explain this connection and it is this contextual spirituality that is one of many characteristics that separates the Indigenous from the non-Indigenous in terms of a connection to land (Ibid). For example, the following phrase supports this connection to one's environment where *'people are the land and the land is the people. We are the river and the river is then people'* (Whanganui River Māori Trust Board, 1993). Such reflections on land have their roots bound by oral traditions where these have been maintained through whakapapa. The importance of land to the Indigenous peoples of the world is reflected on by North American Indigenous academic Vine Deloria when he stated that

Most tribes were reluctant to surrender their homelands to the whites because they knew that their ancestors were still spiritually alive on the land (1994:172-73).

Durie also notes the affiliation between the Indigenous and land and underlines the

Importance of the physical, social and spiritual environments as well as the intergenerational connection to land and the importance of land to the well being and health of the people (2005:303).

Whakapapa and the connections among people have consolidated such relationships by connecting the Indigenous to the land. In doing so, whakapapa has also provided the basis for the organisation of knowledge. Accordingly, this chapter asserts the position that a Māori perspective considers whakapapa as being at the heart of the retention of Indigenous Māori knowledge, Indigenous Māori ways of knowing and the transmission of Indigenous Māori knowledge.

Royal explored the passionate unification of Indigenous people to the land and in seeking a mutual point of interest for Indigenous peoples outside of their colonial experiences he referred to the

'Divine landscape' and how the land provides the sustenance for enthusiasm and energy therefore serving as a revolutionary symbol for Indigenous people and their communities (2002:26).

For instance, the researcher's pepeha introduced earlier in this chapter makes reference to my tribal homeland and to places of both spiritual and physical significance. The spiritual connection referred to here is the link between the researcher and the researcher's whakapapa, while the physical meaning represents the geographical landscape. Both of these contexts encompass history and pride in this history and is what I as the researcher would refer to as my 'divine landscape', a place of pride and one's tūrangawaewae. The whakapapa of ancestors from this land since the beginning of time provides the impulse for my initial undertaking of this research topic. This motive also provides the impetus for completing this thesis and the opportunity to progress the research further. The whakapapa and the connection to land provides the enthusiasm as described by Royal (Ibid) above where the land symbolises the spiritual connection between the living and the dead. The nature of the concept of tūrangawaewae will invigorate further research following on from this thesis, such is the nature of a whakapapa research approach that continually seeks out new knowledge.

In beginning this chapter, I was elevating the status of my tribal 'landscape' that is adorned in tikanga as well as my whakapapa connections. Although a physical link may not always be practical between the land and myself as the researcher, the spiritual connection is never-ending. That is, there is an unbroken link between land, turangawaewae and wairua sustained through whakapapa as interpreted in the following saying, *'he āpiti hono, he tātai hono - that which is joined remains an unbroken line'* (Mead, 2003).

There is perhaps no clearer example of the importance of land and the environment and its intrinsic spiritual value among Indigenous peoples than that orated by the Suquamish and Duwamish Chief Seattle in his response to the 'Great White Chief', President Franklin Pierce and his promise of a reservation for Chief Seattle's people in 1853. Widely described as one of the most profound statements on the environment ever made (Nerburn, 1999; Royal, 2002), Chief Seattle's speech highlights the profound relationship between man and the environment in what Royal (2002) describes as a 'natural world kinship'. The following passage taken from his speech

expresses this bond

To us, the ashes of our ancestors are sacred, and their resting place is hallowed ground....Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant-lined lakes and bays....Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people (In Nerburn, 1999:196-198).

As a means and method of acquiring new knowledge, the notion of whakapapa and its connections with land extricates the establishment of a framework in which information can be structured in a consistent and coherent manner. In doing so, the role of an Indigenous Māori research community can be examined and researched according to specific Indigenous Māori research aims that are supported by an Indigenous Māori worldview.

Whakapapa - The Research Framework and Indigeneity

Though this thesis is underpinned by a Māori worldview; the questions, ideas and discussions that arise from the research are relevant to Indigenous peoples worldwide. Land, humanity and the supernatural are co-dependent entities among Indigenous traditions; they co-exist and do so by sequenced networks of relationships or whakapapa linking each entity and are maintained by oral narratives and traditions. Dei, Hall and Rosenberg refer to Indigenous knowledge systems as

Traditional norms and social values, and mental constructs that guide, organise, and regulate the people's way of living and making sense of their world (2000:6).

While the notion of whakapapa is uniquely Māori, all peoples of the world have their own genealogies; indeed all living things do (Buck, 1949). The methodological approach that will guide this research is not only relevant to this specific research community but will be useful to Indigenous discourse worldwide. There is the capacity for Indigenous researchers to add to their existing research paradigms as they continually strive to advance their own autonomous motives for self-determination. Māori refer to this phenomenon as 'tino rangatiratanga' (see Chapter Six).

The emphasis of a whakapapa approach to research centres on the importance of being able to engage in research with one's own community by developing and

employing a research framework developed from Indigenous constructs specific to one's own Indigenous community. Such practices assume an Indigenous worldview as their epistemological base as is occurring across Indigenous communities worldwide. For instance, those Indigenous models of practice referred to earlier (Durie, 2003, 2005; Royal, 2002; Semali and Kincheloe, 1999; Howitt, Connell and Hirsch, 1996).

The Māori notion of whakapapa and its associated tikanga Māori that form the foundations of this research's methodology can thus provide a model of a research framework unique to Aotearoa New Zealand that Indigenous communities could desire to adapt and utilise specifically to their own contexts. Te Rito (2007) refers to whakapapa providing links among Māori as well as to other communities beyond our shores and so this thesis embraces the explication of this notion to be inclusive of the wider Indigenous community. In this manner, whakapapa not only permeates the actual research methodology but it also serves to represent wider Indigenous contexts by binding such communities and institutions together through land, tikanga and whanaungatanga. The importance of the physical, spiritual and social environments to Indigenous communities worldwide is not only important within a research context but to the overall wellbeing and health of the people too (Durie, 2005).

Whakapapa - Contemporary Interpretations

This section of the chapter corroborates the traditional interpretations of whakapapa but simultaneously confirms a position that embraces a representation of whakapapa that focuses on contemporary contexts that many Māori communities find themselves in today. The significance of whakapapa and its nature is therefore not ignored instead this thesis recognises that whakapapa can be seen as a shared illumination of the interconnections between people and, their spiritual and physical connections to the land; not just their collective biological connections. For instance, the once geographically distinct Māori tribal communities live and meet together today in a variety of contexts and so some contemporary Māori institutions are not necessarily connected through blood ties. It is a common phenomenon among Māori organisations today to function in a pan-tribal nature. That is, not all Māori

institutions today have a spiritual connection to the land upon which they stand, nor are all members within some of these institutions related today through blood ties. However, the commonalities among these types of institutions stem from a Māori worldview that is constructed through tikanga Māori. It is also this same Māori worldview that locates the origins of Māori thought with Io-Matua-kore via iwi traditions.

Pan-tribal institutions are not entities that have suddenly developed; indeed there have been examples of pan-tribal movements throughout Aotearoa New Zealand's history since the first European colonisers arrived in the early 19th century. Some of these institutions developed under specific tribal led initiatives to encompass other tribes while other institutions developed out of specific pan-tribal movements. Examples include

- Māori boarding schools (Smith, 1996);
- The Kotahitanga movement (Cox, 1993);
- The Māori Battalions of World Wars One and Two (Gardiner, 1992);
- The New Zealand Māori Women's Welfare League (Rogers and Simpson, 1993);
- Urban Marae (Salmond, 2004);
- Te Kōhanga Reo (Irwin, 1990);
- Māori Health and Education Providers (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 2002);
- Urban Māori Authorities (Levine, 2001);
- Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Kura (Smith, 1990);
- Whare Wānanga (Winiata and Winiata, 1994).

Today, Māori people and their traditions are guided by ancestral precepts and examples that have been passed on from one generation to the next. Therefore there is a reaffirmation in the joining of the living with their departed ancestors. This reaffirmation is sustained and undeniably strengthened by whakapapa and a lattice of relationships connecting people with their environment where such interactions are

revitalized by mutual exchanges involving karakia, waiata, whakataukī and other narrative traditions. The notion of whakapapa legitimises relationships among Māori that are ordered by networks of tribal kinship and alliance. This thesis asserts that these networks extend beyond a biological filter today in that the notion of pan-tribalism and the shared experiences, goals and histories of Māori are very much a part of contemporary Māori society and sit alongside a traditional Māori worldview. For instance, contemporary Māori society is associated through a range of interconnecting attributes and dynamics that includes similar trends and developments in

- History;
- Experiences;
- Ideals;
- Services ;
- Interests; and,
- Practices.

Many examples of contemporary Māori pan-tribal institutions are based in urban settings throughout Aotearoa New Zealand today where nowadays, the term whānau is used widely. It can cover a ‘kin cluster’, a group of kin who regularly co-operate for common ends and accept a variety of kin or quasi-kin limits as the basis of recruitment. However, above all the most rapid growth in the application of the term whānau has been in the metaphorical use of the term to refer to collectives of people working for a common end, who are not connected by kinship, let alone descent (Bishop, 1996:217).

However, there are tāngata whenua obligations and responsibilities that exist too. For instance, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti as tāngata whenua has a relationship with Te Aute College that undoubtedly impacts upon the role of the college in providing education to students from iwi throughout Aotearoa New Zealand (see Chapter Ten).

Figure Two represents the connection between pan-tribal institutions and a Māori

worldview illustrating a shared illumination of the interconnections between Māori, including kinship and biological connections. Ultimately, a Māori philosophy underpins the role and function of such institutions in varying degrees that stems from distinct experiences and traditions as well as tikanga Māori.

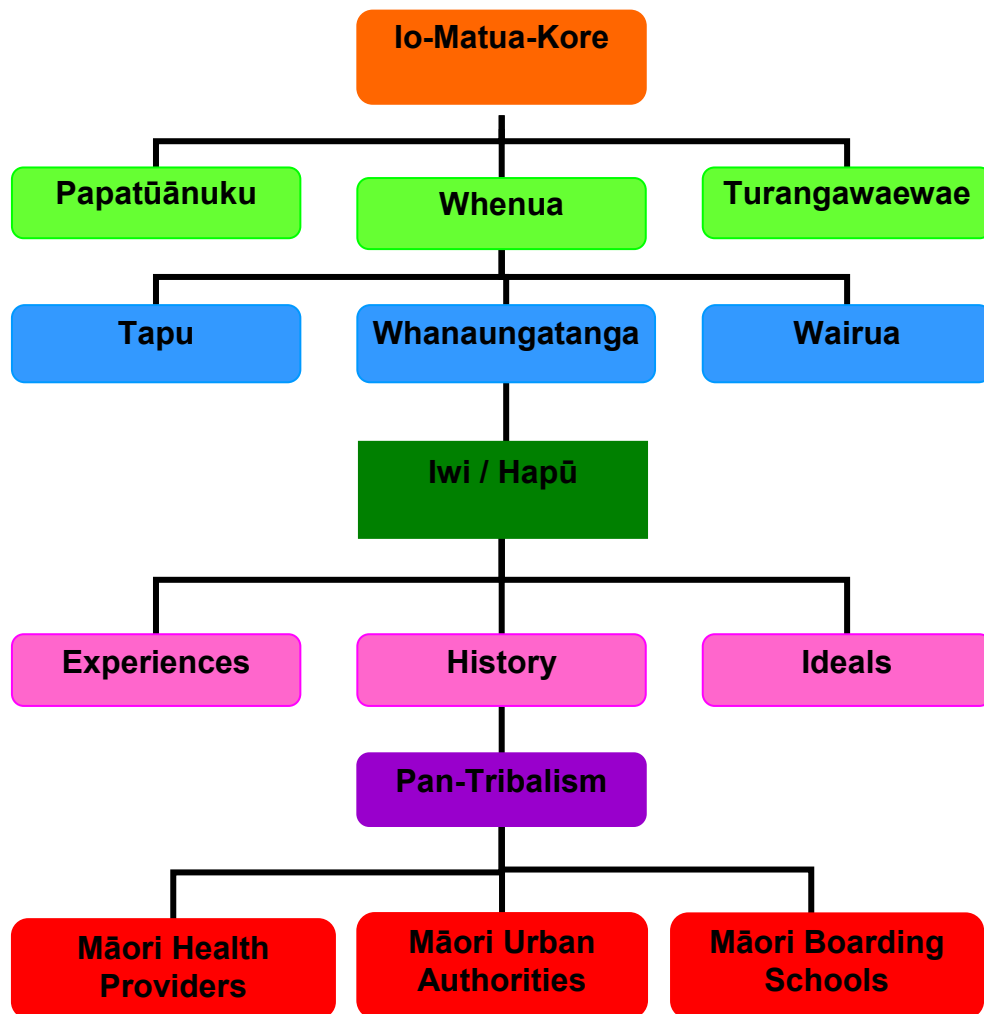


Figure Two: Pan-tribal Māori institutions and their connections to a Māori worldview.

Today, an increase in the magnitude of Māori autonomy has paved the development of Māori and Iwi Authorities, Māori Education and Health Providers as well as other pan-tribal institutions that Māori are in control of. By closely examining the function and performance of these institutions, the uncovering of the different levels and groups within each institution reveals the multi-layered nature of whakapapa. That is, within each pan-tribal institution there is a lattice of relationships and associations that

ultimately links everyone where whakapapa is the common denominator. In terms of research, a whakapapa-centred approach permits its application across specific contexts within these types of institutions including research, education, health, enterprise and politicisation.

This contemporary function of whakapapa is legitimated by its traditional meaning and interpretations as well as the notion of an illumination of the relationships between Māori people and their natural environment and not just of their collective biological connections. For instance, within all Māori institutions today, be these marae, education providers, health providers, boarding schools or urban marae there is a constant link between the past that extends back to the beginning of time and to Io-Matua-kore, to the present where Māori remain an iwi and hapū based people with pan-tribal affiliations and, to the future.

The Māori Boarding Schools

The Māori boarding schools hold proud rolls of successive generations within individual Māori families who have attended these schools (see Chapter One). In many instances today, there are many Māori families who still have a connection to their school where the notion of individuals attending these schools is an institution itself. In terms of this thesis, there is an assertion that the basis of this family connection links to the notion of whakapapa. Each school has become intimately linked to Māori families by virtue of family choice to attend these schools based on religious denomination and that particular school's unique character. In doing so; whakapapa is recognised as a common denominator that has interconnected with individual families, the students and old boys and girls of their respective Māori boarding schools. Considering a Māori worldview, the Māori boarding schools are also recognised as having a whakapapa that is interwoven with the past, present and future; including distinctive Māori oral traditions, histories and events relevant to their settings and to their students. By using the example of Māori boarding schools such as Te Aute College, these connections become more transparent as the multiple layers of the whakapapa of the schools are revealed and researched.

Māori boarding schools have been a part of Aotearoa New Zealand's education system since the 1850s. Of the original schools that were progressively established by the religious denominations, six Māori boarding schools continue to deliver an education to their students today according to their respective Māori, educational and religious philosophies. The remainder of these boarding schools have either integrated fully into the State education system or have closed. The six Māori boarding schools are

- Turakina Māori Girls College, Turakina;
- Hato Paora College, Kimbolton - Feilding;
- Te Aute College, Pukehou;
- St. Joseph's Māori Girls College, Taradale;
- Hukarere Girls' College, Eskdale - Napier;
- Hato Petera, Auckland;

While the history of the Māori boarding schools has its criticisms, Māori boarding school education is unique in that it is underpinned by tikanga as well as distinctive religious denominational backgrounds. Bearing these characteristics and history in mind, the connections start to make sense. That is, many members of the same family have often attended the school that was also once attended by one's sister, brother, mother, father, uncle, auntie, grandmother, grandfather, great grandmother or great grandfather and so on. Accordingly, individual whānau either still maintain a presence or have since left these schools but regardless, still have a connection to their school that has its foundations in their own family whakapapa and the whakapapa of their respective schools. Each school has become intimately linked to members of a particular whānau. In doing so, whakapapa has become the unifying force that interconnects with each individual whānau, the students and past students in their respective schools.

Whakapapa, Research and Te Aute College

The position of this thesis is one that reinforces the notion that Māori boarding

schools have a whakapapa that is interwoven with their past, their present and their future students. Thus, the notion of whakapapa nurtures the social, cultural and spiritual connections of the students and their whānau to the school itself. The notion of whakapapa has therefore been of significance to educational performance and so has also facilitated the promotion of frameworks in these schools for the manner in which the curriculum is structured and delivered. Hence, whakapapa has also provided the basis for the organisation of knowledge and the means of acquiring new knowledge within these respective specific contexts thereby exemplifying the ability of this phenomenon to be opportune across different Indigenous Māori contexts. In addition, a special feature of Te Aute College is the fact that while it reflects a pan-tribal environment, it has a special link to the tāngata whenua of its district in that it was the tāngata whenua alongside the Crown, who bequeathed the land for the establishment of the institution (see Chapter Two). At one level whakapapa facilitates the institution's behaviour by upholding the use of distinctive Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti kawa that guides certain tikanga Māori as opposed to those belonging to other tribes from other regions. At another level, whakapapa evokes whanaungatanga, a Māori ethos that links with kinship and whose Western equivalent could be interpreted as brotherhood, sisterhood or 'esprit de corps'.

Whanaungatanga

The whanaungatanga of the research community is evidently strong among many who are part of the institution and no doubt among many of those who have passed through its portals since the mid-19th century. It is essentially this spirit that also strengthens the whanaungatanga within Te Aute College in that the research initially uncovered an emerging discourse based upon a sense of community or what might be interpreted as an embracing community spirit.

The concept of whāngai relates to adoption and so the inference is that Te Aute College has both directly and indirectly acted as a matua whāngai for those who have entered its portals as well as for those who are involved with the institution today. Te Aute College for instance, has spiritually and physically contributed to the educational

upbringing of its students and in doing so has fostered a strong community spirit. Another feature of this research is the connection between the researcher and the research community. The researcher's genealogical ties with the research community include biological and non-biological or whanaungatanga ties. The researcher has connections to the land as tāngata whenua, has been a part of this community in the past as a former student and this presence has been maintained through an ongoing association. Accordingly, whakapapa validates the researcher's position while also incurring rights, responsibilities and obligations. These obligations and responsibilities incurred by the position of researcher are important as Mataira notes that

For Māori, genealogy and connection gives access, however there is vulnerability and a responsibility that goes with such success (2000:11-12).

It is these very responsibilities and obligations that relate to ethical considerations and tikanga Māori introduced earlier and in Chapter Six that have innately interwoven right throughout this whole research process. Therefore within the context of this thesis, whakapapa is viewed as a shared illumination of all of the relationships between iwi, hapū and whānau and, Māori pan-tribal institutions; not just the collective biological connections within iwi. While an essentialist viewpoint of whakapapa might diverge on the discourse that supports a contemporary standpoint on whakapapa as being inclusive of non-biological relationships, the reality for Te Aute College is that there are biological and non-biological connections that have their pedigree grounded in whakapapa. These spiritual and physical connections include that

- The boarding school is built on land that was provided by the tāngata whenua, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti; accordingly, there are tāngata whenua connections;
- This connection in turn invokes a special link with Papatūānuku that is bound by Māori oral traditions such as waiata, karakia and tikanga Māori;
- The generations of students who have entered the portals of the institution since the 19th century have a whanaungatanga connection to Te Aute College and with each other that is validated through traditions, experiences and histories;

- The researcher too is connected through whakapapa to Te Aute College.

While Aotearoa New Zealand's education system for Māori from the mid-19th century onwards largely comprised of Native Schools' policy that was guided by the general policy of assimilation (see Simon, 1993; Simon and Smith, 1998; 2001), the Māori boarding schools [and the State Native Schools] to an extent ironically became mechanisms that served to maintain kinship connections among Māori iwi, hapū and whānau within some of these schools. In today's [State] Māori boarding schools this kinship continues to be validated by both biological and non-biological or what might be termed surrogate affiliations. For instance, the connections within Indigenous Māori community institutions today such as Te Aute College are strengthened by the notion of whanaungatanga where relationships are fostered and nurtured according to tikanga. Pere alludes to this type of practice by commenting on whanaungatanga and stating that it is

Based on ancestral, historical, traditional and spiritual ties. It forms that strong bond that influences the way one lives and reacts to his / her kinship groups, people, the world, the universe. The kinship network as far as family is concerned, is one that gives a feeling of belonging, value and security (Pere, 1991:26).

Whanaungatanga expounds the firm links between the cosmology, land, people and their environment, which is strongly embedded in tikanga and validated through whakapapa. Accordingly, this thesis strongly supports the 'taken for granted' disposition of tikanga and therefore advocates the application of tikanga as guiding the notion of whakapapa and a whakapapa-centred approach to research when engaging with Māori communities.

Whakapapa - A Research Pathway

At the outset of this research, it became evident that the proposed research community had a whakapapa; indeed, there were many identifiable threads and levels of whakapapa intertwined throughout Te Aute College. In due course, this observation led the researcher down the pathway of exploring the notion of whakapapa as a valid research tool. While Te Aute College has its physical foundations in 19th century

Aotearoa New Zealand history, the application of whakapapa as a research tool evoked the notion that Te Aute College also had a cosmological and spiritual genealogical descent that went further than this. While this connection linked Te Aute College to the local Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hapū, it went beyond the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand to Hawaiki; the spiritual homeland of the Māori and so linked Te Aute College to the beginning of time when viewed through a Māori worldview. Hawaiki is the name of the spiritual homeland that Māori explorers such as Kupe first left over 1000 years ago on exploration journeys throughout Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. Makereti Papakura spoke of this homeland in her biography

I should say here that Hawaiki means 'the distant home', and refers to any place from which the Māori came in their ancient wanderings (Penniman, 1938:33).

Te Aute College is a living entity that is strongly linked to Māori tradition and it is a contemporary setting that has been nurtured by tikanga since its inception where its whakapapa is multiple layered. That is, at one level whakapapa is reflected by whanaungatanga, while at another level, the research community is built on whenua Māori and so has a physical and spiritual link to Papatūānuku and to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti founded on whakapapa. Indeed, it is the mana and wairua of this Māori boarding school that is innately inherited by those who enter its portals where everyone is linked through whakapapa; through the land, kinship, whanaungatanga and fellowship that reaches out and impacts upon the rest of Aotearoa, and globally. Kinship ties today are reinforced by our history, which in turn are shaped by our experiences within specific communities. Rangihau stated that his feeling of identity and devotion to Māori culture was

The result of history and traditions, and the fact that I grew up in a Māori community. In this community there was always a sense of value of land and the emotional ties Māori have to it (In King, 1981:183).

By virtue of being positioned within such [Māori] communities, he goes onto say that group interests, practices and ideals impacted on everyone and so

We had to learn the dynamics of group living.... kinship bound us together in this situation. To me, kinship is the warmth of being together as a family group.... and a strong feeling of kinship or whanaungatanga reaches out to others in hospitality (Ibid:183).

While this view stemmed from an early 20th century recollection of growing up in a rural and tribal community, these same dynamics apply today within urban environments and in some rural settings where Māori participate in a number of pan-tribal institutions; tikanga Māori have not changed, tradition firmly roots contemporary interpretations of tikanga Māori. Whakapapa is embedded among such institutions where whakapapa continually cultivates itself and so while the physical environment that Māori reside in may have changed considerably, the spiritual essence remains where Indigenous peoples will always maintain a connection with their ancestral lands even if such lands have been confiscated or sold.

The significance of whakapapa to this thesis is especially applicable today where contemporary interpretations are shaped by the passage of time, history, oral traditions and experiences. Future pathways of Māori will also be knowingly and unknowingly guided by whakapapa, such is its 'taken for granted nature' and so it is appropriate that a Māori research approach anchored in whakapapa is acknowledged as being legitimate too in order that new knowledge regarding Māori ways of knowing, doing and being may accompany the movement of Māori into the 21st century. For instance, a more knowledgeable perspective of the positive role that Te Aute College can perform in contributing to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand will not only be of benefit to the college and its pupils, the repercussions will physically and spiritually impact on the wider whānau of Te Aute College, on other Māori boarding schools, on the Māori people throughout the country and indeed the whole population of Aotearoa New Zealand. Undeniably, the methodological approach that has guided this research is not only relevant to Te Aute College and to other Māori communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand but it will also be useful for Indigenous researchers worldwide engaged in research with their respective Indigenous communities such are the commonalities among the Indigenous with land.

Within the overall context of this thesis, whakapapa is therefore the common denominator that links the researcher to the research community, Te Aute College. However, the obligations and responsibilities incurred through this whakapapa-centred research approach position the research community at the centre of the

research, from the beginning through to its completion. Indeed, now that this thesis has been completed, such is the nature of a whakapapa-centred methodology that the acquisition of further knowledge can continue; be it by this researcher or by some other researcher in order to challenge, debate and or acquire further knowledge on Te Aute College or perhaps any of the other Māori boarding schools in greater detail. Thus, this type of research methodological pathway is continual; it is developmental and highly contextual. Indeed this sub-section of the chapter extends on this notion to affirm the distinct connection between researcher and research community that stems from common experiences, traditions and whakapapa. This relationship is supported by whakapapa and in comparison to other research approaches that fail to take cognisance of a Māori worldview, this whakapapa approach to research recognises Māori control at all levels of the research; from the outset to its completion, at the core and at the fringes.

Whakapapa - A Summary

It is through whakapapa that the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things legitimates a Māori world-view, which is at the heart of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing and Māori ways of acquiring new knowledge. The notion of whakapapa is innately woven throughout the fabric of Māori society and accordingly interrelates with contemporary society in a number of often taken for granted ways where the embedded nature of whakapapa continually reproduces itself as it is the most fundamental aspect of the way Māori think about and come to know the world. Therefore just as the creation of human life undergoes a process of development through the three phase dynamic mentioned earlier

- From ‘Te Kore’ - a state of nothingness but also a state of the potentiality for life;
- To ‘Te Pō’ - a sacred state of darkness or being hapū (pregnant / carrying child);
- To ‘Te Ao Mārama’ - birth and entry into the world of light.

The descent [blood] line continues and so too does the procurement of new knowledge where Māori ways of knowing and doing continually develop and are applied to contemporary settings. We the living mokopuna of our tīpuna are guided by their traditions and so preserve our connections to the past in our quest for advancement; advancing the descent line and advancing our understanding of the world.

In concluding, this chapter has examined the rigour and rigidity of a whakapapa-centred research methodology by explicating the custom of both a traditional and a contemporary illumination of whakapapa for the research conducted on Te Aute College. It has been asserted that this approach also has the potential to be applied across other Māori community contexts as well as Indigenous communities worldwide. Whakapapa is a method for acquiring new knowledge in that it organically links the past, present and future. The following chapter introduces the research methodology more succinctly and in doing so begins by examining the development of Māori research since the first Christian missionaries arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1814 and up to the present day where this time frame sees Māori move from a position of the ‘researched’ to the ‘researchers’. Chapter Six therefore examines the specific use of whakapapa as a research methodology that legitimately takes its rightful place alongside other research methodological paradigms. The second part of the chapter discloses the actual research methods employed throughout this thesis and that have also been guided by the notion of whakapapa.

Chapter Six

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

PART A: THE DEVELOPMENT OF MĀORI RESEARCH

He āpiti hono, he tātai hono – that which is joined becomes an unbroken line

Introduction

This chapter introduces Māori research and is divided into two sections. Part A will provide a critical account of Māori research and its development with both Māori as the ‘researched’ and Māori as the ‘researcher’ with a particular focus on the last 30 years. In doing so, this section of the chapter will culminate in an examination of how whakapapa became the specific research methodological choice for this thesis. In asking the questions, how can we understand reality and more specifically, what is the reality, this section examines the nature of whakapapa as applied to the research and therefore how whakapapa might provide the enlightenment that the research seeks. For instance, Te Aute College has been built upon many layers. A whakapapa approach is likely to assist in providing an explanation of the school functions generated from the multiple layers of history and experiences that they represent. In this sense, the essence of whakapapa is, what it is about, whom it concerns and how its unifying qualities, including both physical and spiritual, enable an exploration of these layers. Part B of this chapter will focus on ‘methods’ and map out aspects of the research process using the whakapapa model as the basis for the analysis of the whakapapa of Te Aute College and of the data on Te Aute College collated in the fieldwork phase of the thesis.

Early Māori Research

Māori and Māori communities have been the objects of research since the colonisation of Aotearoa-New Zealand in the 19th century. Early explorers, missionaries, social scientists, anthropologists and ethnographers alike viewed the Indigenous Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand through a calculated culturally constructed lens that gave no credence to Māori ambition. Instead, Māori knowledge was constructed according to the values and ideals brought to Aotearoa New Zealand with these Pākehā researchers (Durie, A.E., 2000; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005). These experiences were not uniquely Māori; indeed these encounters were a simultaneous experience for many Indigenous people worldwide. Bishop and Glynn (1999) make reference to the notion of iniquitous early Māori research and how the impact of colonisation has

Simplified and commodified Māori knowledge for ‘consumption’ by people other than those whose culture generated the knowledge (p.17).

A resulting and condescending factor of these encounters for Māori was that such research not only shaped colonial attitudes towards Māori and images of Māori at that particular period of our history; these encounters penetrated the very psyche of both Māori and Pākehā to the extent that these attitudes and images are still evident throughout the general population today. Within the context of research concerning Māori and Māori communities in the past, Māori aspirations for Māori were not inclusive of research methodologies. Rather than becoming its beneficiaries, Māori became victims of poor research (Durie, A.E., 2000, 2002; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2001) where presuppositions about Māori aspirations as classified by non-Māori were the norm. This victimisation undoubtedly maintained the subordinate status of Māori among research communities where researchers were free to come and go as they pleased hence their description by Māori as ‘mainly non-Māori hit-and-run researchers’ (Durie, 1995). Consequently, within the field of education Māori conventions relating to ‘what counts’ to Māori were deprived and constrained by Western conventions that used Māori education as the happy hunting ground (Walker, 1990). For instance, in educational institutions such as the Māori boarding schools, a manual based curriculum that included agricultural training and technical education

was very much the norm. Schools therefore not only contributed to the assimilation of the Māori population but the curriculum was geared to locate Māori on the lower rungs of the 'racial ladder' where these notions of epistemological and institutional racism prevailed for well over a century. Jenkins and Matthews (1995) in their book about Hukarere School state that

The stress was on 'Europeanising' the Māori people as quickly as possible. This emphasis on assimilation reflected the ways in which Pākehā placed themselves at the top of the racial hierarchy during the nineteenth century. Pākehā values were regarded as the norm and it was the duty of those involved in the education of Māori children to 'uplift' and 'elevate' Māori youth so that they became more like Pākehā (p.24).

The same could be equally said for Māori boys too where schools such as Hukarere's 'brother' school Te Aute College (Ibid), were also established on similar philosophies; Church Missionary Society policies on converting Māori to Christianity and State policies of civilising Māori through assimilation. The effects of non-Māori social and cultural construction of suitable life patterns for Māori undoubtedly constricted the advancement of Māori across the socio-economic sphere of society as well as served to maintain [patronising] colonial attitudes and images of Māori. The dominance of Pākehā perceptions of history and culture subordinated Māori forms of knowledge, which were seen to lack 'mainstream' legitimacy (Waipara-Panapa, 1995). Furthermore the questionable contribution of such research to knowledge about Māori assisted to ensconce general public opinion of Māori as failures in education and socially undesirable to the extent of also being labelled as amoral (Te Awekotuku, 1991).

A deficit perception of Māori prevailed and can be still seen today across Aotearoa New Zealand when Māori themselves for instance, are blamed for a lack of educational achievement. Early Māori research conducted by 'outsiders' perverted and contorted Māori and Māori society and so was successfully constructed to portray this deficit view. This portrayal of Māori stemmed from a colonising gaze (hooks, 1992) that was deeply embedded in cultural practises established in the notion of imperialism and that highlighted Māori as the problem (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2001). Subsequently, the cultural integrity and mana of Māori research[ed] communities and

Māori in general was severely eroded by the dominant cultural lens.

Recent research by Māori researchers working among Māori communities employing evolving Māori research techniques, examples of which can be seen used as references throughout Part A of this chapter, has confirmed the diminution of this aged research phenomenon in that the ‘come and go as you please’ exploits are no longer appropriate. That is, the notion of cultural diversity as a mere rhetoric is no longer tolerated and political credibility that was once and at times continues to be ultimately flawed is more prone to challenge and ratification today.

Increasingly, contemporary research carried out by Māori researchers has been influenced heavily by experiences allied to transforming the subordinate status of Māori into a greater position of empowerment and control (see Durie, A.E., 2002; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2001; Smith, 1999; Bishop, 1996; Pihama, 1993) as is exemplified by the redefinition of Māori research and approaches to Māori research discussed in the ensuing sub-sections of this chapter. In addition to Māori action, the evolution of theoretical positions on dominance and oppression from a range of Indigenous contexts worldwide has contributed significantly to the ‘Māori’ cause in Aotearoa New Zealand and indeed this development has not only benefited Māori but has reciprocated and benefited the ‘Indigenous’ cause too. A greater conscientisation and capacity to contest and challenge early Māori research methodological conventions has led contemporary Māori academics and researchers to generate research that disclosed that the empowerment of Māori for Māori was always going to be futile when Māori were consistently relegated and maintained in a subordinate position.

Being compelled to a process of cultural power that normalised one [dominant] group and subsequently differenced the other [inferior] group (Kenrick, 2002) not only disempowered Māori culturally and institutionally but also ingrained within Māori a notion of inferiority. The process of simultaneously assimilating and dominating Māori was adeptly reinforced by State policies and mechanisms of assimilation including the Māori land wars, the Native Land Court and education policies (Graham, 2002). Consequently, this process fell into place once specific legislation

was passed but it was evolutionary too in that as the decades passed and subsequent generations of Māori were born, Māori were already disadvantaged. For instance, the school curriculum was controlled by the State (see Chapter Three) and te reo Māori too was prohibited in schools. The question then has to be asked, why would our tīpuna accept these ideals? A mitigating factor must surely be an ingrained notion of inferiority that was sustained by the hegemonic ‘arm’ of the State thereby subjugating Māori to a lower position than the majority of the country’s citizens across the socio-economic and cultural sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand society at the time.

The 1960s saw the emergence of a growing number of Māori academics and Māori resistance to the status quo. Many of these personnel, men and women were products of the Māori boarding schools spread throughout the country and the era saw the re-emergence of Māori political protest driven by the Treaty of Waitangi as well as an international civil rights movement too that was especially prevalent in the United States of America. The emergence of the Māori notion of ‘tino rangatiratanga’ as a political protest was also a strength that has escalated in magnitude over the last 40 years to be of great spiritual, social and political significance for many Māori iwi, groups, individuals and organisations. Tino rangatiratanga was therefore a ‘catchphrase’ and process that would eradicate the unnatural modes of thinking and doing that Māori had been confined to for well over 100 years. As mentioned, tino rangatiratanga served a spiritual, mental, social, cultural, physical and political focus and rallying point alongside what would also emerge as a physical symbol of tino rangatiratanga in 1990 at the 150th anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi – the ‘tino rangatiratanga’ flag.

The Redefining of Māori Research

Research by Māori, about Māori and for Māori has diversified since the development of Te Kōhanga Reo, Early Childhood Education Māori ‘Language Nests’, and of Te Whare Tapa Whā, the Māori health framework formulated by Professor Mason Durie about the same time that the Te Kōhanga Reo movement began in the early 1980s. Both of these developments marked an era of the consolidation of cultural redefinition

of Māori by Māori in that ‘what counted as Māori’ was necessitated as the norm as opposed to ‘inferior’ as described by Durie, A.E. where

In each field Māori were taking control over discourses about Māori, thus providing the space for legitimation of the ‘Māori voice’ and for rejecting the validity of the ‘non-Māori’ gaze when it turned out merely to reflect itself (2002:2).

Tino rangatiratanga is epitomised and legitimised by Māori, and by the development of these institutions in empowering Māori research concerning Māori that has underpinned their development and continued advancement in Māori education and Māori health contexts. The term tino rangatiratanga is contextual with both literal meanings and metaphoric connotations as well. Tino rangatiratanga is used for instance, as a rallying symbol today in contemporary settings by Māori institutions such as iwi, hapū, pan-tribal organisations and Māori [health, education] providers where it is synonymous with Māori autonomy; albeit in varying degrees. Subsequently, its abstract disposition makes it a highly contested concept today even though there has been significant progress and advancement made by Māori where views have diverged both inside and outside of Māoridom (Humpage, 2002). Nonetheless, Durie (2001) notes that there appears to be general consensus that Māori collectives and individuals are more healthily provided for by courses of action that reflect Māori priorities as decided by Māori, that is Māori control and Māori authority over ‘things’ Māori. Tino rangatiratanga has therefore provided the impetus for Māori action in addressing the power imbalance between Māori and Pākehā across social, economic, political and cultural environments, especially in the last 25 years where the Treaty of Waitangi for instance, is recognised in law, legislation and other mandates.

The development of Indigenous research methods and paradigms across socio-economic, political and cultural contexts since the 1960s by Indigenous peoples globally and the resulting power that has been ‘taken back’ by such groups has had significant positive implications for Māori. For instance, the growth of Māori research by Māori for Māori and Māori research that employs Māori cultural conventions has developed at a steady rate where such research has been driven by notions of tino rangatiratanga as well as critical analyses from other Indigenous contexts that are both

transformative and political by nature

Māori researchers have thus sought to transform past subjective research positioning by redefining research frameworks to place Māori people and thought at the centre and in doing so, creating a Māori research paradigm (Durie, A.E., 2002:2).

The fortification of the validity of Indigenous knowledge by Indigenous peoples worldwide when measured against Western knowledge paradigms has empowered Indigenous peoples and transformed a once oppressive worldview of the Indigenous. While Indigenous research paradigms are but one reason for such growth; indeed the actions of all Indigenous peoples would be another reason for recognition rightfully given today to Indigenous knowledge. This gradual strengthening of Indigenous rights was timely supported by the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Working Group on Indigenous Populations, 1993) presented to the United Nations for ratification in 1993. This draft was a result of many years of meetings of Indigenous peoples outside of formal United Nations gatherings too. For instance, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations was formed as a result of such meetings and work progressed over a long period and proposed

That Indigenous peoples should have access to the Indigenous world with its values and resources, access to the wider society within which they live, access to a healthy environment, and a degree of autonomy over their own lives and properties (Durie, 2005:304).

While Indigenous peoples' knowledge systems stem from the creation of the universe according to individual Indigenous oral traditions, it is well documented that in recent decades, more and more Indigenous peoples throughout the world have been able to once again exercise these rights (see for example Battiste, 2000; Colorado, 1996; Deloria, 1995; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005; Smith, 1999; Durie, 2005). Even so, since the colonisation process of Aotearoa New Zealand began in the early part of the 19th century, there have been concerted efforts by Māori to have mātauranga Māori recognised. For instance, the work of Te Aute College graduates such as Ngata, Buck and Pomare from the late 19th century is testament to this as have been the efforts of their peers and contemporaries throughout the 20th century. It is appropriate in the 21st century that critical and transformative analyses that stem from a Māori epistemological experience allow for approaches to knowledge production drawn

from Māori especially now that the notion of epistemological racism (Scheurich and Young, 1997) has and continues to be challenged to the extent that it is recognised as a social injustice. It must be also be recognised that the development and thrust of Māori research since the 1980s has simultaneously seen a number of progressive Māori approaches to Māori research evolve, thus constructing a Māori research methodological continuum that has not only extended previous and oppressive frameworks for Māori research but has also discredited such oppressive research methods.

Cunningham (1998) outlines a taxonomy for Māori research that includes four characteristics

- *Research Not Involving Māori;*
- *Research Involving Māori;*
- *Māori-Centred Research (Durie, 1995);*
- *Kaupapa Māori Research (Smith, 1990).*

The latter two approaches are the main pillars of this Māori research methodological continuum referred to above. A number of specific Māori research methodologies have evolved alongside and or beneath the development of these two research approaches and their characteristics as well as the sphere of Indigenous knowledge in recent times, including the Whakawhanaungatanga Model (Bishop, 1996), Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework (see Durie, 2003), Te Ngāhuru Model (see Durie, 2003), Te Tipu Ora Model (Ratima, 1999), Te Ao Mārama Research Paradigm (Royal, 1998), the Ngākau Māori Paradigm (Durie, 2002) and the Pātaka Model (Bevan-Brown, 1998) to name examples.

Durie, A.E. (1998) reviewed a whakapapa of Māori research paradigms throughout the 25 years leading up to 1997 and thus demonstrates the advancement of Māori empowerment within the fertile arena of Māori research in this period. An interesting observation is that this process has been evolutionary, constantly being checked and challenged by Western research conventions and therefore having to legitimise its rightful place within research. At the same time, this period has also witnessed the

passing of many Māori who prominently featured in an era that saw the discourse of tino rangatiratanga being asserted nationally and confidently. While evolutionary, the outcomes and ‘fruits’ from this labour have been revolutionary for Māori with legacies being proudly continued and affirmed today. Subsequently,

The pattern established at that time, has consciously informed work since. The need to construct Māori epistemologies through theory building, research philosophies, methodologies and informed practice is an ongoing challenge and one being taken up more and more by Māori with consequences for institutional research processes (Ibid:263).

Despite the fact that there is a range of progressive Māori approaches to Māori research with distinct contexts and applications, they all have common ground in that they have been borne out of an Indigenous Māori worldview that today is seen as being either absolutely essential or highly desirable (Bevan-Brown, 1998). Indeed, the once perceived view held by research conventions positioned Indigenous knowledge in a void unable to escape the past (Durie, 2005) and failed to ignore the push for advancement. It is this romanticised (Freire and Faundez, 1989) notion of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous knowledge that we must be cautious of in order that we do not attempt to restore the indigene to a pure pre-colonial cosmos (Semali and Kincheloe, 1999). However, as Durie (2005) states, there is an outlook evolving from the innovative propensity of Indigenous knowledge that is totally relevant and appropriate today and simultaneously able to function alongside other knowledge systems. This is what Durie (2004) for instance, terms research at the ‘interface’; the contestation of scientific and Indigenous knowledge and the relative validity of each on the assumption that one is naturally more pertinent than the other.

Māori-Centred Research

A Māori-centred approach to research typically involves Māori throughout all aspects of the research and encompasses the research participants and community, the researcher, the gathering of Māori data, the analysis stage (Māori analysis practiced) and the purveying of Māori knowledge from the research outcomes (Cunningham, 1998). This approach is therefore seen to provide a dual focus on both a philosophical base and a methodological framework that permits Māori involvement in the

development and explication of Māori research that is empowering. Durie (1997) has identified three key principles of Māori-centred research

- *Whakapiki Tangata - enablement, enhancement or empowerment;*
- *Whakatuia - integration;*
- *Mana Māori - Māori control.*

The first principle Whakapiki Tangata is multiple layered in that it impacts at the personal, cultural and institutional levels where research involving Māori should enhance individual status and the ability to take control of one's life therefore influencing the capacity for Māori individuals to actively participate at a cultural (iwi and hapū) and institutional (pan-tribal) level. For instance, the research community are at the core of the research where their status is of both innate and conscious concern throughout the whole research process including once the research has concluded. That is, the outcome(s) of the research should enable, enhance and empower the research community's status; physically, mentally, socially and spiritually. Principle two Whakatuia represents a holistic view held by Māori about the world we live in; a Māori worldview. For instance, within the parameters of this thesis, an insight into the notion of whakapapa exposes the connections between people, the environment and the supernatural and is able to be constructed into a myriad of relationships thus representing an integrated system of interactions. This principle is about integrating and making links between ranges of factors that includes

Interactions between past and present; the individual and the collective; the body, mind and soul; people and their environment; political power and social and economic spheres (Ibid:10).

Principle three Mana Māori relates directly to concerns of control over Māori research relating to Māori and stems from the discourse of tino rangatiratanga discussed earlier. Durie (Ibid) notes that consistency with this third principle would see a shift in the position of Māori from passive participants to 'drivers' of Māori research and therefore a strengthening in the validity of Māori-centred research today.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori research is defined as research over which Māori maintain conceptual design, methodological and interpretative control (Smith, 1999) and like Māori-centred research; it concerns the generation and transmission of Māori knowledge and so it too is an integrative process that reflects Māori ways of knowing and doing. Ratima (2001) for instance, identified five principles that underpinned a Māori inquiry paradigm and noted that Māori worldviews were integrated and that this integrated system formed the primary characteristic of Māori inquiry paradigms.

A Kaupapa Māori approach to research already accepts a Māori worldview as valid and so uses its parameters as the tool to generate and transmit Māori knowledge as opposed to the past where early Māori research was conducted through a 'colonial lens' that rewarded non-Māori researchers and continued to subjugate Māori, Māori knowledge and hence a Māori worldview. Resistance, emancipation, praxis and struggle are key concepts associated with Kaupapa Māori theory that have evolved out of the imperial experiences endured by Māori and that are indicative of other research paradigms such as feminist and action-research that come under the 'umbrella' of critical theory. The application of critical theory and research paradigms that have evolved under this approach to an Aotearoa New Zealand context have challenged the status quo that was once dominated and maintained by a Western positivist tradition (Smith, 1995) and 'hit-and-run' or 'come and go as you please' researchers. However, there have been differing views and interpretations of the relationship between critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory by the pool of Māori researchers (see Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1999; Pihama, 1993; Cunningham, 1998) as these same researchers along with their peers have consolidated Māori epistemologies through the development of theory, research philosophies, research methodologies and informed practice.

While Kaupapa Māori research and Māori-centred research share similarities including the primary source of their existence that stems from a Māori worldview that is indisputable, differences are recognised between the two approaches that

differentiate one from the other. Cunningham (1998) for instance, highlights differences in the levels of Māori control throughout the research where Kaupapa Māori research is seen to have a different set of exercising rights in terms of control; Māori control throughout the research is accountable to Māori whereas Māori-centred research has dual accountabilities, to Māori and to the mainstream institution to whom the Māori researchers belong

Essentially kaupapa Māori research should be controlled by Māori institutions (such as iwi), while Māori-centred research may be based within a non-Māori organisation (such as a university). It is also reasonable to expect that kaupapa Māori research will be characterised by wholly Māori participation and the use of Māori specific methods, while these characteristics would not be a criterion for Māori-centred research (Holdaway, 2002:74-5).

Nonetheless, while each of these distinct approaches form the basis of an evolving Māori research methodological continuum, they overlap frequently in terms of being able to transplant key elements from each approach across this ‘continuum’. For instance, Smith (1995) defined Kaupapa Māori as ‘research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori’. This thesis goes as far to say that Māori-centred research also aligns to this decree in that the research parameters for this thesis included the fact that the researcher is an Indigenous Māori researcher who has undertaken research for the advantage of [a] Māori [community] whereby [the] Māori [research community] have been in control and involved throughout this process, both at the core and at the periphery. Future interactions between the researcher and research community will also be a fundamental feature of this research process as will be its emancipating outcomes – enabling, enhancing and empowering.

Indigenous Knowledge

The phenomenon of Indigenous knowledge, while global in terms of intricately linking Indigenous peoples across the world, is also topographical, geographical and ecologically specific to Indigenous peoples. For instance, the Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand, Native Hawaiians, the Inuit and Sami people of the Arctic region, Native Americans, First Nations People of Canada, Australian Aboriginals, Indigenous Taiwanese people and African tribal peoples may represent Indigenous peoples who

were once colonised and or dominated by colonisers but each group possesses Indigenous knowledge that fortuitously has survived years of oppression where it is at the heart of Indigenous ways of knowing and doing among sections of these communities today. The foundations of Indigenous knowledge are built upon an inimitable relationship between the Indigenous and their respective environments. That is, Indigenous people are characterised by an irreplaceable unity with their land, waterways, airways and natural surrounding habitats. While the physical ownership of traditional lands by Indigenous peoples has been compromised through the consummation impact of colonisation, such is the strength of the relationship between the Indigenous and the cosmological and, of Indigenous knowledge that the spiritual essence and significance of a connection to land prevails.

The danger of treating all Indigenous knowledge as identical is a valid concern for Indigenous peoples especially from the perspective of an 'outsider' looking inward. Too often Indigenous knowledge is defined as one category or field of knowledge with little or no latitude in respect of particular Indigenous peoples and knowledge bases. However, the reality is that Indigenous peoples throughout the world including specific tribal or sub-tribal groupings of each are discrete in terms of language, dialect, specific traditions and cultural traits. Indigenous knowledge is therefore not a monolithic epistemological concept; on the contrary a great deal of diversity exists among the Indigenous where Indigenous cultural experience is not the same for everyone; including across Indigenous communities and within individual Indigenous communities. Commonalities include the innate connection that the Indigenous have with their land and total environment including the cosmological realm. These commonalities have become more apparent as global forces and electronic communication have provided greater opportunities for Indigenous communities to communicate and engage with each other (Durie, 2005). Another commonality puts emphasis on the maintenance of Indigenous knowledge traditions through oral histories and narratives that have enabled the transmission of Indigenous knowledge through generations since the creation of the universe according to respective Indigenous communities; albeit, through the subjugating reins of colonisation.

Pertinent to this thesis is the idea that Indigenous knowledge provides the ‘space’ for the research and more specifically, an acknowledgement of the Indigenous knowledge that belongs to Māori and the life experiences and attitudes that stem from this, including the diverse realities among Māori themselves. That is, Māori are a tribally based people and as such, tribal and sub-tribal idiosyncrasies prevail even though it is a Māori worldview that originally produced the foundations of [Māori] Indigenous knowledge. Consequently, iwi and hapū do have their distinct traditions that convey ‘the’ Māori worldview and this is accepted and respected by respective iwi and hapū; as are other Indigenous traditions. This is not to say that Māori [or iwi / hapū] Indigenous knowledge is but one truth and that all other Indigenous or sub-groups of Indigenous peoples must adhere to this; rather, an anti-foundational epistemological context promotes a reflection on knowledge production relative to the historical setting, cultural situatedness and moral needs of the reality they confront (Semali and Kincheloe, 1999). Accordingly, this could occur in the United States of America, Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand; indeed, it is possible to centre in on specific Indigenous communities within each of these countries such is the complex, diverse, yet intrinsic nature of Indigenous knowledge. For instance, take the example of the Chagga people of Tanzania

The Indigenous knowledge produced by the Chagga people in Tanzania can be both true and just in relation to the discursive practices of the Chagga culture. The Chagga criteria for truth make no claim for universality and would not feign to determine truth claims for various other cultural groups around the world. Thus, Chagga truth as a contingent, local epistemology would not claim power via its ability to negate or validate knowledge produced in non-Chagga cultures. Such an epistemological issue holds profound social and political implications, for it helps determine the power relations between diverse cultural groups (Ibid:18).

Here in Aotearoa New Zealand, the specific research community that forms the basis of this thesis is guided to a large extent by Indigenous Māori knowledge that has its foundations in a Māori worldview although it is also inclusive of other parameters including the Anglican Church, upon whose faith the school was founded, and the government; referred to now as the State and its relevant arms, for instance the Ministry of Education. Accordingly, the research methodological approach to this thesis comes under a Māori-centred paradigm and is whakapapa-centred. It also

contains characteristics of Indigeneity and research methods derived from Indigenous Māori knowledge. That is, the relationship between Māori, Papatūānuku, Māori cosmology, tikanga Māori, tangatawhenuatanga, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Aute College and, the complexities of these interactions in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Fittingly, this research approach also has positive ramifications for Indigenous contexts worldwide where the methodology derived from an Indigenous knowledge base exemplifies its potential and capacity to be employed in cross-cultural contexts as well as at the interface (Durie, 2004; 2005; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005).

Whakapapa and Māori Research

The notion of whakapapa is essential to the Māori construction of a Māori worldview and so interacts for instance, across all three principles central to Māori-centred research as identified by Durie (1997), the ‘Whakatuia’ principle of integration has a direct connection with the notion of whakapapa in that it represents a network of relationships between Māori and the environment; the physical and the spiritual. It is therefore crucial that the [Māori] researcher acknowledges both the visible and invisible connections with and among their [Māori] research community in order that these connections are held with high regard and revered too when practised as Wilson (2004) alludes to

Fundamental to whakatuia is the need to respect the whakapapa and whanaungatanga of the participants and the Māori community involved. The researcher’s whakapapa must also be recognised, and any issues or biases that may impact upon the research or the participants exposed through a process of reflexive engagement (p.87).

The connections between this Māori researcher and the research’s Māori community have their roots grounded by whakapapa and kinship links that maintain a powerful presence today whereby these traditions provide the foundations for the formation and or rejuvenating of relationships. For instance, Tomlins-Jahnke (2001) describes these dynamics as a multifaceted series of relationships that are controlled by a person’s age, genealogy, status, geographical location, gender and tribal affiliations. It is also recognised that these controlling dynamics can simultaneously occur thereby invoking

the principles of Māori-centred research that focus on Māori control, enablement and integration (Durie, 1997) thus, bringing together Māori research desires and ‘mainstream’ research demands that place Māori at the centre as well as the periphery. Whakapapa acts as a control and a balancing factor that efficiently facilitates the role of the researcher when engaging in research with ‘their’ Māori community; a whakapapa-centred approach to research utilises this *modus operandi* where alliances and networks are strengthened by multiple layers of whakapapa. Consequently, whakapapa provides the research methodology and so enables the examination of how an understanding of the nature of ‘what is the reality’ might be gained.

Whakapapa is also an important component of Kaupapa Māori research by virtue of its intrinsic character that maintains a vital status in the construction of a Māori worldview by Māori that locates Māori at the beginning of time with the creation of the universe. That is, as with a Māori-centred approach to research, whakapapa provides the epistemological framework and ontological position for explicating and understanding of a Māori worldview. Just as Kaupapa Māori research necessitates the generation and transmission of knowledge, so too does one of its core components – whakapapa, where whakapapa is a tool of both knowledge transmission and of individual and collective identity formation (Potter, 2003). Linda Smith (1999) for instance, refers to the importance of whakapapa to Kaupapa Māori research in three areas, based on a range of unified matters including that

- *Whakapapa is a way of thinking about Māori people;*
- *In urban settings one is not necessarily involved with kinship-based groups;*
- *In relation to the role of Māori researchers, they must not be taken for granted (p.8).*

The notion of whakapapa is innately woven throughout Māori-centred research and Kaupapa Māori research. It is the Māori research context that provides specific instances where whakapapa is implicated in that particular research context. These two approaches to Māori research also have a generic link to all Māori settings that have their foundations in Māori history, tradition and oral narratives; as will be discussed throughout the ensuing sub-section of this chapter.

Oral Tradition as the Basis for Māori Research.

The Indigenous structures and processes of the modes of learning traditionally used in Aotearoa New Zealand stemmed from ‘ngā tikanga me ngā āhuatanga ā ō tātou tīpuna’ – a system of rules and principles established and applied by our ancestors (Pere, 1991). Whakapapa has enabled the retention of these traditions and undeniably their contemporary application too where such rules, rights and obligations are by no means out of place in forming the basis for research among Māori communities in Aotearoa New Zealand today. However, whilst whakapapa has facilitated the retention of tikanga, it is important to note that it is through narratives and oral traditions that whakapapa has been passed down through the generations. That is, while whakapapa will always exist, narratives validate these traditions and bring them to life and so the interactions between whakapapa and narratives are innately interwoven where each depends on the other for continued existence.

Māori scholars of various realms including earlier traditions of navigation, carving and whakapapa have validated a Māori world-view since the beginning of time where this knowledge has been retained through narratives that have been passed down through subsequent generations. For instance, Whare Wānanga was the more formalised mode of learning throughout traditional Māori society and was concerned with the transmission of higher-class knowledge, as opposed to ordinary folklore. Whare Wānanga were conservative institutions confined to high-ranking and elite persons; they were also extremely tapu and responsible for passing on the esoteric knowledge that linked the Gods and human beings. Whare Wānanga were further concerned with historic traditions, rites, regulations and tikanga and, they protected important material for the maintenance of traditional Māori society (Winiata and Winiata, 1994). For instance, Best (1923) recorded that

The object of the school of learning was to preserve all desirable knowledge....and other traditional lore and to hand it down the centuries free of any alteration, omission, interpolation, or deterioration. Any form of change, any departure from old teachings, was strongly disapproved of, and any questioning of ancient teachings was held to be a grievous affront to Tane, the origin and patron of all high-class knowledge (pp.6-7).

Learning in the Whare Wānanga was divided into two areas, Te Kauwae-runga, representing all matter of knowledge and learning that pertained to the Gods, the heavens, the origin of all things, the creation of man, the science of astronomy and the record of time (a celestial focus) and, Te Kauwae-raro, which dealt with the history of Māori, genealogies, migrations, tapu and all other knowledge pertaining to terrestrial matters. Whare Wānanga were exceptional and tapu learning institutions that were able to preserve and maintain the principal names in tribal knowledge and institutions. It was in these houses of learning that the priests of old taught the young men of their particular tribes about the resolute prudence never to depart from what they learned, nor to allow anyone else than those taught by the tribal priests to enter into the Whare Wānanga. Whare Wānanga took great care in preserving the absolute sacredness of the knowledge to be bequeathed upon the fortuitous educational elite. Such knowledge was imparted in specific designated areas in

Special houses of learning at a distance away from the normal living complex.... when the house was completed and the ritual blessing pronounced upon it, prospective students entered the house and were set apart for the task of learning....The high priests were responsible for sharing the knowledge while the woman priest was enlisted to assist in some of the ritual practices of freeing the students from tapu (Barlow, 1993:159).

According to Buck (1949), the establishment of Whare Wānanga on earth was linked to the acquisition of knowledge by the offspring of Papatūānuku. Tāne, the son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and the origin and guardian of all high-class knowledge is recognised with having retrieved the three sacred baskets of knowledge from the celestial abode of Io Matua-kore, Supreme God. Other traditions record that Tāwhaki was the ancestor that ascended to the upper skies by means of a vine (aka matua), which reached upward to the mythical regions in the heavens (Ibid). Even so, the three baskets of knowledge were acquired and were named Te Kete Tūāuri - the basket of Ritual Knowledge, Te Kete Tūātea - the basket of Occult Knowledge, and Te Kete Aronui - the basket of Secular Knowledge.

The concept of Whare Wānanga was subsequently established thereby becoming one institution for the depository of knowledge acquired by Māori tīpuna. Whare Wānanga were therefore also prominent in the explanations of knowledge acquisition,

storage and transmission (Winiata and Winiata, 1994) and extremely tapu, the Wānanga necessitated the maintenance of the purity of Māori knowledge to be disseminated. Such knowledge and teachings from the Whare Wānanga continued to flourish up until European contact and remained the predominant educational institution however; the arrival of missionaries in the early 1800s was to change the role of the Whare Wānanga as Pākehā knowledge supplanted Māori knowledge. Indeed, the phenomenon of oral traditions would also be severely eroded in a later period through the impact of the banning of te reo Māori in schools and of a ‘print’ and ‘written’ culture.

Whakapapa - A Theoretical Basis for Research

At the turn of the 20th century, a new but interrelated pedigree of scholarship exemplified by, for example, Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck, Maui Pomare, Tutere Wirepa, Edward Ellison and Reweti Kohere continued this Māori tradition of learning ‘high-class’ knowledge albeit in a post-colonial context. Colonisation and the establishment of Western ‘formal’ educational institutions in the country had seen some young Māori students specifically ‘groomed’ for certain subject and curriculum areas especially at places such as Te Aute College, under the leadership of John Thornton at the time. More recently in the latter quarter of the 20th century, this same tradition has continued however, motives have differed from the former in that the latter scholars and academics have successfully been able to challenge the ‘status quo’ to a degree and thus have been able to authenticate a Māori worldview to sit alongside dominant practices and traditions albeit across a range of contexts. In view of this tradition, it is evident that the individuals concerned are connected in that they share similar aspirations albeit with distinct motivations. This connection can be attributed to the notion of whakapapa in that the acquisition, the storing and the dissemination of Māori knowledge itself has a genealogy that extends back to Tāne and back to Io-Matua-Kore.

In keeping with Māori traditions, whakapapa therefore becomes the most fundamental aspect of the way we think about and come to know the world (Rangihau In King,

1981). It is a way of thinking, a way of storing knowledge and a way of debating knowledge (Smith, 1999). Indeed this thesis asserts and applies the notion that whakapapa is a means and way to acquiring new knowledge; it is the all-important link between the past, present and future. For instance, as an Indigenous person of Aotearoa, the past qualifies [through whakapapa] one's place in society today, that is, a connection to the past links Māori people to their tūrangawaewae both knowingly and unknowingly. Therefore, using the skills and traditions acquired through Indigenous Māori narratives and traditions enables the accumulation of knowledge, the examination of this knowledge and the capacity to progress what is both tenable and therefore a reality for Māori.

As a research process, a whakapapa research methodology exercises tikanga Māori to guide the research, explicating the inseparable links between the supernatural, land, man and the environment. Like Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred research, this approach provides a strong Māori philosophical position to guide the research. The notion of whakapapa is therefore the all-inclusive interweaving mechanism that provides legitimate foundations from which Māori research can be performed and validated today. Whakapapa thus provides the space for Māori knowledge and means of considering the world thereby separating Māori research by Māori from dominant research perspectives. Notably, this approach to Māori research is applicable across Indigenous contexts too where Indigenous peoples, their lands, oral histories and genealogies are implicitly connected; albeit, where some Indigenous peoples have more of a spiritual connection to land than a physical one today because of the adverse effects of colonisation.

Royal (1998) in developing *Te Ao Mārama - A Research Paradigm*, illustrated its strength as a medium from which the past is drawn upon to enthuse contemporary Māori theorising and philosophical reflection. Whakapapa is identified as an analytical tool traditionally used by Māori to understand

The nature of phenomena, the origin of phenomena, the connections and relationships to other phenomena, describing trends in phenomena, locating phenomena and extrapolating and predicting future phenomena (Royal, 1998:4).

Of particular interest is the observation that whakapapa as a research methodology is seen to be organic rather than deconstructive. That is, while whakapapa allows us to trace our descent back through the generations, whakapapa also permits movement and growth in the future. This thesis extends on the theorising of Te Ao Mārama for instance, to be inclusive of biological and non-biological ties between the Māori researcher, the Māori research community and all of the people and groups that comprise this Māori research community. Thus, whakapapa noticeably provides the space for Indigenous theorising, philosophical reflection and research outside of a common colonial experience (Royal, 2002). The nature of a whakapapa-centred approach permeates throughout this thesis in that Māori knowledge is already recognised as legitimate. Therefore, the impetus lies in the validation of employing whakapapa as the basis of the research methodology as contemporary Māori researchers such as Royal have adeptly achieved and continue to do so. This ‘space’ is what was referred to earlier and so Indigenous Māori researchers and scholars must take up and utilise this space and in doing so continue to develop and model Indigenous Māori perspectives and models of research and analysis.

Whakapapa not only provides this ‘space’ but it also validates the rights and obligation of Māori to utilise it. That is, the whakapapa ‘infrastructure’ already exists throughout the Māori world and therefore the impetus is on knowing this knowledge and overtly expressing it in a manner that it can be used as a legitimate research methodology. An Indigenous Māori worldview is already valid and so it is not necessary to validate it, rather it is necessary to employ such knowledge when conducting research among Indigenous Māori communities today in order for its application as a research methodology to be recognised, accepted and legitimised.

It is appropriate that the importance of thinking forward is also accentuated when talking about whakapapa. If we position our thinking within a social context, it is a common phenomenon among Māori parents of children who reach adulthood to desire mokopuna; sometimes it is even an expectation. Whakapapa no doubt authenticates this notion and therefore motivates it too. Consequently, the whakapapa line will knowingly continue and so the family bloodlines will be maintained for the time

being. Mead (2003) speaks about the kaihau-waiū and how this comes to fruition

When a child is born there is a dramatic entry into the world of light, te ao mārama. A new person is born into the whānau. It is always a marvellous revelation to see the result of human creativity when a new version of te ira tangata is produced. There is a continuation down the descent line (pp.59-60).

In summarising the theoretical explanation of a whakapapa research methodology and its application to this research, Chapter Five contextualised the traditional meanings and contemporary interpretations of the Māori notion of whakapapa. A Māori worldview of the creation of the universe over three stages provides the basis for a whakapapa research methodology - te kore, te pō and te ao mārama (see also Figure Two). Taking the generic phenomenon and nature of research, this dynamic force can be transplanted across all phases of the research for instance, at the conceptualisation phase of the research (te kore), at the data gathering and analysis phase (te pō) and at the concluding stage (te ao mārama). The tikanga associated with the notion of whakapapa facilitates its application throughout each of these three stages where a conceptual understanding of whakapapa; traditional and contemporary, guides the process.

A whakapapa methodology can also interact and be applied to individual phases of the research. For instance, taking the second stage (te pō - data collection and analysis) as a starting point, the whakapapa model (te kore, te pō and te ao mārama) can be applied here too. Te kore represents the beginning of this phase of the research (planning), te pō represents the fieldwork and data collection phase and te ao mārama, represents a completed analysis of the data. Within this phase, the themes generated from the research data can be layered according to the whakapapa model; layer upon layer of parent themes and child themes. While establishing a platform and the space to engage in research, whakapapa methodology can ensure transparency for the research community and objectivity to the knowledge community through an understanding of and adherence to tikanga Māori. The ensuing sections of Part A and Part B of this chapter continue to extrapolate the researcher's conceptualisation of the notion of whakapapa and its application as research methodology to this thesis as well as the contextualisation of the notion of whakapapa within and across all phases of the

research.

Whakapapa - The Acquisition of New Knowledge

The application of whakapapa as a research tool is about the retention of Māori knowledge and its application to the growth of new knowledge to meet the needs of Māori in contemporary times as well as to plan for a future where Māori can live as Māori (Durie, 2003). While whakapapa at one level is about the retention of whānau, hapū and iwi bloodlines through new human life form, this thesis purports the notion that at a research level today, whakapapa concerns the birth of new knowledge in order to maintain and develop a Māori knowledge base that is inherently Indigenous as well as contemporarily appropriate. Accordingly, this whakapapa based research methodology is able to address a number of specific research questions including

- What is the meaning of research and for whom?
- What and who is the research for?
- What is the relevance of the research and for whom?
- What are the benefits and who benefits from the research?

Within the context of this thesis, such questions have been addressed by exploring a number of explanations that culminate in the notion that whakapapa has been preserved through Māori oral histories, narratives and histories. Its application today to Māori research contexts is especially relevant where the explication of whakapapa with regards to the Māori researcher and Māori research community facilitates the establishment of a research framework that places Māori at the centre and at the periphery (see Figure One).

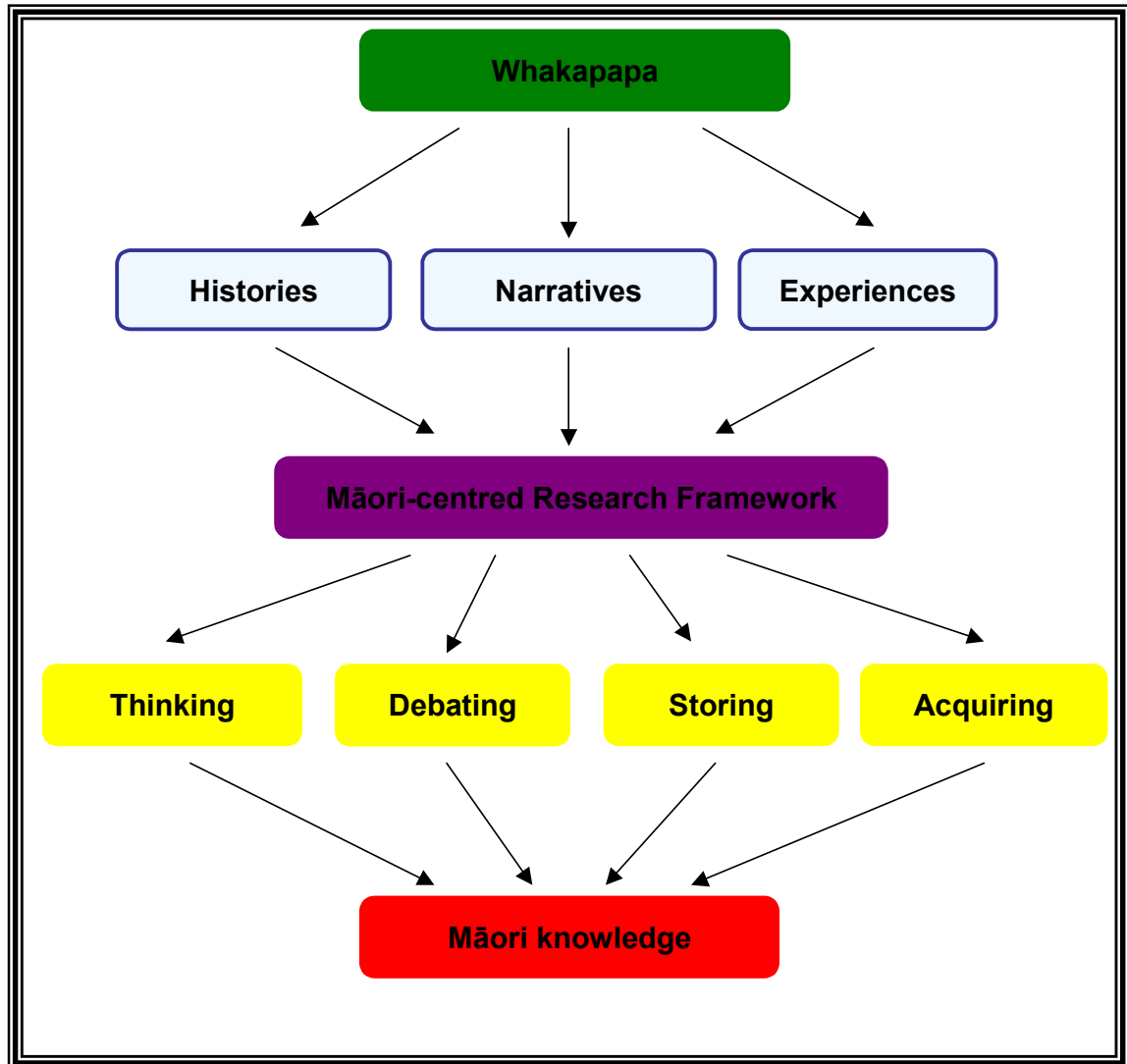


Figure One: The acquisition of Māori knowledge through a whakapapa research framework that explicates the past, present and future (Graham, J. 2007).

Whakapapa therefore

- Legitimizes Māori epistemology within ‘the’ research academy;
- Is at the heart of Māori ways of knowing and therefore Māori knowledge;
- Can establish a framework in which information can be structured in a logical and rational manner;
- Provides the basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things;
- Is a means and way of acquiring new knowledge, the all-important link between the past, present and future.

Whakapapa Research Methodology

Different research paradigms are employed to explore human behaviour and the search for understanding through people's actions. Events and relationships are observed and recorded through text, dialogue, participant observation, photography and video. Once analysed, data may be used to throw light on a participant's thoughts or relationships, clarify a specific human experience or improve understanding of a complex phenomenon. Qualitative research is considered to embody a diverse array of techniques and philosophies that support research practice in the human sciences (Mason, 1996) where an array of disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy, psychology, criminology and biology would all approach qualitative research in a different manner. Accordingly, this research that traverses education, Indigeneity and Māori knowledge adopts its own research approach and that of a whakapapa based research methodology that shares certain features with a qualitative research paradigm. One of the core characteristics of this approach to research is that the researcher is 'involved' whereas other approaches might allow the researcher to 'detach' themselves from research (Neuman, 1991). The nature of the whakapapa approach to this research is such that it intertwines the researcher with the research community at a number of levels that includes innately, spiritually, physically and mentally where there is reciprocity between the researcher and the research community throughout all stages of the research.

A whakapapa approach to research requires that the relationship between the researcher and the research community be maintained to the extent that the relationship is mutually beneficial and advantageous to both parties involved throughout the entire research process. Therefore, employing a design of this nature to the research allows the researcher to get 'close' to the experiences and feelings of all of the research participants and so enables such experiences to be discovered and felt as opposed to being assumed (Ezzy, 2002). This 'closeness' is especially appropriate and significant for Indigenous persons of wider societal groupings that include iwi and hapū, ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status, whose experiences and understandings have been oppressed and repressed by dominant policies and research

methods (Ibid); as Māori have been overtly and covertly subject to since the early 19th century.

For reasons such as these, it is imperative that the researcher has a comprehensive understanding of tikanga Māori and of the notion of whakapapa in particular. Such understanding will be facilitated by the researcher's contemporary lens but will enable the fusion of the past, present and future; that is, replicate the bare essence of whakapapa. This type of knowledge and understanding will also satisfy aspirations of the researcher's research participants in that Māori ethical considerations will be seen to be transparent, taken for granted (due to an understanding and empathy with tikanga Māori) and somewhat innate as the relationship develops between the researcher and the research community.

Chapter Five explored the notion of whakapapa in order to contextualise the nature of this thesis and so establishes the tone of what whakapapa is and is about in terms of when it is used or referred to throughout the research. The explication of whakapapa for the purposes of this research is unique but at the same time evolves from existing Māori research methods and so acknowledges the groundwork of those Māori researchers who set the scene alongside their peers in other fields such as politics, education and health over 30 years ago.

A research methodology based on whakapapa would seek out the connections between the research participants, the researcher and the social setting(s) and in doing so seek to connect with meanings, concepts, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, narratives, histories and personal aspirations that reside within the research community where each individual's views are as important as another's. This approach to the research also complemented the research questions whereby anecdotal (subjective) information was able to be obtained for analysis and thus, enable the 'voice of the other' to be heard. This anecdotal data not only consisted of interviews but of questionnaires as well. Questionnaires are quite flexible in that they are can classify data in two ways, subjective versus objective and qualitative versus quantitative. Therefore, questions can be designed to gather both types of data. For

this thesis, a questionnaire was developed to extract subject (qualitative) data from the research participants who opted for this research participation mode. This was achieved by developing ‘open format’ questions, questions that asked for unprompted opinions where there were no predetermined set of responses and the participants were free to answer however they pleased; similar to the interview process.

Te Whakapapa Rangahau - The Research Layers

Part way through the second and third phases of the research (see forthcoming subsections) aspects of which were both simultaneous and consecutive, the many layers that contribute to the research community became apparent. These layers consisted of tangible and intangible features and so mirror the typical characteristics that represent a Māori worldview. These same features also interact throughout the research phases and so all parts of the research aligned under the one notion – whakapapa. The literature review contextualised whakapapa and linked this to a Māori worldview; the research community had its own whakapapa that was built on layers of whakapapa within, the researcher interacted on more than one level with the research community through whakapapa and, the research outcomes would ultimately be determined and guided by whakapapa.

The ‘*He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono*’ exemplar (see Figure Two) is a model for the whakapapa methodological approach that this research utilises. As examined in Chapter Five, this research uses whakapapa to address its research questions and objectives. The research topic, Te Aute College emanates a whakapapa that defines the experiences of the researcher and the research participants within the context that is uniquely Te Aute College. This methodological exemplar is derived from a Māori epistemological knowledge base that enables clarity and an understanding of the research process. It shares certain features with an interpretive phenomenological framework that simply put, lets us make sense of our world by our mere existence within it. By making sense of our being in the world, we are able to understand and interpret phenomena in that we are inseparable from all that is taking place around us. A Māori worldview is implicit, in that the physical, cosmological, spiritual, social and

all other spheres are interconnected and so making sense of our world is not a new phenomenon rather, it is an ancient tradition.

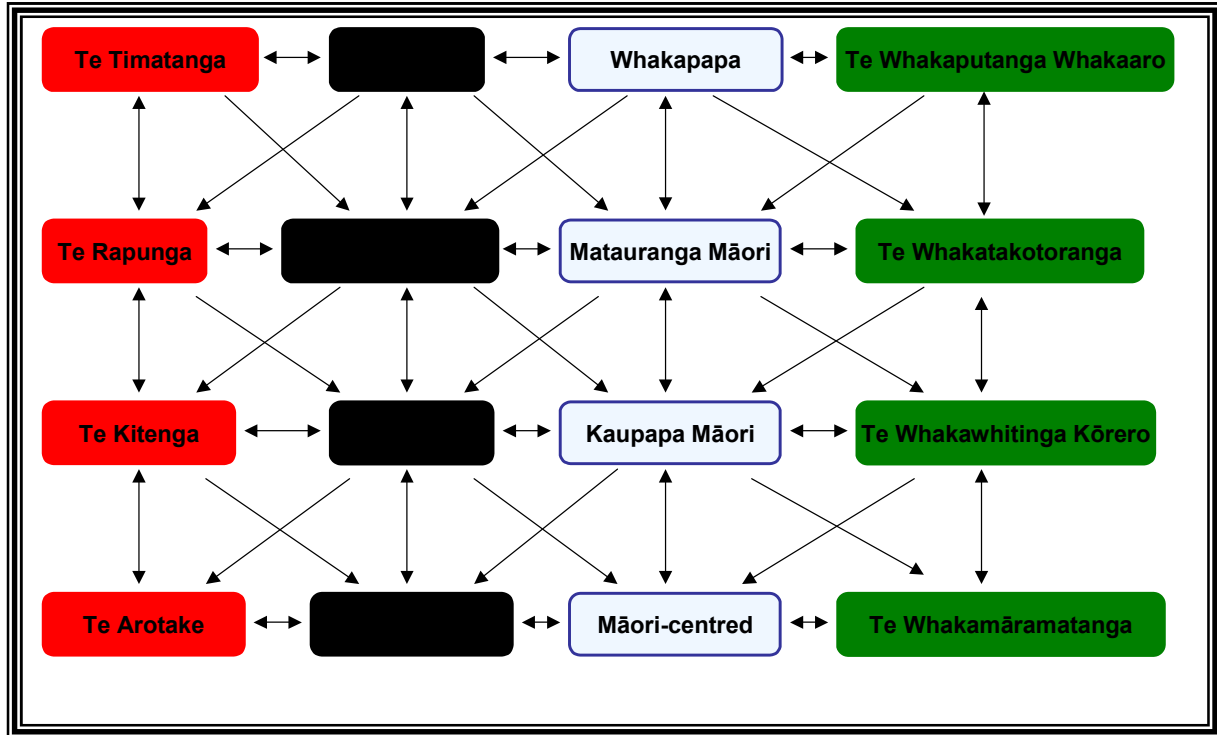


Figure Two: He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono - That which is joined becomes an unbroken line. (Graham, J. 2007).

Consequently, while some Western traditions may align to what is distinctly Māori, our Māori traditions are unique in that they have a whakapapa that extends beyond a more recent Western counterpart such as interpretive phenomenology and so a whakapapa approach to research is a valid form of inquiry that has a history, credibility and accountability; where people are at the centre of these 'ethical' considerations. A Māori ontological and epistemological outlook on the world and what counts as knowledge of the world substantiates this view in that for this research, whakapapa qualifies our place in the world and whakapapa connects us with experiences and practices that enhances our lives and enables us to understand our existence. Through one lens, this existence can be attributed to the procreation of human life; through another it can be viewed as the evolution and acquisition of knowledge. This whakapapa dichotomy provides the contemporary comprehension of the historical horizon that this research stems from. For instance, 'being in the world'

is confirmation of a world where we share things, experiences, traditions and practices that all add and give meaning to our lives where we make sense of the world through our existence within it (Heidegger, 1962; Honey, 1987; Dreyfuss, 1987).

There are four specific phases or ‘taumata’ - te taumata tuatahi (one), te taumata tuarua (two), te taumata tuatoru (three) and te taumata tuawhā (four) that make up the model as well as four specific pathways or what have been called ‘pou’ - te pou tuatahi, te pou tuarua, te pou tuatoru and te pou tuawhā. These interconnecting taumata and pou represent the overall methodological approach to this research, whakapapa. While each of these taumata is a constant, the colour coding of each pou represents a specific pathway that is travelled and explored once each taumata has been exhausted. For example, in te [red] pou tuatahi, te taumata tuatahi of the research is titled ‘*Te Timatanga*’ and this represents the initial phase of the research project, the beginning of the research. Te taumata tuarua is ‘*Te Rapunga*’ and represents the data gathering techniques used for the research such as interviews, questionnaires and focus groups including the literature review while, te taumata tuatoru ‘*Te Kitenga*’ represents the data collection phase of the research and the analysis of the data collected. The final taumata of te pou tuatahi is titled ‘*Te Arotake*’ and is the outcome of the research; what has been analysed, what this has achieved and what this analysis has to say about the research. While the colours differentiate each of the four pou, the research process can move from one pou to another as the exploration at each taumata of the research process is completed. As a result, the model can be used in a transverse fashion, vertically, diagonally as well as in a ‘zig-zag’ manner. Consequently, each taumata of each pou of the model can be explored from one taumata to the next irrespective of which pou the researcher finds themselves in or chooses to be in.

This thesis advances the notion that whakapapa is the all-inclusive interweaving mechanism that provides a legitimate foundation from which Māori research can be conducted and challenged today. Whakapapa provides the space for Māori knowledge and a means of considering ‘our being in the world’ thereby separating this specific research methodological approach from dominant research perspectives that have

socially constructed deficit perspectives of Māori since the advent of 19th century Māori research. Subsequently, this model provides for and considers Māori epistemology in establishing a framework that structures the taumata in a logical and rational manner just as whakapapa provides the basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things. That is, whakapapa sits at the heart of Māori ways of knowing and Māori knowledge where it is a pathway that leads Māori researchers on the road of exploration and acquisition of knowledge and understanding. It is the link between the past, present and future that facilitates bringing these horizons together.

The second methodological exemplar - '*Te Tātairanga*' (see Figure Three) is a model that extends on the '*He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono*' model and methodological approach discussed earlier; in particular on te pou tuawhā. While '*Te Tātairanga*' extends on the first exemplar it simultaneously introduces an emancipative perspective that promotes the potential for the research's outcomes to be explored further, either by the researcher, the research community and or another researcher who is cognisant of what the [earlier] research process has entailed and engaged in. As a result this model represents an emancipatory role that the whakapapa research methodology supports where it provides for a systematic synthesis of our horizons by acknowledging our historical understanding. That is, by allowing historical understanding to speak to us, we are able to make clear its real meaning (Hekman, 1986) through a contemporary comprehension of this historical horizon. Accordingly, the '*Te Tātairanga*' exemplar encourages a self-conscious approach to the research and enables the maintenance of dialogue between the researcher, the research community and or another researcher who intends on advancing the initial research, where a contemporary lens can be applied to the historical horizon that is Te Aute College.

The first phase of this model (the term taumata will be used here as well) - '*Te Whakaputanga Whakaaro*' introduces '*He aha te mea nui i te ao*', which asks the question, '*what is the greatest thing in the world*'? This taumata promotes thinking, posing questions and brainstorming ideas. This methodological exemplar is also based

on whakapapa and so the ‘offspring’ of te taumata tuatahi is te taumata tuarua - *‘Te Whakatakotoranga’*. Te taumata tuarua concerns the critical review of data and results generated from the initial research and the layering or placing of this knowledge within a subsequent research topic.



Figure Three: *Te Tātairanga* - The unbroken chain (Graham, J. 2007).

The initial research accordingly nurtures a phenomenon known in te ao Māori as *‘te kore’* where there is the potential for the emergence of new knowledge that analogises to ‘new life’ or new lineage; that is, new knowledge emerges from an interaction of the past and the present. Upon reaching a point where existing sources have been analysed and exhausted, the research progresses to te taumata tuatoru - *‘Te Whakawhitinga Kōrero’*. Te taumata tuatoru concerns the modes of confirming existing data and or gathering further data via researcher and research participant

interaction. It is about developing and maintaining a dialogue throughout the contact period where a mutually beneficial and dependent relationship is not only nurtured but also seen as healthy and trusting. This taumata eventually progresses to te taumata tuawhā - '*Te Whakamāramatanga*' that endorses the metaphorical statement - '*He tangata, he tangata, he tangata*', which simply translates as '*it is people, it is people, it is people*'. That is, ultimately, the research will be for and benefit the research community as well as to those whom the research reaches out to and either directly or indirectly impacts upon and everything that is part of them; their environments, iwi and hapū, communities, homes, families and their 'being in the world'.

At this point the research process does not cease, instead it becomes cyclic in that there is the capacity and potential to revert once more to either the '*He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono*' or '*Te Tātairanga*' methodological exemplars as the journey continues along the research pathway and turns full circle. This cycle or circle described by Gadamer (1975) has no beginning, no end, top or bottom; interpretation is a continuum (Walsh, 1996). The '*Te Tātairanga*' exemplar can also be used throughout the progression of the '*He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono*' exemplar and not just after the completion of the initial research. For instance, this may occur when there is a need to advance an investigation of specific research findings by either contacting a research participant who provided such information again or, through the engaging of the research with qualitative research analysis computer software such as *NVIVO 7* (see Part B of this chapter). Consequently, this thesis champions a metaphorical representation of whakapapa that translates as the birth of new knowledge through the acquisition of [this] new knowledge to further our understanding of our world around us.

PART B: TE HUARAHĪ RANGAHAU - RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This thesis draws its sustenance from a research paradigm that is uniquely Indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand and therefore uniquely Māori. Within the context of this thesis that focuses on Te Aute College and the advancement of Māori through realising Māori educational potential, a whakapapa approach to research will not only validate this Māori research paradigm but also strengthen its position on the Māori research methodology continuum and, in doing so, enhance the vitality of the research. This vigour occurs through employing the notion of whakapapa and drawing on the development of Māori research throughout the last 30 years that includes Mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori research, Māori-centred research (Pūtahi Māori) and Indigenous Knowledge research specifically (see Figure Four).

The reciprocal nature of a whakapapa-centred approach that has its foundations rooted in tikanga Māori, facilitates a research framework that is both critical and transformative. Thus, Māori [researched] communities such as the community focus of this thesis, Te Aute College, are regarded and respected at the outset of the research; it is an ongoing innate process throughout all phases of the research. Therefore, within the context of this research, Te Aute College is conscientised in terms of Māori needs, aspirations and visions while at the same time realising Māori potential, advancement and contribution to the whole of Aotearoa New Zealand and the wider global market from a theoretical research milieu entrenched in whakapapa, tikanga Māori and a Māori worldview.

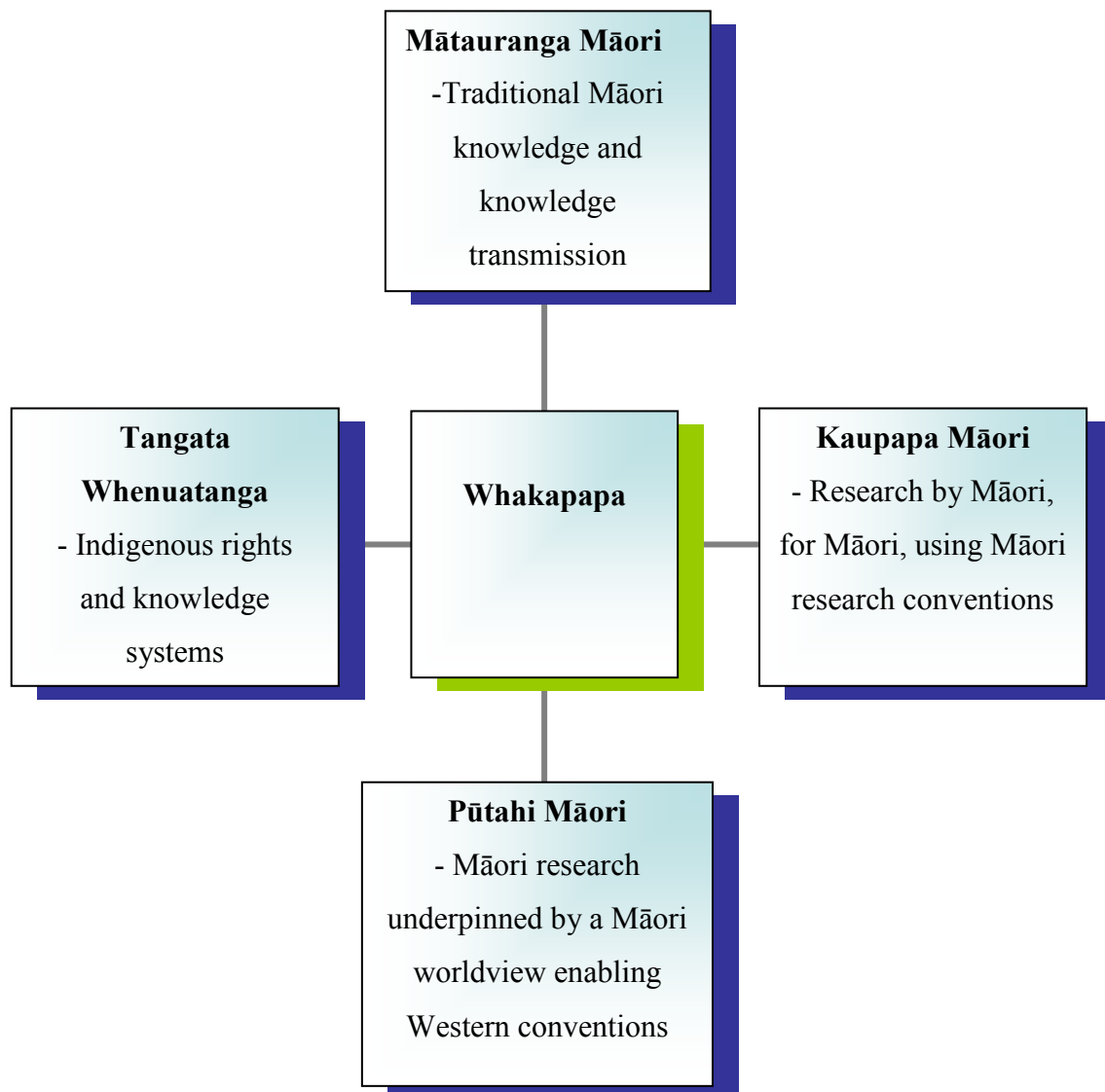


Figure Four: Māori Research Paradigms and Whakapapa (Graham, J. 2007).

Specific questions and concerns regarding the whakapapa research methodology at the research's outset included

- What will be the sample size of the intended research participants?
- What type of data will be collected?
- Does the proposed research methodology match the type of proposed research questions?
- What if any are the implications of the proposed research methodology?
- What are the anticipated strengths and limitations of the proposed research methodology?

- What instruments and, or tools will be used for gathering the research data?
- What is the role of the participants?
- What is the role of the researcher?

Te Kore

The '*Te Kore*' taumata of the methodological exemplar represents nothing, nil, or potentiality (see Figure Two); that is, the very beginning and so Te Aute College was cautiously selected as a research topic. Te Aute College has played a role in the continuing development of Māori education for over 150 years. This role has not only served the college but has impacted on all those who have entered its portals - students, staff and their respective families, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, administrators of the college, iwi, the Anglican Church; and external contexts such as the education system, the Māori boarding schools, communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and the nation as a whole both internally and its place internationally. Te Aute College has been able to construct its place in education and Māori education throughout its existence and an understanding of this is both beneficial and imperative in determining its role today in the 21st century. As introduced in Chapter One, this research aimed to

- Employ a whakapapa research methodology and explore the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the 'Te Aute' brand that has developed out of this whakapapa;
- Identify and examine the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement and national identity;
- Explore how Te Aute College might continue to contribute to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand and thus maintain a tradition of producing students who are capable and competent in contributing to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally.

In order to investigate these objectives, develop and implement the research design there were institutional processes to follow - doctoral research regulations

administered by the Doctoral Research Committee (DRC) of Massey University, ethical approval for the research from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC), tikanga Māori, whakapapa and a Māori worldview. The *‘Te Rapunga’* taumata of the *‘He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono’* methodological exemplar concerned the interactions between the researcher and the research community and this section continues to progress the discussion of these important processes.

Role of the Māori Researcher

The role of being a Māori researcher has been introduced and examined throughout Part A of this chapter and so it is appropriate that within the context of this research that at a minimum, the researcher should at least be research competent in a number of areas that include

- The gathering of information;
- Organising information in a logical manner that is comprehensible to Māori communities;
- Being able to translate Māori interests for the wider community including individuals, groups, local and central authorities;
- Tikanga Māori and Māori protocols to facilitate movement and involvement amongst Māori communities.

Stokes (1985) emphasised the importance of ‘he kanohi kitea’ and being known or recognised for who you are among your research community. This important aspect associated with Māori research and the notion of reciprocity that involves ‘giving and receiving’ has been armoured further by Te Awekotuku (1991) and Smith (1999). It is critical at the initial stages of Māori research (involving fieldwork in Māori communities) that the researcher’s ‘face is seen’; failure to do this goes against tikanga Māori and protocols. A ‘Kanohi ki te kanohi’ or ‘he kanohi kitea’ approach to research permits the development and strengthening of dialogue throughout the research process, it also represents a link to the all-important notion associated with this thesis, whakapapa. It is this strength that also allows the development of

confidence and trust between the researcher and the research community. Without the trust and confidence of any research community, information will not be as forthcoming and can become distorted.

Insider Research

Chapter Five has already contextualised my affiliation as researcher to the research community across a number of levels. In doing so, I am physically, spiritually and geographically located within the research community Te Aute College. Consequently, I am also associated with the outcomes of this thesis, in what Linda Smith describes as “insider / outsider research” (1999:137) that have the potential to become problematic where conflicts of interest between the researcher and the research community might possibly arise. However, at the research outset, this potential issue was clearly addressed in the ethics application for this research. For instance, if there was the potential for aspects of the fieldwork phase and or the analysis phase of the research to be conflictual between the researcher and the research community, participant confidentiality, anonymity, respect and trust would be completely maintained. Examples of addressing potential conflicting interests outlined in the ethics application included seeking supervisor guidance, adherence to the research objectives that clearly defined the research parameters, seeking advice from local iwi kaumātua, clear communication with Te Aute College’s governance and management boards and, positioning the research community at the forefront of the research throughout the entire research process.

A Western positivist view of research that situates notions of objectivity and impartiality as key tenets maintains that such research is unbiased where the researcher is able to view free of becoming implicated in the research context. However, as introduced in Part A of this chapter, Māori have been ‘objects’ of research since the early 19th century where Māori have been

“historically caste as native, slotted, defined, classified and objectified within predefined parameters of Western validity” (Waitere-Ang, 1999:3).

The researcher as ‘outsider’ looking ‘in’ has historically belittled the mana of Māori

communities, relegating them to the position of ‘other’ and in doing so has commodified Māori knowledge (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Conversely, an ‘insider’ researcher approach assumes a physical, ethical, moral and spiritual involvement as a ‘member’ of the research community (Powick, 2002) where similar such experiences can “*ensure that research outcomes are in line with the aspirations and wishes of the participants*” (*ibid:20*).

The insider / outsider bifurcation gives rise to an ambiguity that concomitantly constructs difficulties and opportunities; difficulties in terms of maintaining credibility and, opportunities that centre on the maintenance of a sense of whanaungatanga and confidence between the researcher and the research community.

A further opportunity borne out of an insider research position centres on the notion of empowerment for Indigenous communities. For instance, in Aotearoa New Zealand, empowerment has become a greater concern for indigenous researchers in the last 30 years (see Part A of this chapter). Nonetheless, as mentioned, I as an insider researcher am connected to Te Aute College across a range of contexts and so, the central issue of maintaining a credible and objective approach that was cognisant of institutional requirements as well as the aspirations and trust of the research community was paramount throughout the research.

Linda Smith recognises the potential perils for indigenous researchers as insider researchers “*because there are multiple ways of both being insider and outsider in indigenous contexts*” (1999:137). In spite of the problematic nature of this type of research that stems from what Smith calls a “*burden of history*” (*ibid:107*), among the growing field of indigenous research (researchers, paradigms and institutions), indigenous practices such as the researcher as insider have become normalised as research practices (*ibid*).

In my role as an insider, the fact that I was an old boy and am of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti descent made my role more transparent; I as researcher had nothing to do conceal. A mutual research relationship developed that I undertook to achieve in my ethics

application by stating what the mutual benefits were for the research community and I as the researcher. My status also strengthened the likelihood of honest responses from the research participants because of the contextual knowledge that I as an insider researcher already had.

Kaupapa Māori research, which this thesis is partially rather than solely grounded in, emphasises the appropriateness of insider researchers who bring the cultural context to their work rather than those ‘outsider’ researchers who interpret according to the values and norms that cause them to misinterpret data gathered as well as mismanage the power relationships between the researcher and the research community (Te Awekotuku, 1991; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; L. Smith, 1999; G. Smith, 1992). This capacity to offer an inimitable view of the researcher’s own community has been increasingly acknowledged by the research academy where “the researcher who researches their own organisation can offer a unique perspective because of their knowledge of the culture, history and actors involved (Smyth & Holian, 1999:1).

The significance of whakapapa to this thesis is therefore especially applicable today where contemporary interpretations and purpose are shaped by the passage of time, history, oral traditions, experiences and tikanga Māori. At the same time, future pathways of Māori are also being guided by whakapapa, and so it is appropriate that a research approach anchored in whakapapa is acknowledged as being legitimate in order that new knowledge regarding Māori ways of knowing, doing and being may accompany the movement of Māori into the 21st century (see Figure Five). The past manifests itself in the present and in the future through the lineage that carries and sustains tikanga Māori that originates from a Māori worldview. Tikanga Māori are represented by the boxes on the left of the diagram and have existed since the beginning of time where a Māori worldview locates Io Matua-kore at the genesis of time. The researcher is at the helm throughout this process even though the research community takes precedence during the research process. While this specific research context may differ to another Māori research context and so on, these ‘contexts’ are navigated by the same traditions and methods that derive from a Māori worldview and it is their distinctive community traditions, idiosyncrasies and stories that differentiate

them from each other.

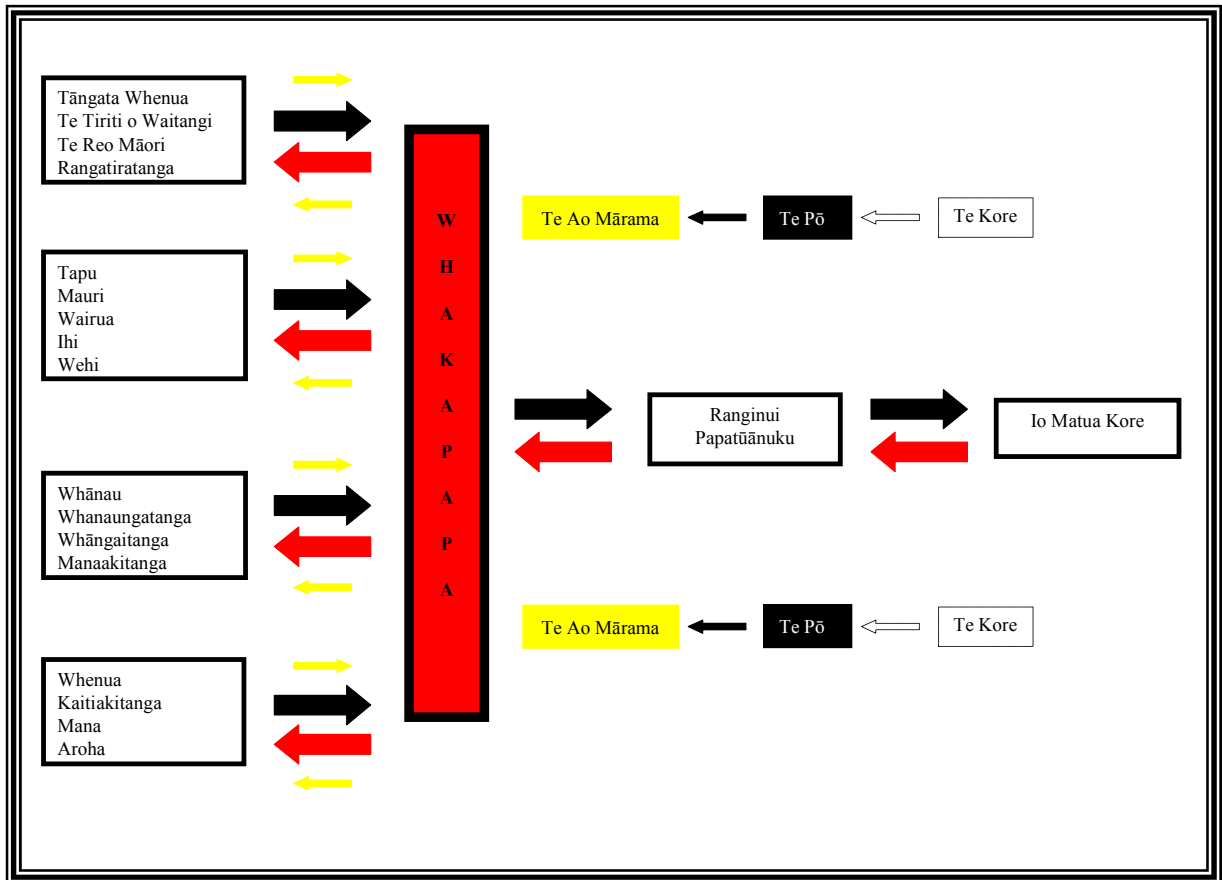


Figure Five: The interrelationship between whakapapa and tikanga Māori (Graham, J. 2007).

Te Rapunga

After the initial decision was made about the selection of a research topic for the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Degree, a meeting was set up with a probable supervisor to discuss the tabled research topic, Te Aute College. After these discussions it was decided a research proposal would be developed and an application for provisional registration in the PhD Degree be submitted to the DRC of Massey University. At this time the application and formalities for entry into the PhD Degree were completed and provisional registration was confirmed, which included the confirming of the supervisor and the co-supervisor.

The research process now formally commenced as a literature review was undertaken

as part of completing the research proposal as well as a search of other sources of information on Te Aute College. On completion of the research proposal full registration into the PhD programme was confirmed and an ethics application was submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee for consent to undertake the next phase of the research that included interaction with prospective research (human) participants. At that time letters to the principal of Te Aute College, the chairperson of the Te Aute College Board of Trustees and the chairperson of the Te Aute Trust Board were drafted as was an information sheet outlining the nature and intent of the research and, a consent form for prospective research participants to complete and indicate their willingness or declination to participate in the research. The next stage of the research entailed the sampling of research participants and the development of the interview schedule, a research questionnaire and focus group questions. Up to this point of the research, regular supervision meetings were held with both supervisors to guide the researcher through the aforementioned institutional processes.

The Research Community

The research community for this thesis comprised a range of experiences, ages, vocational backgrounds and personnel who have been involved and or who remain involved with Te Aute College today. When selecting the potential research participants, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was employed to enable a purposive sampling of research participants and thus permit the researcher, to hand pick participants in terms of their typicality and relevance (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). It was also anticipated at the outset of the research that some; if not all of the potential research participants would have had involvement with Te Aute College in more than one capacity. For instance, an individual could perhaps speak from more than one perspective because of their association with Te Aute College over the years that might have included being

- A Te Aute College old boy or girl;
- A past or present staff member of Te Aute College;

- A past or present Te Aute College Board of Trustee member;
- A past or present Te Aute Trust Board member;
- A parent of a past or present student;
- A member (past or present) of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand;
- A member of the local tāngata whenua, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti.

Conversely, it was also envisaged that potential research participants might also represent a single interest. Accordingly, both contexts were recognised and therefore tailored into the whakapapa research methodology that would be specific to this research. For instance, in Chapter Five, the notion was explored that when working with Māori communities, whakapapa can expose and illuminate the relationships between the people that make up a community and not just any collective biological connections that exist within. Te Aute College and its wider community share a number of biological and non-biological connections that have their pedigree grounded in whakapapa; physically and spiritually. Therefore the lattice of relationships within the research community is bound by whakapapa and therefore sits comfortably within a whakapapa research methodological approach to this specific research, study and thesis.

The introduction to Chapter Five reaffirmed the researcher's tribal affiliation with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti as well as the tūrangawaewae or connection with land that encompasses the Te Aute College Endowment Land. The researcher through whakapapa has maintained a connection to Te Aute College

- Through the Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti gift of land that was bequeathed for a school in the 1850s;
- Through generations of extended whānau members who have attended Te Aute College;
- Through generations of extended whānau who have been both board members and or staff;
- By attending Te Aute College as a student;

- Through both parents who have either worked or continue to work at Te Aute College;
- Through a connection as an old boy of Te Aute College.

The research community and the researcher therefore not only enjoy a professional research relationship but an inherent relationship that has its foundations rooted in whakapapa; whakapapa as tāngata whenua and whakapapa from Te Aute College itself and its lineage of generations of men, women, boys and girls who've entered its portals at one time or another for education.

Research Considerations

An earlier sub-section titled Insider Research has already examined the problematic status of indigenous researchers as insider researchers impacting on the limitations of this research. In looking at how the research would collect evidence about Te Aute College, the conclusions drawn from analyses of the insider researcher determined that there would be no foreseeable limitations identified considering the diverse realities that are Te Aute College; rather, potential impediments were identified and these essentially centred on the research design and, the problematic nature of 'insider' research. For instance, there was a need to obtain informed consent from willing research participants as well as the requirement of securely storing data and other information collected throughout the research. There were also other minor considerations to be mindful of and that could be accomplished with careful review and planning throughout the fieldwork component of the research. These considerations are common features of engaging in research of this nature and as mentioned can be easily overcome with effective planning; examples of these considerations include

- Geographical constraints and travel that impact on access to the research community;
- Financial considerations and their impact upon availability of time, ability to travel, access to all participants and resources;

- The capacity to maintain shared communicative frameworks and dialogue with the widespread research community throughout the entire research process;
- The ability to meet and maintain deadlines, appointments, meetings and hui and therefore the requirement to be flexible throughout the research process.

It is worthwhile at this point to disclose that there was also the potential for external criticism and censure to be generated from a monocultural and ignorant mindset due to the nature of this research based on the following reasons

- The research was undertaken within a Māori research framework and therefore might have been perceived as lacking a legitimate methodological approach to academic research;
- The research derived its motivation out of a specific community need and therefore might seemingly have been perceived as ‘not as important’ as or less valid than research undertaken in a more traditional Western academic environment.

Stokes (1985) focuses on two issues within the context outlined in the preceding bullet points; separatist tendencies and measures of validity. Stokes’ analysis detracted from a [Māori] research topic by recognising it as valid and instead highlighted the research methodology asserting that

The same high standards of meticulous attention to accuracy, impartial investigation of all relevant aspects of the topic, clear presentation of issues and conclusions apply as much in Māori research as in any other. perhaps more so, because if there is any suggestion of bias in motivation, or inadequate understanding of cultural framework or methodology, the resulting research is likely to come under even closer scrutiny (1985:5).

Therefore, while this thesis focuses on a specific Māori community namely, Te Aute College, and on the surface it could be perceived to be insignificant to a number of ostensibly more important research fields. It is asserted here, however, that a whakapapa-centred approach to research and the validity of a Māori worldview

provides the legitimacy. Indeed, the discourse that validates contemporary Māori research paradigms justifies this research across a range of contexts at the whānau, hapū, iwi and international (Indigenous) levels.

A key aspect of whakapapa methodology based research requires the development of relationships between the researcher and the research participants. Before such relationships develop, there are a number of research ethical considerations and conventions to consider based on this methodological approach as well as for those conventions that belong to the institution that the researcher works for or is contracted to. For instance, individual experiences, personal narratives and interviews that describe events and influences throughout individuals' lives will undoubtedly be disclosed through the researcher - research participant relationship. The whakapapa approach to this research also requires that such relationships between the researcher and their research community be maintained to the extent that the relationship is mutually beneficial and advantageous to both parties involved throughout the entire research process. Therefore, employing a whakapapa methodological approach to this research has allowed the researcher to get 'close' to the experiences and feelings of all of the research participants and so has enabled such experiences to be discovered and felt as opposed to being assumed. This 'closeness' is especially appropriate and significant for Indigenous persons of wider societal groupings that include iwi and hapū, gender and socio-economic status, whose experiences and understandings have been oppressed and repressed by dominant policies and research methods (Ezzy, 2002); as Māori have been overtly and covertly subject to since the early 19th century.

Research Design - Tools and Instruments

The overall design of this research connected with a whakapapa research methodology in the potential for multiple layers of data to emerge from the participants' stories and the history of Te Aute College, akin to whakapapa layering. The research design encompassed

- Interviewing with open-ended questions;

- [Te Aute College] life history interviews;
- Oral histories of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti;
- Oral histories pertaining to Te Aute College;
- Studying personal constructs (or ‘coding’);
- Observational studies (including questionnaires for research participants who indicated a preference for this method or where geographical and or other constraints dictated so).

It was intended that this type of design would allow the research participants to willingly ‘engage’ in the research process through a medium that was culturally and personally appropriate to their needs and aspirations. This process proposed a research approach that sought to promote reciprocity at all phases of the research to enable all of the research participants to engage in and

“take ownership of what is being researched and how issues pertaining to the research can be defined, prioritised and actioned” (Jane, 2001:111).

There were no presumptions made about expectations from the research rather, findings emerged and trends were identified from investigating the research participants in their natural environments. Thus, an understanding of a naturalistic approach to the subject matter exercised by whakapapa research also commanded a thorough knowledge of the research community. For this reason, it was also imperative that the researcher displayed a comprehensive understanding of tikanga Māori, of the notion of whakapapa and of its contemporary relevance to Māori institutions today; not only to fulfil research requirements but also to satisfy the aspirations of the research community.

By virtue of this type of research design and the tools that would be utilised throughout the research process, a whakapapa approach to this research would be able to connect with meanings, concepts, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, narratives, histories and personal aspirations that belonged to the research community where each individual’s views are as important as the next person’s. The whakapapa methodology would therefore concern the investigation of people’s lives, experiences and interactions within their own natural settings; settings such as Te Aute College, that

are steeped in whakapapa.

Te Kitenga

The '*Te Kitenga*' taumata of the methodological exemplar concerned the data collection phase of the research that included interviews, questionnaires and a focus group. It was during this phase that the analysis of this data also began as it was collected. The semi-structured nature of the interview schedules and the questionnaires were shaped in a fashion that would enable the research participants to be able to recount their stories, experiences and reality of the research topic, Te Aute College. This semi-structured nature was broad but based on the research objectives in order to initiate responses and discussion with the research participants and engage them in constructing the reality that was and is Te Aute College.

Interviews

The primary research tool for this thesis has been the semi-structured interview of which there are essentially two key parts; undertaking the interview and analysing the interview. The narratives of the research participants, in terms of their experiences of Te Aute College, could be heard and visualised throughout the research. Subsequently, the interviewees were in what Jane (2002) refers to as positions of power. They were in the best position to disclose their experiences of Te Aute College. Jane (ibid) goes on to state that this process diverges from a traditional Western approach, where such stories are fashioned "by the researcher to make sense of or add to an agenda established by the researcher" (p.111).

Prior to the undertaking of this phase of the research, a 'mock' interview was organised with a colleague that enabled the researcher to practise this role. The interview schedule used for the 'mock' interview was that which had been developed for the actual research interviews; the reason being that the questions had been developed to suit Te Aute College, a Māori boarding school, and the colleague who had consented to participating in the 'mock' interview had gone to another Māori

boarding school. The questions were still relevant even though the research communities and contexts of the two schools differed. The researcher's chief supervisor also observed the interview and so it was an opportunity to gain some constructive feedback from the supervisor at the conclusion of the one hour interview as well as from the interviewee. The feedback from this interview was invaluable in providing the confidence and competence to be able to go out and actually commence this phase of the research. The interview was also conducted in te reo Māori as it was acknowledged early on in this phase that prospective research participants might prefer to communicate in te reo Māori. Subsequently, a portion of the actual interviews were conducted totally in te reo Māori thus acknowledging the oral tradition of Māori as well as the connection of Te Aute College to te ao Māori.

The interview process was held over a number of months due to the different constraints in being able to complete these, and the research participants were asked questions according to the semi-structured interview schedule specific to each section of the research community. For instance, initially there were seven groupings of research participants with there being the capacity to develop further questions within each individual interview. Prior to each interview taking place, dialogue via email, telephone or letter had occurred between the research participant and the researcher. For instance, a time and venue for the interview was decided by the research participant and informed consent had been received by the researcher that also included information on whether or not the interview was to be recorded onto audiotape. The purpose of taping the interviews was so that the information or data could be transcribed at a later date for the purposes of clarification and confirmation when the time came for the data to be analysed. However, the research participants did have the right to decline a taped interview if they so desired. When this did occur, handwritten notes of the discussion were made and written up after the interview.

These experiences reflected the nature of the whakapapa methodology and its recognition of a Māori worldview where the research community is at both the core and the periphery of the research in its entirety. That is, the research participants were in control and their decision-making and disclosure of information was respected at

all times. At the beginning of each interview mihimihi were exchanged where practising the tikanga of whanaungatanga, the researcher's pepeha and tribal affiliations were disclosed; in some interviews karakia were used to formally 'open' the interview. It was also here that the research objectives were clarified, what was taking place in terms of the research, an explanation of the research process and the disclosure of what would be happening to the information obtained from the interview. For instance, what would the researcher be doing with this data and where hard copies of the data would be being stored for safe keeping. At the conclusion of each interview, mihimihi were once again exchanged, karakia were used again to close the interview (for interviews that had begun with karakia) and an expression of appreciation for participation in the research was once again spoken of.

The insider researcher approach also had the potential to be problematic at the interview analysis phase through the interpretation of the data in a biased manner. At this phase of the research, the researcher's power is unrivalled (Limerick et al, 1996:457). That is, the data has the potential to be interpreted according to the researcher's position as well as to the researcher's view of the research topic. For these reasons and given the subjective disposition of the research topic, there was a commitment to the trust and confidence of the participants. The participants were involved throughout the research process to eliminate those potential problematic issues mentioned earlier in this chapter. For instance, the dependability of the research data was relied on by analysing and grouping the data according to the themes to emerge from the participants' narratives then returned to each participant for their confirmation of accuracy of interpretation or for amendment where this may have been needed. This process was outlined in the ethics approval for this research (Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37).

Once the interviews had been written up or transcribed into text using Microsoft Word computer software, interview transcripts were then sent back to the interviewees for confirmation of what was discussed and disclosed during the interview. On receipt of the interviews being reviewed by the interviewees and written confirmation of their accuracy these documents were then imported into another piece of computer

software - *NVIVO 7*, a qualitative research analysis programme. From this point theoretical sampling occurred where these documents were then coded in order to substantiate and address the research objectives. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain information by asking questions and developing dialogue that was bounded and unwavering. For instance, Patton (1990) states that

The purpose of interviewing is to find out what is in and on someone else's mind to access the perspective of the person being interviewed (p.278).

Interviews were therefore an appropriate instrument that enabled the researcher to 'pull back the layers' and see what people were really thinking about in terms of the research topic. That is, the research participants were able to 'speak their mind' in full personal confidence and also in the confidence that their views were going to be contributing to a research project, that both they and the researcher had a strong interest in that was 'bound' and remains 'bound' through whakapapa. This anecdotal data did not only consist of interviews but questionnaires were developed as well and offered to those who requested a questionnaire as opposed to undertaking an interview.

Questionnaires

A secondary research tool that was employed to develop research data to complement the interview process, was the research questionnaire. Having a questionnaire as an option for potential research participants enabled the researcher to address some of the research considerations outlined earlier. For instance, the questionnaires overcame geographical constraints and the need to travel widely throughout the country in terms of time available. The questionnaires were an inexpensive option and therefore they allowed the researcher to canvass a greater number of research participants who for example, either the researcher or the prospective research participant could not commit to participate in the interview process; and in doing so, creating a broader sample of research participants. While every endeavour was made to meet with participants who opted for an interview, the capacity to decline was also respected with these participants then having the option to complete a research questionnaire.

While there may have not been a direct 'kanohi ki te kanohi' approach, the research

participants who completed questionnaires maintained control of the research in that they chose to answer what questions they chose to (if not all) and there was also the opportunity and space to include anything else that they felt was of relevance or that they felt was not necessarily covered by the questions. Research participants also had the option of completing their questionnaire responses in te reo Māori too. In many cases, as was the case with some interviews, their responses were bilingual in that both English and te reo Māori were used.

The questions that made up the research questionnaires were very similar to the questions that were part of the semi-structured interview schedules for each of the sections of the research community. Like the interview process, the semi-structured or open format questions of the questionnaires solicited subjective information and in doing so the advantage of this ensured a variety of stories, experiences and responses that were more reflective of the views held by the research participants than what closed format questionnaires would have achieved. Another advantage of this method was that there was an amplified likelihood of receiving unexpected and or insightful responses due to there being no restrictions in answering and replying to the questions. While a perceived limitation of this method was the nature of the questions being differently interpreted by the participants, the questions were developed to be as clear, succinct and unambiguous as possible. By following these simple guidelines, the goal was to eliminate the chance of these questions being interpreted differently by each participant.

Focus Groups

A focus group was also held with 8 students who were at the end of their last year at Te Aute College. A focus group is a form of research in which a group of people are asked about their attitude towards a product, service, concept or idea. Questions are asked in an interactive group setting where participants are free to talk with other group members. Part of the initial planning for meeting with a sample of students included discussion on what would be the form that this interaction would take. A focus group was decided upon for the very nature in which they enable group

interaction, participant observation (in their own setting) and loose discussion structured around a handful of questions in order to promote confidence and participant involvement. This interaction also nurtures and fosters constructive dialogue, open-ended discussions that are supported by the nature of the focus group and students have a greater amount of confidence knowing that they are among their peers, not alone and therefore feel more comfortable talking and participating in the focus group. The focus group was attended by the students, the researcher and an independent note taker who scribed the discussions and responses that took place.

Prior to the focus group taking place, a meeting was arranged with the principal to discuss the selection and or inviting of students to participate in the focus group. At this point it was also confirmed that all those students in their last year at Te Aute College would be invited to participate; this pool of students comprised both Year 13 and Year 14 students. Research information sheets, consent forms and letters were then sent to these students once permission had been sought about undertaking this particular phase of the research. It was also at this phase that the identity of the independent note taker had been disclosed in order that all issues of ethicality, anonymity and confidence were being addressed. The focus group took place at Te Aute College at a time organised by the students and the principal. The focus group began with mihimihi, an explanation of what the research was about and for, and what the researcher's role throughout the research process was. The students were thanked for their time and participation in the research and told that their contributions were invaluable in that they were representing the student body and a range of collective yet individual realities too of what Te Aute College is to them and what it is about.

Throughout the focus group there was the opportunity to clarify what was being discussed by the students by asking them again or asking them to elaborate on specific points being made. The duration of this meeting was for 1.5 hours and at its conclusion, mihimihi were once again exchanged. After the notes had been written up using the same format used for the interviews and questionnaires, follow up telephone calls were made with some of the students to enable further clarification of stories and realities disclosed at the earlier focus group where this was deemed necessary and

having the benefit of hindsight. When this data had been completely written up, it too was imported into the *NVIVO 7* computer software package for categorising and coding; similar to the documented interviews and questionnaires.

NVIVO 7

During the data collection phase, the information and notes collected were documented, this was then verified with the research participants, hard copies were filed and stored under lock and key and electronic versions were backed up onto two computers, two USB memory sticks and also imported into the qualitative data analysis computer programme – *NVIVO 7*. Prior to acquiring and using this computer software, professional development was necessary in order that an understanding of how to best utilise the computer software could be attained, including its strengths and its limitations within the context of this research. *NVIVO 7* is a computer qualitative data analysis software programme that can be employed by researchers engaged in research of this nature. This programme has evolved from earlier versions and so is a progeny itself that emulates the actual research; whakapapa forms the foundations of the research methodology where existing knowledge gives birth to new knowledge just as theories produce new theories and technologies encourage and produce new technologies. It is important here to note that qualitative computer programmes do not analyse the data for you rather, they provide a number of convenient features that facilitate the data analysis. For instance, programmes such as these store data, organise data, enable the researcher to assign codes to data, facilitate searching through the data and locate specific parts of the data - text, notes or words (Creswell, 2005).

Data Analysis

Once an interview or questionnaire transcript had been imported into the *NVIVO 7* the first step was to explore the data in order to gain a sense of it and to start the researcher thinking about ideas, the organisation of the data and making memos. The data then underwent a process of open coding where codes were created from the data

presented with the purpose of creating codes that could be stored at tree nodes or free nodes that were simultaneously being created and, that held the codes of data relevant to that particular [tree / free] node. This process also saw the emergence of categories, memos and attributes in relation to the data as this emerged and was verified and constantly refined; such were the capabilities of the software. This analysis process was performed for all data that was entered into the software including the data collected from the focus group. The naming of these codes, themes, descriptions, categories, nodes, attributes, relationships and memos derived from the data and so reflected the reality of the research participants; their words, ideas, stories and personal constructs. This naming process was also based on sociological or cultural constructs that described particular situations, relationships or some other phenomenon directly related to the data. These constructs represented characteristics expressed in an abstract or general manner as opposed to a literal or specific manner directly from the transcripts. Thus these names and groupings all linked to each other irrespective of the type of grouping they represented as well as to the research data. This was a timely process but necessary in order to continuously code, sort, categorise and therefore refine the research data. Codes are labels that are used to describe a section of text and so this process entails identifying sections of text and assigning a code word or short phrase that accurately conveys the meaning of that section of text.

Codes can focus on a range of topics that include

- *Settings and context;*
- *Perspectives held by participants;*
- *Participants' ways of thinking about people and objects;*
- *Processes;*
- *Activities;*
- *Strategies;*
- *Relationship and social structure (Creswell, 2005:238).*

Theme	1 st level	2 nd level	3 rd level	4 th level
Being a TA Boy	Contribution	Innate embeddedness	Self-esteem	Strong values
		Make the most of life	Citizenship	Passion for TA
				Passion for Māori
			Community involvement	
		Personal conduct	Actions	
		Stepping stone	Independence	Direction
			Bridge to adulthood	A springboard
	Being Māori	Strong foundation	Māori identity	Role models
				Uniquely TA
			A place to stand	Confidence
			Sense of community	
			Whanaungatanga	Friendships
		Tikanga Māori	Mana	Aroha
			Wairua	Manaakitanga
		Faith and religion	Christian values	Māori values
		Link to te ao Māori	Tribal identity	Pan-tribal history
		Proud arrogance	Extreme pride	
	Mixed feelings	Negative stereotypes	Disappointment	
		Future interactions	Delayed reaction	Varied experience
	Pride	Exuding awe		
		Fostering awe	Positive role models	Pride
			Staff influences	Good teachers
			External influences	
		Self esteem		
		Tradition	Te Aute experience	Community
			Māori tradition	Family tradition
			Male tradition	

Figure Six: Generational themes that reflect the research participants' feelings of what it means to be a Te Aute boy.

When all of the data had been entered into the software programme and the initial creation of tree nodes, free nodes, codes, categories, attributes, memos and relationships had been completed, the whole process was completed again where the

existing coding content was 'coded' again into themes or sub-categories. That is, the process moved from 'open' coding to 'selective' coding.

The questions used in the semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and focus group guided this whole process in that they themselves related directly to the research aims. This analysis therefore involved continuous sorting and resorting of data and coding in a reflexive manner that was guided by the research objectives and the emergence of the information through coding and the other groupings within the software. New categories and themes emerged under existing codes that were contained in tree nodes, which contained everything relevant to that particular tree node irrespective of level or generation (1st level, 2nd level, 3rd level or 4th level - where this occurred) under the one node (see Figure Six). Layering the themes in this manner meant representing the data using interrelated levels where there was a direct link between the parent tree node, codes and themes or sub-categories.

The number of layers varied for each tree node and while the process became more complex and in-depth, this feature was extremely useful in terms of categorising the data and storing it in a logical manner that was easy to access and stored safely; once it had been done. A conceptualisation of this characteristic of the *NVIVO 7* software and the family tree analogised to the notion of family or genealogy or what this thesis refers to as whakapapa.

Memos, a grouping within the software acted as a journal or diary in the development of this phase of the research where ideas, conceptualisations and thoughts in general could be captured and logged. For instance, if an idea arose while coding that did not 'fit' into the coding grouping as such, this could then be labelled as a memo where it could be then traced back to the original code at another time or when required. These memos were not necessarily structured pieces of information or data, they were in the form of words, diagrams, sentences, notes, references, hyperlinks to literature or websites and any other articles that could be accessed at the 'touch of a finger' when required. Memos were therefore used to trace the research analysis development of conceptualising anything that arose from the tree nodes, codes and other groupings

within the software and so were a vital aspect of the sampling process. This whole process mirrored the notion of whakapapa and the birth of new life or new knowledge where the 1st generation ‘families’ of codes generated new themes that in turn gave birth to 3rd generation categories or sub-themes and so on (see Figure Six).

These interactions guided the coding process and in doing so fabricated a lattice of relationships both within individual tree nodes as well as externally with other groupings within the software programme. For instance, a number of underlying categories emerged from the data and coding that reflected the realities and constructions of the research participants. These included the Te Aute experience, what this meant to the research participants, its key contributions to society and key indicators of this contribution. As mentioned, this phase of the research was time consuming however the usability and relevance of the *NVIVO 7* computer software programme to this research facilitated an effective and thorough examination of the research data that could be sorted and categorised according to the research objectives.

Ethical Issues

Ethical conventions characterise socially adequate behaviour and conduct from that which is deemed to be socially undesirable. While the parameters of what is deemed as being socially acceptable have moved considerably in the last 30 years; when one contemplates Māori research, it is imperative that Māori ethical conventions that derive for instance from a Māori-centred or Kaupapa Māori approach to research are encouraged by researchers; individual and group based as Durie (2002) notes that

As culturally appropriate Māori research paradigms have gathered momentum, there have been flow-on implications for institutions and professional practices. Ethics committees have been at the forefront of the new paradigms and have needed to take account of a range of variables that were simply ignored before the relevance of culture to research was acknowledged (p.179).

It is also essential that the individual researcher becomes familiar with the rules and procedures, which govern ethical procedure within their respective professions and

institutions. Ethical problems are likely to occur in social science research since human subjects are likely to be involved. Accordingly, researchers must be aware of the ethical considerations involved in

- *Voluntary and non-voluntary participation;*
- *Deception;*
- *Informed consent;*
- *Privacy and confidentiality;*
- *The right to discontinue;*
- *Obligations of the perimeter (Burns, 2000).*

The research methods employed in this research and thesis are based on a research methodology that encompasses elements of the development of Māori research over the last 30 years such as a Māori-centred or Kaupapa Māori approach to research that are innately entrenched in whakapapa. Research that involves interviewing human participants who are individuals, groups or communities and, research that is performed by persons who belong to Massey University, staff and students for instance, comes under the jurisdiction of the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants (Massey University, 2004). Section Two of this document relates to the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles or ‘embedded concepts’ of partnership, participation and protection when undertaking research that is pertinent to Māori and states that

- The concept of partnership requires that researchers work together with iwi, hapū, whānau and Māori communities to ensure Māori individual and collective rights are respected and protected;
- The concept of participation requires that Māori are involved in the design, governance, management, implementation and analysis of research, especially research involving Māori;
- The concept of protection requires that researchers actively protect Māori individual and collective rights, Māori data, Māori culture, cultural concepts, values, norms, practices and language in the research process.

From these statements, it is clear that the ethical issues of research involving Māori

individuals, groups or communities have evolved out of the theoretical development of Māori research over the last 30 years and that the two areas of ethics and theory complement one another as each area develops accordingly under the mantle of a Māori research paradigm. Consequently, ethics committees have become a structural part of universities, of health boards and of other institutions where research with human participants occurs. The purpose and function of these committees is to ensure that no harm, cultural, collective or individual, befalls the research participants and or their respective communities; these committees must remain transparent sites of cultural negotiation (Durie, 2002). For instance, since 1998 any research that has concerned or involved Māori has had to exhibit traditional ethical standpoints as well as those that meet Māori cultural requirements. This process has been scrutinized by the inclusion of Māori onto ethical boards and committees either as full members or as co-opted members who have acted as the 'Māori voice' ensuring that Māori research protocols will be followed and adhered to throughout research involving Māori researchers, Māori communities, or both.

It is highly evident at Massey University that the perseverance of Māori staff and the Treaty of Waitangi provides the rationale for the development of ethical guidelines when researching involving Māori alongside the recognition of Māori as the tāngata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand. Section Four of the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants (Massey University, 2004) discloses issues bordering on research adequacy and the arising ethical considerations if research is not meeting appropriate standards. The Massey University Human Ethics Committee have consistently held professional development courses and workshops for staff since 1998 and while these have been compulsory for those engaged in such research, they have actually been practical for researchers in that besides fulfilling institutional requirements, a majority of researchers have also gained self-fulfilment (Durie, 2002) in an area that was once overlooked.

This thesis has addressed these requirements and so has fulfilled its institutional requirements; in satisfying these requirements, the thesis has also instinctively

addressed its obligations to its Māori research community where tikanga Māori underpinned by a Māori worldview prevail. That is, while informed consent from the research participants was attained to advance the research into its fieldwork phase, Māori ethical requirements were also maintained throughout the research where considerations such as respect, aroha, reciprocity and the or kanohi ki te kanohi approach were practised.

Figure Seven is a diagrammatic representation of what these Māori cultural requirements may consist of and how they are interlinked. If for instance, the contents of this diagram are of significance and consequence to the nature of the research then these cultural requirements must be adhered to, elaborated on or recognised and acknowledged by the research.

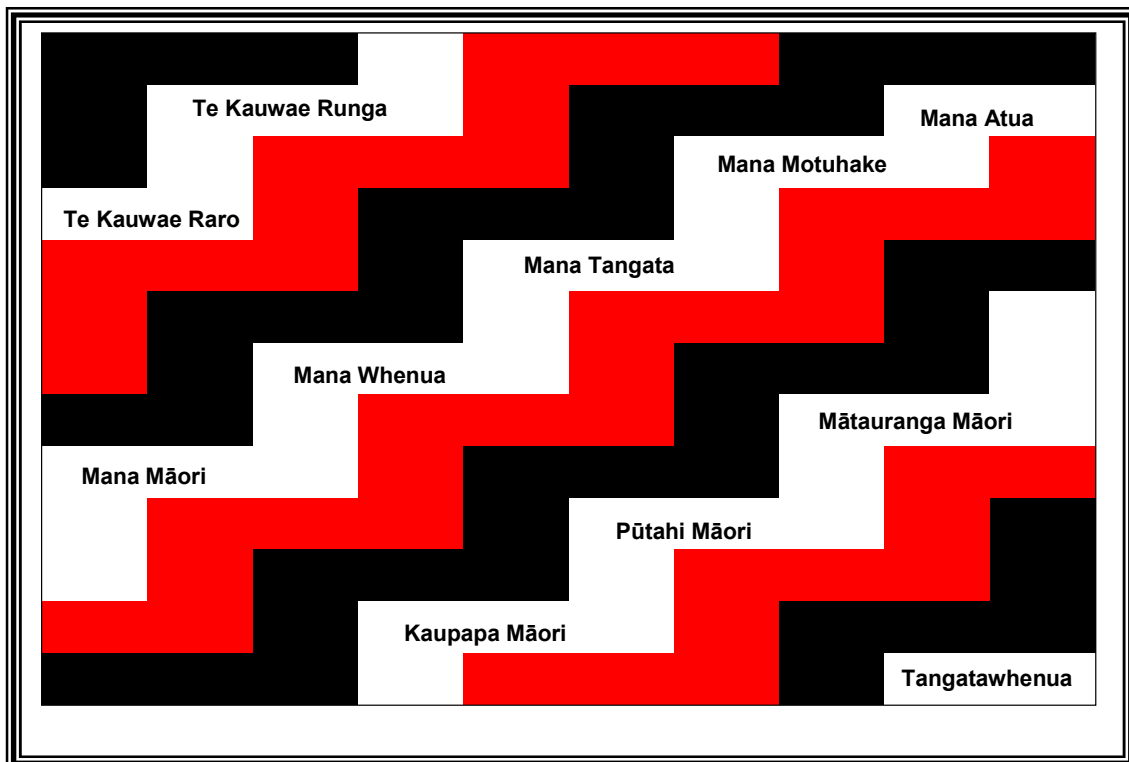


Figure Seven: Māori cultural requirements and the research process (Graham, J. 2007).

Within the context of this thesis, the top left hand corner represents all knowledge and in doing so the relationship between whakapapa and knowledge. Whakapapa is knowledge, whakapapa also validates knowledge and so it is through whakapapa that

the organisation of knowledge legitimates a Māori world-view, which is at the heart of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing and doing and, Māori ways of acquiring new knowledge.

The bottom right hand corner represents Māori, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand and so within the specific pou whenua of the research community, it is Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti who are the tāngata whenua and who share a unique bond with Te Aute College. Kaupapa Māori, Pūtahi Māori and Mātauranga Māori represent Māori research and its differing yet related approaches. The latter part of this statement is paradoxical for the very reason that while these approaches have subtle differences in their characteristics, the approaches all stem from the one foundation; a Māori worldview. It is essentially this very worldview that has guided this thesis from its origins through to its completion; and indeed on its continuous journey as the basis for further research.

The final staircase in Figure Seven is represented by five elements that are all associated with tikanga Māori and more specifically with mana; mana meaning power, prestige, honour and strength among some of its interpretations. Mana Atua represents the spiritual well-being of the people. At Te Aute College, spirituality is provided for its community by the Anglican Church, which is also embracing of all other denominations as well as by its wharenuī – Te Whare o Rangi, its physical and spiritual link to te ao Māori. Mana Tangata represents the physical well-being of the people. While this tikanga is applicable across many contexts that involve people, the well-being of the research community has been paramount throughout the research and so this tikanga has guided the research accordingly. Mana Māori represents being Māori and all that is Māori. This research has been a continual process of maintaining a Māori worldview at the fore, to not have done so would have severely compromised the integrity of the research, the research community and the researcher.

Mana Motuhake represents autonomy, self-determination and the acknowledgment of this and so aligns specifically to the research community itself. Its very place in our society and in our country's history and development as examined throughout this

thesis, justifies its rangatiratanga. Mana Whenua represents the unique relationship that Māori have with the land. Te Aute College has a unique relationship to the land and also to the local hapū – Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. All five of these elements along with the other ‘staircase’ concepts and their associated interpretations represented by the diagram have been scaffolded throughout the entire research process of this thesis and so while whakapapa has been the significant guiding feature of this research, whakapapa sits within the framework or stair cased diagram above; indeed whakapapa ties all of these concepts together to make them what they are.

Summary

Throughout the research the locating of the research community at the core and periphery of the entire process has been paramount. While this process has been lengthy due to the part-time nature of the researcher’s enrolment in the PhD programme, the approach did not change due to the institutional processes outlined at the beginning of Part B of this chapter. The acknowledgment of the outcomes arising from this research for the research participants, the research community and all that it influences have necessitated an unequivocal research focus. That is, the outcomes generated from this research would return to the research community and ultimately to those agencies concerned with Māori education where there is the potential to make an important contribution to Te Aute College and Māori leadership. This contribution will not only impact upon these domains but will also benefit Māoridom and indeed the whole of Aotearoa New Zealand in that Te Aute College impacts far wider than its geographical location might infer otherwise.

The ensuing section of the thesis, Section Three, introduces the research findings chapters, Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten, which concludes the thesis. These chapters detail the analyses that were generated from the available literature, the interviews, questionnaires and the focus group through the computer analysis software programme *NVIVO 7*. Whereas the first three chapters analyse specific areas of the research, Chapter Ten provides the overall thesis summary as well as establishes the context from which future research may be progressed. Accordingly, Section Three

begins with Chapter Seven that examines the notion of ‘the Te Aute experience’.

SECTION THREE:

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

WHAKATANGATA KIA KAHA

Introduction

Section Three introduces and expounds on the research findings of this thesis, which are presented across four chapters. An examination of Te Aute College's whakapapa, its history, educational provision today and of the personal stories of those who participated in the research culminate in three themes that form the basis of the ensuing three chapters

- Experience;
- Contribution;
- Collaboration.

The fourth chapter of Section Three is the concluding chapter of the thesis.

In order to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the research participants' stories collated from the fieldwork phase of the research, each of the participants has been given a pseudonym, the Māori name of a native tree (see Appendix Nine). The personal stories documented throughout the ensuing three chapters are all referenced according to that participant's pseudonym.

Chapter Seven is titled 'The Te Aute Experience' and investigates the layers of notions and narratives that are an important part in the construction of this experience. Chapter Eight is titled 'Te Aute's Contribution' and examines the contribution that Te Aute College has made to Māori advancement. Chapter Nine is titled 'He Toa Takitini' and explores the meaning of this title where it is drawn on as a metaphor for collaboration and partnership to assure Te Aute College's continued endurance as an educational institution.

Chapter Ten titled 'Hei Whakamutunga Kōrero Māku' concludes the thesis by summarising the preceding three chapters of Section Three, alongside Sections One and Two of the thesis, and weaves these analyses into the story of Te Aute College according to the thesis objectives.

This thesis set out to examine Te Aute College's contribution to Māori advancement by exploring the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the brand that has developed out of this whakapapa. The ensuing three chapters reveal the participants' narratives that have helped examine the layers of Te Aute's whakapapa that are founded on tradition, history, relationships, achievements, milestones and a sense of community. Consequently, the concluding chapter of this thesis contends that Te Aute College's contribution to Māori advancement and to Aotearoa New Zealand stems from its whakapapa and its brand that is unequivocally Te Aute College in focus and character.

Chapter Seven

THE TE AUTE EXPERIENCE

Hei tikitiki mō taku ūpoko!

Introduction

This chapter opens with a passage that emphasises the value of the human element at Te Aute College in nurturing and developing its students

The face of Te Aute College which people have come to know for so long is beginning to change. A new Te Aute College with a different character is starting to take the place of the old. It saddens me to think of old things which have to be destroyed because I believe there is always something of value that passes with the passing of the old. But I draw solace from the fact that it is not the buildings that make a school, but rather the people and the quality of those people who occupy the buildings. Te Aute College has long been blessed with people, dedicated, wise and gifted, who have made their mark upon many generations past (Riddell, 1986:3).

This chapter expands on this reflection by investigating the nature of the Te Aute experience for those who have been a part of and who still are a part of Te Aute College today. The implication of this affiliation to Te Aute College is founded on the notion of whakapapa that was explicated in the first two sections of this thesis. It addresses the diverse contexts that have defined Te Aute College and within which it exists and functions today. The narratives in this chapter explore the spiritual, social, emotional, cultural, physical and mystical influences that Te Aute College provided and continues to provide for its student body and for supporting personnel. The chapter is divided into four main themes each representing narratives from those who have been or who still are part of Te Aute College.

The four broad themes are

- The meaning of being a Te Aute Boy;

- The reasons for going to Te Aute College;
- Positive experiences at Te Aute College;
- Making a difference.

The Meaning of being a Te Aute Boy

The research has revealed wide ranging personal reasons about the meaning of Te Aute to individuals, yet at the same time these reasons have also been pivotal in that they have simultaneously been able to be traced back to a distinct starting point. This common denominator from the individual and collective narratives highlights the school and its sense of whanaungatanga as a trait that has transcended generations. The nature of these influences is inimitably tied to the notion of whakapapa and the whakapapa that arises from the Te Aute College experience. The mere mentioning of the name Te Aute College evokes an immediate response and sense of affiliation to an entity that, like a parent or guardian, has provided one with a home, an education and life experience. In referring to this instance, the research seeks to uncover why this is so, that is, what is so special about Te Aute College that induces emotion, awe and pride among many of its students, families and wider community? In reminiscing of his time at Te Aute during and post-World War Two, one of those old boys interviewed posed the question *“how can we get Te Aute back into that era where the mere fact of mentioning Te Aute, suddenly the world stands upon its toes?”* (Koromiko). This research participant may have been implying that at present, to the outside world, Te Aute is not as formidable as it once may have been. Even so, he was commenting on an era when even the mention of the name ‘Te Aute College’ sent ‘shivers up one’s spine’; such was its revered status.

Figure One represents the research participants’ feelings and stories about what it means to be a Te Aute Boy. The first column represents the question that was asked of the research participants, that is, what does it mean to be a Te Aute boy? The second column represents the four main themes that materialized from all of the responses. The subsequent columns are sub-themes of their respective ‘parent’ themes (see Chapter Six that explains themes, codes and constructs). Coincidental or not, these themes also have their own whakapapa or lineage and so this aspect of the research findings not only reflects a whakapapa research methodology but also a rationale for knowledge production itself. That is, the examination of traditional knowledge gives access and validation of a current knowledge base that in turn is used to generate more

or new knowledge; whakapapa is therefore seen to bind knowledge as well.

Theme	1 st level	2 nd level	3 rd level	4 th level
Being a TA Boy	Contribution	Innate embeddedness	Self-esteem	Strong values
		Make the most of life	Citizenship	Passion for TA
				Passion for Māori
			Community involvement	
		Personal conduct	Actions	
		Stepping stone	Independence	Direction
			Bridge to adulthood	A springboard
	Being Māori	Strong foundation	Māori identity	Role models
				Uniquely TA
			A place to stand	Confidence
			Sense of Community	
			Whanaungatanga	Friendships
		Tikanga Māori	Mana	Aroha
			Wairua	Manaakitanga
		Faith and religion	Christian values	Māori values
		Link to te ao Māori	Tribal identity	Tribal history
		Proud arrogance	Extreme pride	
	Mixed feelings	Negative stereotypes	Disappointment	
		Future interactions	Delayed reaction	Varied experience
	Pride	Exuding awe		
		Fostering awe	Positive role Models	Pride
			Staff influences	Good teachers
			External influences	
		Self esteem		
		Tradition	TA experience	Community
			Māori tradition	Family tradition
			Male tradition	

Figure One: The Meaning of being a Te Aute Boy.

A Sense of Contribution

What was it that actually inspired a ‘sense of contribution?’ That is, what made Te Aute College so special that the phenomenon of being a Te Aute boy would become an innate part of many of its students? Many students left Te Aute College with an

ambition to contribute to Māori advancement and to Aotearoa New Zealand. This contribution has specifically occurred across marae, parishes, industry, sporting fraternities; tribal councils and authorities, community groups, committees, industry organisations, education boards as well as national bodies across the socio-economic, cultural and political sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand society.

Te Aute has indeed had a very strong influence on many in that it imbued in its students, a sense of obligation and responsibility to others while inspiring a sense of mission at the same time. For instance, the phrase “*Te Aute had a major influence on my life*” (*Tarata*) or phrases similar were prominent features of stories collated from the research participants. This notion of contributing to one’s community has its foundations for example in Māori cultural metaphors such as tikanga Māori where concepts such as whanaungatanga, aroha and manaakitanga imply a sense of community and, whakataukī such as ‘nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora ai te manuhiri’ - ‘with your contribution and mine, the guests will be well looked after’, imply a sense of communal cohesion. The notion of community contribution can also be traced back to the first group of university graduates to come out of Te Aute College in the latter stages of the 19th century and at the turn of the 20th century (see Chapter Three). At Te Aute College, the style of leadership compelled its students to excel academically in order that such qualifications would provide the impetus and credence to serve the Māori people of that period.

Therefore this notion of ‘contributing to one’s community’ also demonstrates a whakapapa itself that links the generations of students who have attended Te Aute College. That is, there is a distinct line of descent both within the learning and teaching and, within the student body itself that reflects doing well for yourself and your people. It is also this very same notion of whakapapa that links all who have been and who still are associated with Te Aute College; the past, the present and the future are linked through whakapapa, in both a biological state and in a kinship manner.

Embedded Instincts and Citizenship

A further theme to emerge from the research is the divulging of what can be characterised as intrinsic qualities that to some people are somewhat incomprehensible, yet to others are totally natural. For instance, “*we were imbedded with incredible values that are at times difficult to explain, wairua, mana, aroha and manaakitanga*” (Makomako). At the time that this conversation was taking place, it was done so in a self-effacing manner in what in Pākehā terms might be interpreted as ‘for fear of coming across as conceited or arrogant’ or simply from a Māori worldview, whakamā. The era for instance, to which this statement referred, epitomised the values the school stands for. Self-esteem, pride in the college and pride in one’s community, these were consistently “*drummed into you that you aspired to do well and this just became a natural habit*” (Koromiko). The discipline, military training, sound leadership and whanaungatanga during this particular era were such that it instilled in its students values that were second to none, becoming instinctive qualities that flourished from everyday life at Te Aute College.

Another research participant reinforced this regime and practice at Te Aute when stating that “*Te Aute gave me the will to make an impression with my life and on others It gave me that sort of courage, it gave me the sort of direction; no doubt about that*” (Nikau). Not only have these characteristics served the private good of the individual but they have also served the public good. The sense of community at Te Aute College has fostered the notion of citizenship and doing well for one’s own community where “*education is about being a good citizen in the community and that’s what Te Aute did for me....now at a retired age, I am still involving myself with a variety of organizations in order to make a contribution to life, to society and to Māoridom*” (Makomako).

Passion for life and for being Māori

A flow on effect of an enhanced sense of community is a passion for doing well and a passion for living life to its potential. For instance, the following statement given by a

participant raises Te Aute's mana and stature, in this regard *"I have taken that tone very seriously since that day because of what Te Aute means to me and my family and my passionate belief in not just Māori society but in society in general and that goes beyond New Zealand's boundaries"* (Totara). For this participant, Te Aute College has done more than foster a sense of community, it has synonymously fostered a sense of passion; a passion for doing well in life and a passion for being Māori. Te Aute College reinforces the Māori world and *"Te Aute College is also a reminder of our commitment, just like our ancestors have done before us to continually develop tikanga Māori"* (Rata).

The history of Te Aute College reflects the importance of being Māori beginning with its links to the Te Aute College Students' Association (see Chapter Three) and its successor, the Young Māori Party. The following statement illustrates the link between the aura of Te Aute developed over time, and student ethos, *"my actions would reflect upon everyone who was part of Te Aute, students, old boys and teachers alike"* (Puriri). Another participant spoke of the special aspects of Te Aute College, those that ignited his future passions where, *"the sense of order and Christian values encompassed and strengthened my Māori values and the ease to take a future leadership role in our whānau, hapū and iwi groups back home"* (Kauri). Te Aute College provided the necessary nurturing and development for inciting a passion for one's sense of community; the community of Te Aute College and the community outside of Te Aute College, *"Te Aute not only helped in the pursuit of academic and sporting successes.... I believe that schools like Te Aute did have that edge, Te Aute especially, that sense of purpose"* (Tawa). Te Aute College was and continues to be the stepping stone for many young Māori between their home childhood life and responsible adulthood.

Stepping Stone

By virtue of its function and role, Te Aute College has provided a pathway to the future for all of its students. For some though, this pathway has not been traversed as adeptly as it has by others. Stories revealed a great passion for Te Aute College

although there were threads within these stories too that expressed a sense of disappointment. Given for these participants, the positive times and experiences outweighed the gloomy experiences of being at a school that was “*at times, cut off from the rest of the world*” (Manatu). Some of the research participants spoke of “*mixed feelings*” (Pukatea), for example, “*it didn’t mean much to me then, it wasn’t until later on in my life that I looked back on Te Aute as my bridge to adulthood*” (Nikau). The greater part of the participants’ narratives highlighted positive experiences in terms of their own time at Te Aute College. There was an acknowledgement that not everyone’s experience at Te Aute College was the same although there were common elements that interlaced these experiences, namely whakapapa, whanaungatanga and community. For the majority of students, Te Aute College has assisted them on their life journey

“Now I see Te Aute as my spring board into adult life and all that is involved in being a mature member of society” (Kawakawa).

“Being a Te Aute boy opened up opportunities that may have not been possible had I not gone to Te Aute” (Karaka).

“My own independence away from my own family was something new but also a good experience” (Horopito).

Te Aute College undoubtedly holds a special place among many of its students and staff. This affinity may be perceived as enigmatic from the outside but from within; it is the whakapapa of Te Aute that is the underlying essence that imparts meaning and significance. The whakapapa binds the college to its whenua, it connects all of those who have been and who are still a part of the college and, it weaves a history of lineage that gives meaning to what it means to be a Te Aute boy.

Being Māori

There is a special relationship between the reality of going to Te Aute College and the phenomenon of being Māori that stems from Te Aute’s historical past and whakapapa. The fact that the college’s character is built on a Māori worldview alongside the Anglican religion gives credence to this relationship too. Te Aute College continues to provide an environment that is conducive to nurturing young male students in tikanga

Māori alongside other critical elements of its special character and curriculum. Tikanga Māori are an innate part of the college's curriculum for example, in the rūmaki stream of the college, in kapa haka, in te reo Māori and in the spiritual dimension of the special character of Te Aute College. It is seen in sport at the college, in pōwhiri for manuhiri to the college (big or small groups), in college assemblies, at college functions, on excursions outside of the college and in the promotion of whanaungatanga among the student body.

Whakapapa and Whanaungatanga

The nature of the strong kinship ties, the whanaungatanga and the whakapapa that Te Aute College has nurtured is lifelong and can be seen in the stories of the following participants who attended Te Aute College in different eras

“Schools did have that, that sense of purpose and that formula and it's about the whanaungatanga there, it's about the history of those schools and particularly Te Aute which has a history with the Young Māori Party” (Tawa).

“Strong networks from school days still exist to the present day. I went on to Victoria University where we were joined by a succession of old boys. At one stage about seven of us Te Aute old boys were playing for the University A team” (Totara).

“The socialisation, fellowship and friendship was strong at school especially within your year groups. When you see friends these days, this fellowship is rekindled” (Houhere).

“It is something that you certainly very quickly realise in other people who have been to Te Aute. You start to talk and instantly you adapt to that language and suddenly you've gone back into another language and that is, Te Aute” (Koromiko).

“I believe that those.

“It's about the whanaungatanga there. It was about being part of a whānau where everyone was expected to think of others before themselves” (Kareao).

These stories denote the characteristics of the typified family today²⁷ as well as those

²⁷ The family is regarded by society as a vital social organism. The role of the family can vary but may include such functions as: support, nurturance, protection, and the generation and provision of a self-identity and sense of worth ... families can also be environments of abuse, poverty, abandonment, exploitation, conflict and illness. Legal and policy definitions of family have tended to focus on nuclear or core family (Social Advisory Council, 1986, In Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell, 2005:13).

characteristics specifically associated with Māori whānau today²⁸. One would not expect a college to promote and sustain a whānau-like status. However, the notion of whakapapa binds and maintains whānau traditions, whānau ties and typical whānau characteristics. Te Aute College is an exception including its ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ Māori Boarding Schools where tikanga Māori relating to Māori social structures that include aroha, manaakitanga, kōtahitanga and kaitiakitanga are natural aspects of school life. Whakapapa binds these tikanga Māori into the social structure of Te Aute College and is on-going. Students arrive at Te Aute College with varying degrees of knowledge and immersion in tikanga Māori. Te Aute College instils, nurtures and develops their respective knowledge bases, that is, Te Aute College provides for those who have never experienced tikanga Māori and for those for whom tikanga Māori is a natural part of everyday life.

Identity

In promoting an environment that caters for a collective Māori identity, the nurturing of individual identity is a natural progression. The following research narratives are testimony to this

“Going to Te Aute that really developed the Māori side and the language” (Makomako).

“I was proud of the history and achievements of Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Maui Pomare and Te Rangihira” (Pohutukawa).

“Te Aute is my schoolboy tūrangawaewae, the place where I could proudly stand and in confidence too” (Puriri).

“Students have been able to live in an environment where to be and live as Māori is the ‘norm’ ” (Rewarewa).

“Understanding a bigger picture in regard to Māori tribes, Māoridom and whanaungatanga was an eye opener for me” (Manuka).

²⁸ Durie (1994) defines whānau as more than simply an extended family network, a whānau is a diffuse unit based on a common whakapapa, a descent from a shared ancestor, and within which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained. The term whānau has broadened in more recent times to include a number of the non-traditional situations where Māori with similar interests, but not direct blood relationships, form a cohesive group. Smith (1995) also defined whānau as a collective concept that refers to the more recent notion derived from its usage in describing a group of Māori who may share an association based on some common interests such as locality, an urban marae, a workplace and so on (In Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell, 2005:13-14).

“Another important thing was tribal identity and knowing where you were from and so knowing your mates broadened your knowledge of other tribes and Māoridom in general” (Puka).

“There’s a family tradition but it’s a Māori tradition and it’s good to be part of” (Manatu).

Personal and collective Māori identities nurtured at Te Aute College have impacted upon communities throughout the whole country since the 19th century. Students have gone on to serve various communities and contexts of socio-economic, political and cultural life. These generations of students also served as role models for students of future eras of Te Aute College. Without a doubt, the names that sat in the minds of students in the 20th century were Ngata, Buck and Pomare; in the first half of the 20th century particularly, these names and those of their peers were an inspiration, *“Ngata, Pomare and Buck had all passed by 1951 and their work was a much publicised thing at Te Aute” (Ibid)*. This tradition including later eras of Te Aute old boy ‘exploits’ not only provided strong role models for subsequent generations of Te Aute boys to forge their own identities and destinies but it also maintained a tradition; a Te Aute tradition that was connected by whakapapa.

Tradition

There have been Māori traditions, Te Aute traditions, iwi traditions and whānau traditions at Te Aute College. While it has been acknowledged that Te Aute College cannot solely rely on its traditions for its continued role today, there can be no denying the Te Aute tradition that has formed a unique brand of education for over 150 years. This tradition has been founded on a Māori worldview, spirituality, sport and education that have all been woven together by whakapapa. Accordingly, the research methodological approach to this research and thesis drew from the notion of whakapapa through tradition reflecting on the past, thinking about today and considering the future. The following stories reflect a range of individual participant’s memories and current thinking about Te Aute College and tradition

“At Te Aute there was a strong affinity to Māori and everything about being Māori; and having a unique connection with your school and all those who have entered its portal” (Ngaio).

“My feelings for the college are still strong even now that we have an old boy as principal and I’ve told him that and it has started to filter through because a lot of old boys are bringing their sons here now” (Tarata).

“Being part of a proud tradition of academic and sporting (rugby) success was a good feeling. It’s still remembered with pride, and always will be” (Miro).

“Te Aute’s fine history will always be there for those who want to be part of it” (Tawhai).

“I was proud to be a TA boy; I followed the custom of the day and tattooed TAC on my left hand” (Matai).

“Upon acceptance as a student at Te Aute and from that first day we became a part of a group with one thing in common, Te Aute with a history spanning 150yrs. Even those whose stay was brief often claim membership of the group” (Kohuhu).

“I wasn’t too happy about girls going to Te Aute but I did hear that Hukarere needed a place for its girls and Te Aute needed to build the roll but I’m glad now that they’ve gone back to just boys because it has always been known as a boys’ college” (Tarata).

“I had an uncle who was there, my wife’s father and grandfather were both at T.A, my son went there” (Manatu).

“It’s important because there’s a community of people who know the Te Aute experience and to be part of that community is great, it means a lot. It means a lot personally, it means a lot to the family, grandparents” (Ibid).

By virtue of enrolling at and attending Te Aute College, students have contributed to the Te Aute tradition and in doing so have added to the whakapapa of Te Aute College that binds this tradition. As revealed above there have been whānau traditions founded on whakapapa and the maintenance of a lineage and association with Te Aute College. Whānau traditions have added to a Māori tradition of sending students to Te Aute College too and accordingly, a sense of community and Māori identity have been heightened and nurtured at Te Aute College. For instance, there have also been strong iwi traditions in specific eras of sending their young men to Te Aute College such as Ngāti Porou where *“Te Aute was the name that really sat in the mind of parents from Ngāti Porou” (Koromiko)*. This is one example but just as Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hold the mana whenua of Te Aute College, Ngāti Porou have contributed a great deal to the whakapapa of Te Aute College through its numbers of student enrolments throughout Te Aute’s history. While this enrolment figure is a large one, iwi throughout Aotearoa New Zealand have sent their young sons and daughters to Te

Aute College and so these iwi traditions have added to the Māori tradition. In recalling the surnames of students in their era and eras gone by, one participant stated that *“when you heard a boy’s name, you knew where he was from and what his iwi was”* (Pohutukawa); thus verifying an iwi, a Māori and Te Aute tradition.

The efforts of Te Aute College in both World wars has been significant and the feats of the 28th Māori Battalion in particular inspired Te Aute College and its students while at the same time left the college grieving at the loss of its sons killed in action. There has been a strong military tradition associated with Te Aute College throughout its history as is evidenced by its roll of honour, names of old boys who have served in all wars and military action overseas (including United Nations deployments of New Zealand troops since 2000). Te Aute had a strong cadet training facility up to the 1970s and maintains a tradition of recalling the deeds of the late Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu (VC) at annual ANZAC Day services. One participant recalled that *“as the son of a returned soldier of the 28th (Maori) Battalion; I felt both pride and sadness when on Anzac Day we would read the citation recommending Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu for the Victoria Cross”* (Matai). Tradition is what links the present to the past and at Te Aute College, such traditions are bound by a network of relationships among its student body (past and present) that ultimately are linked through the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Mixed Feelings

All of the research participants expressed an overall favourable attitude and positive experience of their time at Te Aute College. Some of these participants stated that experiences varied for students in their particular eras and no doubt this view is consistent with other secondary schools throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. One certain point though was that Te Aute College certainly provided a level of whanaungatanga to support students irrespective of their backgrounds or behaviours based on the history, brand and whakapapa of Te Aute College. Pastoral care for instance, was a role maintained by the students themselves up to the 1960s.

Pride

The whakapapa of Te Aute College has undoubtedly contributed to a sense of pride too that was fostered at Te Aute College and among its wider community and, that impacted upon the meaning of being a Te Aute boy. The closeness and connectedness of the Te Aute community embossed this instinctive quality. Other factors such as Te Aute's rugby prowess, contribution to the 28th Māori Battalion and war effort, college uniform, history, the image and stature of Te Aute boys when representing the college in public and its nurturing of Māori leaders also left an imprint of awe among many communities throughout the country as is shown in the following recollections by participants

“When you went to your mates’ regions you were welcomed especially when they knew that you were from Te Aute” (Karaka).

“Students were encouraged to emanate that pride wherever they went, to be good examples of Te Aute boys to the outside world” (Kauri).

“A trip to Wairoa to watch the Te Aute 1st XV ‘thrash’ the Wairoa Juniors changed my mind. When I saw them get off the bus all tidy, great stature and full of pride, I was in awe of these young men and the school that they came from” (Makomako).

“It wasn’t really until I started working and meeting people and people would say ‘did you go to Te Aute College?’” (Nikau).

This sense of pride emanated from within the students too where it was not just about being a Te Aute boy but being proud in yourself and of your people. Tradition, history and whakapapa sustained this pride where it is still evident in old boys’ memories today as well as in their own adulthood lives. It is important to acknowledge here that not all students arrived at Te Aute College with no sense of value of life or culture in general, but it was Te Aute College that nurtured the existing values that students had on arrival as well as instilling its own mark on the students

“Te Aute provided me with immense pride in who I was. We were all proud Māori” (Tawa).

“We developed a pride in the school especially later on knowing that we went to school on land our tipuna gave” (Kowhai).

“It was a sense of pride being associated to a school with a long existence and reputation. I have retained this pride having attended Te Aute and my son is also attending TA at present” (Kareao).

“I feel the same now as I did over 50 years ago about the meaning of Te Aute and its awe, Wairua and mana” (Koromiko).

“We were all proud Māori, others observed our pride in being Māori as arrogance. We travelled immaculately and were proud to be known as Te Aute boys” (Puriri).

“It meant belonging to an organised, culturised society with the strong mana of those who had gone before” (Houhere).

Inspiring Awe

Te Aute College not only fostered a sense of pride but actually inspired a sense of awe. That is, regardless of the financial hardships that Te Aute suffered and that resulted in what many old boys have recalled as ‘sub-standard conditions’ in terms of living conditions and resources in general, Te Aute College still instilled pride in its students and an ambition to do well in life. While the benefit of hindsight has certainly added to these heartening recollections, the whakapapa of Te Aute College has certainly strengthened the old boys’ stories

“Now, it’s a privilege to be a Te Aute boy. I’m still immensely proud of the time I was at school. I was proud to belong to Te Aute in my years there; I have thought about it recently and while a little hesitant in the first instant, I am still proud today to have gone there” (Manuka).

“Back then, you were in awe! One was always in awe of your surroundings because of the education that was being taught there, the pride that the school had, the pride that the students had” (Koromiko).

“Being a Te Aute boy gave me a sense of esteem and pride in the school, myself and of fellow students” (Titoki).

This awe is also reinforced through the words of the Te Aute College haka that include ‘*ka tū te ihi, ka tū te wanawana*’, which can be interpreted as ‘*to be fearsome and awe-inspiring*’. Being a Te Aute boy has meant a number of strong impressions as have been evident in the snippets of old boys’ stories spoken of so far in this chapter. Te Aute College has not only inspired awe, its students have too and have then gone on to do so in their own respective communities and fields. Whakapapa is

what has sustained this awe whereby like everything else at Te Aute College, the lineage and connections of those who have entered the portals of Te Aute College have formed a lattice of relationships - the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

The Reasons for going to Te Aute College

There have been many reasons disclosed by those students and ex-students, including people who have taught and worked at Te Aute College, who have participated in this research for why they wanted to go to Te Aute College. Figure Two represents the reasons for attending Te Aute College given by all those who participated in the research. These reasons have been grouped into four themes (yellow column) where each of these four themes have their own sub-themes or offspring up to a 4th level or generation. That is, the theme of aspiration can be traced down through its offspring theme of charisma (green column), to its offspring theme of mana (violet column) and to its offspring theme of awe (brown column). The themes themselves have a whakapapa too in that like a human line of descent; they themselves have a pedigree line.

Theme	1 st level	2 nd level	3 rd level	4 th level
Reasons	Aspiration	Charisma	Mana	Awe
		Heroic status	Mystical	Toughness
		Personal choice	Opportunity	
		Pride	Rugby	
		Societal status	Famous	
	Contextual	Familiarity		
		Scholarships	Opportunity	
		Urban influences	Safety	
		Access	Isolation	
		Rugby	Māori affinity	
	Religion	Growing up	Community presence	Predetermined
	Whakapapa	Predestined	Community choice	No say in matter
			Whānau choice	
			Whakapapa	Iwi connections
		Whānau presence		
		Tikanga Māori	Māori curriculum	Difference

Figure Two: The Reasons for going to Te Aute College.

Aspiration

All of the research participants expressed a desire to go and be involved with Te Aute College as a student, a staff member or a board member. This desire varied according to individual experiences however, a commonality was the outward imprint that Te Aute College had left on society and Māori communities in particular. The previous section of the chapter illuminated the awe that emanated from Te Aute College and that was felt and experienced there too by those who were a part of the college. The awe of Te Aute College also intensified the aspiration to go there as is expressed in the following stories by participants

“Te Aute was always a place of mana back then especially in the mind of a teenage Pākehā boy” (Kanuka).

“I was in awe of these young men” (Makomako).

“We’d all go along and look at these people like they were just outside of our world and they were like heroes because we had heard that Te Aute was somewhere that was just great for Māori and that’s all you sort of knew about it back then. Plus it had a very good reputation from the war” (Tawa).

“It was a ‘pride thing’. Also the other factor was sort of knowing that the school was famous, I think that knowing that is a factor and success on the students; it’s like how people throw around Harvard and Eton and Oxford and that” (Ibid).

“The college’s reputation, I chose Te Aute because it seemed more prestigious than other schools” (Puka).

These expressions reflect a sense of awe, admiration and prestige that was engendered by Te Aute College and so personal aspiration influenced heavily by Te Aute’s reputation was a strong determinant for why students wanted to especially go there.

Other reasons were self-explanatory including, *“I chose to go to Te Aute” (Tarata)* or *“my father asked where I wanted to go to school. Te Aute was the only school for me” (Matai)* where the underlying rationale was Te Aute’s reputation and no doubt its whakapapa that had weaved many whānau, hapu and iwi groupings together throughout its history. The image that Te Aute College projected and thus a sense of aspiration, can also be seen in the following reasons given by participants

“I wanted to go to Te Aute so when he offered for me to go to Te Aute I thought I’d rather go there than go on the Jamboree” (Tawa).

“I was given the option of about 3 or 4 schools by my parents. I had actually already received a scholarship to go to Hato Petera but turned it down because Te Aute seemed to hold more opportunities” (Puriri).

“Its charisma was very strong as was that of the boys who went there” (Houhere).

The first reason above for instance was expressed by this research participant when at that time his father told him that he could either go to a scout jamboree in England or go to Te Aute College instead. His inevitable decision not to go to England was never questioned again such was his life changing experience at Te Aute College.

Rugby

Interestingly, the game or sport of rugby was also a strong determining factor in where many students went for their secondary schooling. Such was the awe and esteem of this sport at Te Aute College and Te Aute’s reputation for rugby that many young boys aspired to be a part of this proud tradition and so go to Te Aute College themselves. For instance, for many Māori villages throughout the country, *“a lot of their life centred around rugby and of course Te Aute has got a good history of rugby. That’s why I think that that school has those special characteristics” (Tawa)*. Other recollections of rugby and Te Aute College and the desire to be a part of this tradition spoken of by participants included that

“In those days the First XV travelled on the back of a truck sitting on wooden forms (bench seats) and I thought they were tough” (Matai).

“Other things we heard about were rugby and the education there” (Nikau).

“And rugby at Te Aute College; it produced a number of All Blacks, which is a very important thing to Māori; especially to Māori men and Māori villages (Miro).

Accordingly, rugby has also been a part of the motivation by individuals to go to Te Aute College where this trend was also evident in the late 1970s and 1980s when the student roll of Te Aute was at its maximum. Rugby at Te Aute College itself has a whakapapa, a whakapapa that stretches back to the late 19th century, through the 20th

century and, that continues on today through old boys sending their sons to Te Aute to strive for the 1st XV, the pinnacle of rugby at Te Aute College.

Contextual

Many students' reasons for going to Te Aute College throughout its history were also contextual in terms of conditions and circumstances beyond their own immediate control or factors other than personal aspiration, sport or family connections determined their place of secondary schooling. For instance, coming from places that were geographically isolated from communities was a big factor *"because there was no high school at Tolaga Bay at that time I had to go to Gisborne or somewhere else and the opportunity for the scholarship came up ... and so I went to Te Aute"* (Nikau).

Other places actually had relationships with Te Aute College by virtue of prior contacts as recalled by this participant who said that *"my home village, had a relationship with the college. The First XV used to come out and play rugby against the local junior side after which everyone gathered at either the marae or town hall for speeches and kai"* (Matai). Another reason was that Te Aute College not only offered a curriculum in terms of its provision of education but it was rural based and so another participant stated that it was an *"opportunity for me to get out of the city"* (Rata) thereby taking this particular old boy away from what his whānau thought were negative urban living influences, had he had stayed in the city during his adolescent years.

Scholarships that were available for successful applicants also dictated whether or not students could attend Te Aute College. Many students came from financially poor families or communities that fluctuated throughout periods of our nation's socio-economic and political history. For instance, many students worked in the freezing works or shearing gangs of their particular home towns and communities during the holiday breaks in order that that they could 'save up' to go to Te Aute College.

Te Aute College also provided access to te ao Māori as it did with the other Māori

boarding schools that whānau could chose for their children up to the 1980s because of there being nothing else available locally in their own towns and communities. The contemporary special character of Te Aute College's curriculum catered for an education with a strong Māori focus that included, te reo Māori as a subject, kapa haka and tikanga Māori interwoven throughout college life and religion.

Religion

A strong element of Māori community life throughout the first three quarters of the 20th century was the influence of religion and the church, including various denominations. Of those research participants who attended Te Aute College in the post-World War Two era and into the 1960s, many had no choice of where to go to for their secondary education other than to Te Aute College, *“we were picked to go to Te Aute by the ministers. They had a strong community presence back then”* (Kauri). The establishment of Te Aute College involved the Anglican Church and throughout its history these church links have remained up to today. For instance, *“our vicar Wi Pere Mataira, was a Te Aute old boy as were the prominent kaumātua in our village. They made the decision to send me to Te Aute”* (Ibid). Another participant recalled how, *“we never had a choice that was left up to our parents, the ministers, the schoolteachers and others like that”* (Miro) and so the whakapapa associated with religion was also a prominent determinant in where students, in particular of the era spoken of above, went to for their secondary school education.

Many students of this era had their secondary schooling predetermined for them because of who they were and where they came from. Their own whānau whakapapa, the whakapapa of the church's involvement with Māori communities and the whakapapa of Te Aute College established this trend and thus maintained it. Te Aute College was and is a Māori boarding school with a strong religious focus and so for many communities who were part of the Anglican Church, Te Aute College was the obvious option for their young sons' education.

Whakapapa

The greatest reason for going to or being a part of Te Aute College is undoubtedly the notion of whakapapa itself. The findings discussed so far have all affiliated to whakapapa and its interpretations within the context of this thesis. There is also the primary connection of whakapapa or the biological connection associated with this that has seen whānau throughout Aotearoa New Zealand continue a trend of sending their sons to Te Aute College and maintaining a specific whānau lineage with Te Aute College. The following reasons given by participants for instance, reflect this notion and core concept of a Māori worldview (see Chapter Five)

“Whakapapa, the college’s reputation and a 24 hour learning environment were the reasons that I went to Te Aute” (Kareao).

“Our older cousins were at Te Aute” (Pohutukawa).

“My father went there (old boy connection)” (Karaka).

“That seed was implanted when I was a child and it simply grew” (Ngaio).

“My grandfather’s influence” (Manatu).

“Family members had previously gone there” (Pukatea).

“My father decided. I was attending a local co-educational school and not achieving much” (Tawa).

“After my Mother passed away, I was to attend Te Aute, as had her Father Tukere. My connection to Te Aute goes back to the late 1890s” (Houhere).

“I had two older brothers and a number of cousins attend Te Aute in the early 60’s, my parents, my younger brother and myself would visit occasionally and we would also attend prize giving where I was impressed with the singing” (Matai).

“My father, a passionate old boy” (Totara).

“My father, he was strongly influenced by his good friend Rongo Wirepa” (Titoki).

“My brothers also brought friends home on weekends. So with previous contact, experiences with Te Aute College and as I had grown up in the marae environment, Te Aute appealed to me as a young Māori male” (Matai).

While these reasons above are not exhaustive of all of the research participants’ stories, they do represent the main reasons behind why students who had had whānau connections at Te Aute College went to Te Aute College themselves. For instance,

one participant said that he was the fifth generation Te Aute boy in his family and his son was also enrolled at Te Aute College (during the research phase). He had attended Te Aute College, his father did, his grandfather did, his great grandfather did, his great great grandfather started Te Aute in the 1880s and now, his son was there. While this is not the only example of multiple and successive generations of students to attend Te Aute College within individual whānau, this whānau connection with Te Aute College exemplifies the importance of whakapapa from a biological perspective. Individual whānau have maintained a lineage with Te Aute College throughout its history, other whānau have continued a trend from later eras, old boys have married women whose male whānau members have attended Te Aute College and in more recent times, there have been marriages between old boys and old girls who attended Te Aute College during its status as a co-educational secondary school.

Alongside the notion of whakapapa is the Te Aute relationship with ‘te ao Māori’ and to tikanga Māori where not only whakapapa has been nurtured but tikanga Māori in general have too by the nature of this environment that is Te Aute College. Accordingly, students have also enrolled at Te Aute College to specifically take part in this experience, that is, a Māori experience that has for various reasons been missing from their own whānau upbringing or has not been available in their own home town’s secondary school(s). For instance, one participant stated that *“I went there to learn about being Māori” (Manuka)* such was the lack of opportunity in his home town to do so while another reflects on the same reasoning when stating that, *“that was the reason for coming here to get that tikanga side ‘cause you’d never get that at the school where I lived” (Kawakawa).*

So far this chapter has explored the Te Aute experience by investigating the notion of ‘being a Te Aute boy’ and by also investigating the reasons why students have attended Te Aute College and continue to do so. The exploration of the Te Aute experience continues now by investigating those specific positive experiences that are uniquely Te Aute College.

Positive Experiences of Te Aute College

Of those old boys who participated in this research, their experiences at Te Aute College are long lasting and an inerasable experience from their adolescent memories. These experiences are such that they have influenced their adult lives in many ways since leaving Te Aute College and becoming old boys. Figure Three represents the research participants' experiences based on themes and sub-themes in a manner that is consistent with Figures One and Two introduced earlier in this chapter.

Tree Node	1 st Level	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Memorable Experiences	Whanaungatanga	Pukehou	Belonging	Iwi alliances
		Te Aute	Unity	One big whānau
			Camaraderie	Lifelong
	Heritage	Tradition		
		Physical	Awe	Pride
		Māoritanga	Te reo Māori	
			Sense of pride	Mission
		War effort	Pride	
			Sadness	
		Pride	Innate	Whanaungatanga
		Academics	Good results	
			Work ethics	
			Personal pride	Revered
	Leadership	Good values	Direction	Life skills
				Respect
			Leadership	Staff
				Role models
				Mediocrity
	Extra-curricula	School land	History	Pride
			Freedom	Fortunate
		Fundraising	Whanaungatanga	
		Excursions	Train trips	
		Cadets	Honour	Pride
			Discipline	Life experience
		Chores	Values	Self-respect
		Sport	Rugby	Satisfaction
		Events	Reunions	
			Manuhiri	
		Religion	Wairuatanga	Tradition
		Downside	Social ineptness	Isolation
			Resources	

Figure Three: Positive Experiences at Te Aute College.

The Whanaungatanga Experience

The nature of the Te Aute College community, physically, geographically, socially and culturally is such that the closeness of the community assists in the formation and maintenance of family like bonds between the students as well as with and among staff. This type of fellowship undoubtedly occurs in external contexts too such as within sporting, social, employment and cultural organisations and institutions. However, the fellowship at Te Aute College or the whanaungatanga, is uniquely Te Aute where the notion of whakapapa imparts and maintains this distinctive phenomenon that is, Te Aute College. For instance, throughout Te Aute College's history there are instances recalled by the research participants about the whanaungatanga between the boys, the staff and their families and, the wider community. One such instance recalls the family orientated atmosphere between the families that dwelt on the college premises and the students that was hugely instrumental in fuelling strength of unity where *“the principal Mr Webb regularly invited a prefect and 5 boys to his home for Sunday dinner. For rural boys, it was for many the first time they had a meal with a Pākehā family. We discussed current events, learnt to play chess, how to use various knives, forks, spoons and plates”* (Tawa). At other times the students of Te Aute College would venture out into the wider community to participate in community and national events where for instance, *“we'd go out on ANZAC Days to the local villages you know like Tikokino, Ongaonga and Pukehou and do the guard of honour and be a part of their ceremonies and be the Māori face at these ceremonies too”* (Miro).

Relationships were forged between Te Aute College and the wider Hawkes Bay community that undoubtedly contributed to Te Aute's sustainability at different periods of its history and that are still remembered and felt today as is recalled by the following participant's memories

“My humble thanks go to all those families in Pukehou, Otane, Waipawa, Waipukurau, Dannevirke, Hastings and Napier; the business firms, the mayors of these towns and cities for their tremendous support during these turbulent years Also the support of Rotary, the Lions and many other groups like 'The Friends of Te Aute College' who took boys into their homes at weekends Today 2006, there are many people who are not aware of the debt we all

owe to those wonderful people who made it possible for Te Aute to be standing at its original site in Pukehou” (Kahikatea).

There were also opportunities to express the whanaungatanga that is Te Aute College when journeying throughout the country and abroad. These experiences were not only educational and cultural undertakings but they were also opportunities to transmit the whakapapa of Te Aute College; that is, through waiata, haka, stories, images, sport and tikanga Māori. For instance, some participants spoke of the tours to the United States of America and Europe in 1984 and 1988. Another recalled the good will trip to the Bay of Plenty following the earthquakes of 1986 to repay the support to this community that had been given to Te Aute College throughout its history. Older participants recalled highlights such as when the whole school went to Urenui in Taranaki where Sir Peter Buck’s ashes were placed at a huge ceremony after his death in 1951. The whanaungatanga evident within the different eras of students was such that it projected outwards to embrace the communities whom these groups of Te Aute College students journeyed to and stayed with. These cultural expressions are manifest in tikanga Māori such as utu and whakapapa accordingly maintains these connections throughout the country and the world with Te Aute College today.

Whanaungatanga and the Student Body

While manifestations of whanaungatanga are highly evident between Te Aute College, its local community, the nation and worldwide institutions, the whanaungatanga among the student body is perhaps the single highest experience maintained and recalled by current students and ex-students today, as is reflected on by the following stories. While these examples are an exhaustive list of recollections, it has been deemed necessary to include all of these stories in order to emphasize the whanaungatanga that was and still is fostered at Te Aute College and that as a result nurtures the whakapapa of Te Aute College

“There was though a strong sense of whanaungatanga at Te Aute, most definitely even though most of the boys were from the East Coast. In fact, we on the West Coast were a minority” (Manatu).

“The support shown by many parents has led to firm and lasting friendships” (Totara).

“I enjoyed sports but one thing I did get out of going there was comradeship” (Puriri).

“You met a lot of guys from throughout the country, all over the world and you are never gonna forget them” (Ngaio).

“Establishing life long friends and brothers is one of my enduring memories” (Manuka).

“It was a small school so everyone knew everyone else. It was quite isolated so there were not too many other influences, which can be good and bad; it created strong bonds” (Manatu).

“Some of my most positive experiences at Te Aute were the friendship ties we made” (Titoki).

“The people I met and the friendships made helped develop my character and the things that I still value now like pride, comradeship and commitment” (Makomako).

“I made some great life long friends” (Houhere).

“Friendships are life-long and I experienced great comradeship, culture, discipline, Christianity and selflessness” (Kareao).

“The bonding and fellowship that is life-long and often running through generations was a strong part of Te Aute College” (Nikau).

“There are things that don’t change and that’s like living as a community, teaching people to live in a community, to contribute to community life and so you made life-long friends” (Kowhai).

“One of the endearing positive experiences was actually making friends. To this day, no matter where I go, we’re all brothers” (Tarata).

“I am still friends with some of the teachers from back then today, even the principal of my time Awi” (Ibid).

“It was an awesome opportunity to meet up with others from all over the country. This has led to life-long friendships” (Kohuhu).

The Heritage Experience

The research analyses also reflect a strong sense of affection and aroha for the heritage and status of Te Aute College as a Māori boarding school, a national icon and a unique fellowship where for instance, *“being a part of the school’s history” (Kauri)*, a sentiment expressed by some participants, provided a sense of pride and esteem in being a Te Aute boy. The ethos of Te Aute College enabled access to te ao Māori, to te reo Māori, to kapa haka and to tikanga Māori where these aspects of life at Te Aute College not only developed these Māori cultural instincts in its students

but innately continued the whakapapa of Te Aute College that bound each student and their family to Te Aute's lineage where for instance, *"there was a strong sense of pride in being Māori and a yearning to want to assist Māori to a 'higher' level again"* (Koromiko).

Through its whakapapa Te Aute is able to instil pride in Māoridom and pride in ambition, although not everyone goes onto the same career pathways that are academically based, many boys have gone onto manual type careers but have maintained a strong sense of pride of who they were. These same traits are still visible today, such is the way in which the notion of whakapapa manifests itself and sustains its links between the past, the present and the future. Access to te ao Māori at Te Aute College is not necessarily a taken for granted notion either as recalled here how *"that was the first time that I got really introduced to taha Māori although we lived close to the marae. It taught me about mana and it was generally fun"* (Manatu). Another participant recollected that *"I was a prefect and you had to have a certain amount of reo to operate in those days in my day as a prefect because you had Māori days where only Māori was spoken. You know I came out of there speaking Māori and with enough conversational Māori and I went to the University of Auckland and was so conscious of being Māori"* (Tawa).

Another important aspect of Te Aute's heritage and the relationship to individual experiences at Te Aute College was the physical surroundings of the college and the mana that these buildings possessed, where one participant recalled *"another thing that reflected Te Aute's heritage were the buildings and I'll never forget these dominating structures, the Churchill, Jellicoe and Fergusson Blocks, the old brick school"* (Pohutukawa). All of the participants who were part of the 'old' face of Te Aute College have exceptionally strong feelings and connections to these brick buildings and many also recalled being devastated about these buildings having to be demolished in the late 1970s and early 1980s for apparent earthquake risk. The affinity to buildings may be incomprehensible to many however, just as a marae whare-nui is a shelter to its whānau and hapū through kinship and whakapapa; so too were these buildings to the students who lived, breathed and learned in them during

their respective times at Te Aute College. The brick buildings were physically cold or rundown at times due to financial hardship. For instance, *“I was here in a period when it was private and believe me those were bloody ‘bleak’ days! They were good in some respects but they were bloody tough times because we had no money and our roll was small”* (Totara). However, such hardships were in the end outweighed by the overall Te Aute experience *“those buildings were something else when I think back today, I enjoyed my time here; it was hard but overall I enjoyed it”* (Matai).

The sense of pride that emanated from being a Māori at a Māori boarding school was also a vivid story to many of the participants as reflected upon in the following story, *“as you looked around you, those who were there, the way they stood, they were well established. You know these young students, I saw them. The pride that these students had; yes, the posterity of the boys, their presence, the boys exuded pride and strength”* (Makomako). Such pride was not only an individual quality but was a collective response towards Te Aute College itself, being a Te Aute boy and being proud of who you were. This notion is given fuller meaning by the following recollection by one student after winning the Moascar Cup in 1979 against St. Stephen’s 1st XV, *“One of the things that stands out for me is when I came off the football field and we were walking up by the tennis courts for a shower and my father, uncle Bill Whaitiri, uncle Bill Stirling, Piripi Kapa and uncle Anaru Takurua were all standing together and 4 of the 5 were embracing each other and crying”* (Totara). The sense of pride and heritage nurtured at Te Aute College was still with these grown men, four of whom were Te Aute old boys; fathers of sons at Te Aute College at that time and, all immensely proud of the achievement of Te Aute College in maintaining a tradition and continuing its whakapapa.

Whakapapa sustains the Māori heritage of Te Aute College while at the same time nourishes the continuation of this heritage whereby the connections between the past, the present and the future are continually evident in events at Te Aute College. That is, life at Te Aute College for students today is not solely about a secondary education (even though this is the primary reason), it also concerns the recognition of the Māori heritage that is Te Aute College and of all those who have gone before.

The Academic Experience

Te Aute College has throughout its history produced a range of Māori academics across various fields. In its own right Te Aute College also became synonymous with its other Māori boarding school counterparts in producing Māori academics, leaders and role models for successive generations of young students. While not all students at Te Aute College had significant academic experiences, many did and continue to do so. Some participants recalled this aspect of their education at Te Aute College where one stated, *“school-wise, in 1982 I got my U.E and was feeling quite chuffed 1983 was my 6th and final year at Te Aute”* (Ngaio). Another remembered how *“I had the opportunity here and came out with some reasonable academic achievement. In my final year I was proxime accessit, runner up to the dux and achieved a ‘B’ bursary in 7th form”* (Totara). Education *“was well drilled into you at Te Aute”* (Koromiko) and provided an opportunity to *“broaden one’s ‘horizon’, your knowledge and experiences”* (Ibid) where on initial arrival at Te Aute College some students who liked sports soon realised that they *“could do something with their life and this belief has stayed with me always”* (Nikau). For instance, another story recalls how *“one of the other things that Te Aute taught me was to be open, receptive and accept ideas and investigate them”* (Kohuhu).

Good teaching undoubtedly contributed to these old boys’ education and their achievements after leaving Te Aute College. Accordingly, their academic experiences were more memorable than other experiences or than those experiences of other students where to some, *“Te Aute was another world especially to those of us from”* (Pohutukawa); a generalised statement but a genuine reflection of life in the classroom at Te Aute College, particularly post-World War two. Interestingly, this particular research participant worked in education for the whole of his adult life, such was the imprint left by Te Aute College on this old boy. These academic experiences reflect different eras of the history of Te Aute College through the stories of the participants in this research and in doing so maintain a lineage of academic achievement at Te Aute College that stems from their predecessors of the late 19th century under headmaster, John Thornton. Accordingly, academic achievement at Te

Aute College also has a whakapapa, a whakapapa that binds those Te Aute College students who have gone on to excel academically in their respective fields with each other based on the notion of realising Māori potential and contributing to Māori advancement. These notions have their roots in the Te Aute College Students' Association formed in the late 19th century.

The Leadership Experience

An important theme to emerge from the research analyses was the type of leadership at Te Aute College; modelled by both staff and fellow students. Throughout specific periods of Te Aute's history, good leadership has equated to environments conducive to success and good overall performance of the college and the students in all of their endeavours. Ultimately, this leadership stemmed from the helm and the following stories reflect on examples of principal leadership in different eras

“Loten was a man whom I held in awe. He made one feel that you had to make something of yourself ‘because it sort of emanated from him, he exuded charisma and even though he was a small man, he was a man of many strengths. His language was astute, his appearance was immaculate and his mind was very sharp. Therefore, that was our generation and he would shout aloud at us and was quick to arouse one’s emotions. So whenever he spoke it meant that you had to listen with a clear mind and be switched on. That was probably one of the things that Loten impressed other than his teachings as a person” (Koromiko).

“He was a disciplinarian but a quality educationalist. He knew the boarding school life coming from Tipene having gone there himself but above all else, he was passionate and committed to providing a quality education” (Rewarewa).

“It became a State school in 77 and this is the year that Awi Riddell, the ‘boss’ came into Te Aute. In my life there are a number of people who I classify as role models and without a doubt Awi was one of these and remains so today” (Totara).

Teachers and fellow staff members also modelled good leadership for their students where as mentioned in the previous sub-section, this correlated to good academic results. For example, the statement *“the teachers were excellent and were very good at keeping you on task and on track” (Pohutukawa)* reinforces the guidance of ‘good’ teachers while another story reflects on individual guidance and teaching where for

instance, “*a mentionable strength during this period was the formation of ‘Te Aranga o Te Aute’ project by a teaching staff member, Jeremy Dwyer and a band of boys’*” (*Makomako*). Students and staff at Te Aute College also had the affluence of its earlier old boy academics and leaders where “*the likes of Ngata and Buck also ‘inspired us’ and made us think ‘I want to be like that fulla’*” (*Koromiko*).

The students themselves also demonstrated leadership that certainly evolved from the whanaungatanga that embellished Te Aute College where some participants recalled how

“I think it was Te Aute that instilled these leadership qualities. Our greatness was undoubtedly due to Pita’s leadership” (*Miro*).

“I admired guys that worked hard like this guy Manunui, the Duries and other fullas who worked hard” (*Pohutukawa*).

“The prefects ran the college after school hours and it was a good system – tuakana / teina which we could all relate to” (*Matai*).

“I admire the character of the boys of that time, especially with there being a lot of rules. There were lots of rules and regulations at the college back then and if you broke these, you were punished for it. One tried to observe the rules and act accordingly back then so that it just became innate and ingrained” (*Kauri*).

These examples of leadership and role models undisputedly set the scene for students of different eras where added to these, the general ‘awe’ and mana of Te Aute College was an example of leadership and good role modelling itself where for instance

“Te Aute gave me a sense of purpose. I came out of there feeling like I owed the world a living especially my people and had to do something for them so it was a major thing in my life, a turn around” (*Tawa*).

“I felt the need to be doing stuff. It all came from Te Aute and I can tell you that straight, I wouldn’t of had any direction like this if I hadn’t of gone to Te Aute” (*Puriri*).

“My leadership experience I gained there is something I will draw on for the rest of my life and will remain eternally grateful for (*Totara*).

“Te Aute disciplined me and made me independent. It was probably in my later years that I noticed this” (*Tarata*).

“When I started working I wanted to be top in my job and this was something that I got from Te Aute by watching my peers and sort of like setting goals” (*Nikau*).

Conversely, the following story is an example of poor leadership and specifically relates to the governance and management levels of the college and the Te Aute Endowment Land in general and the provision and “*access to sub-standard accommodation, which I put down to bad management by the Board, negligent management by the Board. It was a private school then, not an integrated one and the Board I would of thought had a responsibility, which they didn’t exercise*” (Manatu). As has been already discussed in this thesis, the Te Aute Endowment Land was and remains a contentious issue for a number of key stakeholders in the wellbeing of Te Aute College.

Nonetheless, the lattice of relationships and reflections on leadership in the research participants’ stories above all link back to Te Aute College itself and the people that have been a part of this institution for generations. These stories are validated by whakapapa and this whakapapa binds them together to form a lineage of leadership and scholarship at Te Aute College extending from the 19th century through to today.

The Extra-curricular Experience

Experiences outside of life in general at Te Aute College were very much endorsed and sought after by students when such excursions were possible. For instance, while the environment at Te Aute College fostered a sense of whanaungatanga and fellowship, as one participant stated

“it also meant at times that the school turned in on itself and that once you left school you were a bit lost in the real world although the food may have been better. There was a social awkwardness. There were very few opportunities to learn or practice social skills. We tended to visit Hukarere once a year and reciprocated alternate years but, socially awkward and isolated from the world; up to a point” (Ibid).

Accordingly, the range of extra-curricula experiences varied across the different eras of the participants where for instance, up to the 1970s there was cadets and “*there were the trips to Roy’s Hill for shooting*” (Ibid). For instance,

“Our headmaster was a retired army major and quite a lot of schools in those days did have compulsory military training where one week at the beginning of

the year was devoted to what we called 'barracks', which was for military training and then once a month there was a day set aside as well and part of this was the trip to Roy's Hill for shooting, which was where the rifle range was. We occasionally got onto the bigger guns and that was pretty good" (Ibid).

"We won the award for the best cadets in our region in this particular year. We were very sharp, our organisation, our practices, stance and the way we would get on parade were just awesome" (Miro).

The cadets' experience also embraced the whakapapa of Te Aute College that was a part of the old boys who had served in the World Wars and subsequent wars in Asia, post-World War Two.

The fact that Te Aute College was situated in a rural landscape steeped in history, provided further opportunities for students to traverse the landscape in their own time out of school where for instance, *"going on farm leave and camping was exciting back then but we had to be back for chapel on Sundays, so that taught responsibility and respect again" (Manuka)*. Other recollections spoke of the delight, the toughness, the landmarks and the history associated with Te Aute College and its land that was rooted in the college's whakapapa and relationship with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti

"The weekend hīkoi to the top of Pukenui with the bros was awesome; we could see the Napier Ocean from that height" (Ngaio).

"Running over the escarpment, that was heart wrenching" (Kohuhu).

"I very much enjoyed the farm, the Roto-a-Tara area and Poukawa too. We went all over this land and the hills, Pukenui, the escarpment; this was our area". At other times we'd go over to Roto-a-Tara to learn about the old pā and the stories and history. This doesn't happen any more but it was different in our day, we were there for 3 to 6 years and were able to explore the district" (Miro).

"I know a lot of rocks and land marks and things like that. For instance, if you asked me a question along the lines of a photograph of a particular rock from up on Pukenui, I'd probably say, yes I know this rock, it left its mark on my leg, see; it is in this place and so on. When we were at Te Aute, this is what we did and we loved it, the swimming holes and exploring the hills and countryside" (Ibid).

"Going out eeling and catching eels for the cook to cook them was always an experience" (Matai).

Other aspects of the Pukehou community served the students of Te Aute College namely, the local store and the railway siding (station) where *“walking down to the Pukehou store to spend your two shillings was fun as well as enjoying catching the train to town on Saturdays to play rugby” (Pohutukawa)*. The actual trip from Pukehou to Hastings by train and return was a time consuming journey given the relative short distance as other participants recalled a typical winter Saturday

“After the morning chores we’d march down to the Pukehou station, get on the train, go to Hastings, play the game, get some fish and chips, come back on the train again and getting in, it was always dark. It was a slow train and it used to stop at every little siding between Pukehou and Hastings and so what should have been a half hour trip coming back used to take well over an hour and a half with little stops here and there” (Manatu).

“I enjoyed going to catch the train every Saturday morning and going to Hastings to play rugby, remembering the two shillings that you’d get, you’d buy an ice cream, fish and chips and get back on the train to go back home again” (Nikau).

Gala days were big especially during the 1980s and 1990s when there was a full student roll at Te Aute College because there were regional competitions to see who could raise the most and so *“the whānau support was just huge as was the competitiveness” (Tarata)*. There were also other instances of students working in various orchards to raise funds for the school in the 1970s when one year the *“senior boys picked tomatoes in some local gardens to purchase decent clothes washing machines for the laundry” (Kahikatea)*. The 1979 reunion also sticks out as one of the lasting memories of Te Aute College that some old boys have as it was the last official gathering of old boys, ex-staff and students of the day in the presence of the old school. Sadly it was also a time of deep impasse between many old boys and the decision makers responsible for sanctioning the demolition of the old buildings; buildings that held great meaning, pride and mana within the individual and collective stories of Te Aute College.

There were opportunities at Te Aute to be involved in a number of church related activities prior to the 1970s because the influence of the church was wide and far reaching. These experiences not only provided access to the Anglican tradition but also complemented the brand of Te Aute College, thus continuing another tradition in

the lineage of the whakapapa of Te Aute College. For instance, the following stories reflect the unique relationship between the Anglican Church, Te Aute College and its students

“Karakia was a norm at morning, evening service plus grace at meals, plus 3 services on Sunday; was no big deal” (Tawa).

“I used to enjoy the church services, the singing, and haka where Te Aute gave me an unconditional belief in Wairua” (Ngaio).

“Back then you noticed that you were in another world. These are things that come readily to mind as well as the spiritual side where my spirituality and cultural identity were enhanced” (Koromiko).

“The chaplain and senior staff were officers from the 2nd World War and these people had a big influence on us all” (Pohutukawa).

There were many sporting experiences recalled by the research participants that involved many instances of *“winning many Hawke’s Bay titles, regional and national titles” (Rimu)* across different sports. Sport, especially rugby was and remains a huge part of Te Aute College

“Sport played a huge part in our lives, all the discipline was there, and we trained hard. It was a huge sense of satisfaction to us for a school of our size to do so well on the sports field, not just rugby but in other sports too” (Kowhai).

In terms of rugby specifically, there are numerous experiences recalled by the participants about the highs of rugby at Te Aute College including a visit by the All Blacks to practise during the 1987 Rugby World Cup where they were also given a full pōwhiri, training in their haka performance as well as being hosted for lunch. Being a crucial aspect of life at Te Aute College based on its history, prestige and esteem, it is necessary here to include a range of participant stories that reflect on rugby at Te Aute College

“I think that rugby was very much the main focus back then. There were some guys there that almost had their 21sts there and rugby for many was the reason they went to Te Aute” (Kauri).

“Rugby was awesome even just watching the 1st XV was, we were on top for most of my time at Te Aute with our best year being in 1983 when we beat St. Stephens” (Tarata).

“Beating New Plymouth Boys’ High School 32-3 in 1963 would be one of my most positive experiences” (Kowhai).

“Playing in a 1st XV that had 6 backs playing as forwards to make way for youngsters Hepa Paewai, George Skudder and others was memorable” (Ibid).

“Representing the school in the 1st XV was an honour as I was part of a tradition” (Ngaio).

“Rugby in my latter years was very strong at Te Aute for they held the Moascar Cup” (Pohutukawa).

“Rugby, yes that was strong and important to us at Te Aute” (Houhere).

“Rugby - winning the ‘Top Four’ competition in 1984 in Christchurch by defeating St Stephen’s in the final, 7 - 4” (Rimu).

“Winning the Moascar Cup from St Stephen’s in 1979” (Ibid).

“Getting up early in the mornings and running down the road to train for the 1st XV, playing for the 1st XV and touring with the 1st XV” (Titoki).

“I was privileged at that time to be in the 1st XV and the thing that stands out is the Moascar Cup and the greatest honour I’ll ever have in terms of rugby was playing in the game when we beat Tipene on our home field in 1979 for the Moascar Cup” (Totara).

Making a Difference

This section concludes Chapter Seven, the ‘Te Aute experience’ by reflecting on the participant’s stories about how Te Aute College made a difference to their lives and so impacted upon what they did once they left Te Aute College. In doing so it does not discount the education offered at other educational institutions throughout the country and the impact that this has had on thousands of students’ lives since the 19th century. However, it does solely focus on the role of Te Aute College in making a difference in the lives of many of those who have entered its portals since its establishment based on the unique brand of education. The layers of whakapapa that have woven the history of Te Aute College and no doubt its future too, are many and it’s these layers of whakapapa that are pertinent to the ‘difference’ that this section of the chapter refers to. Figure Four represents the participants’ stories based on themes and sub-themes in a manner that is consistent with Figures One, Two and Three in the three preceding sections of this chapter.

Tree Node	1 st Level	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Difference	The classroom	Learning	Life changing	Experience
		Good teaching		
		Achievement	Challenging	
			Successes	Cultural
				Sport
	Independence	External influences	Gang culture	Sheltering effect
			Unknown potential	Personalised
		Extended boundaries	Resilience	Confidence
			Life changing	Self-esteem
				Empowering
		Values	Fundamentals	Qualities
				Life skills
	Mission	Leadership	Responsibility	Contribution
			Breeding ground	Community
		Obligation	Church influence	Spirituality
			To do well	Māoridom
	Whakapapa	Tikanga Māori	Pan-tribalism	Relationships
			Māori worldview	Marae learning
		Whanaungatanga	Rural living	Strong networks
			Staff	Pastoral care
			Fellowship	Life-long

Figure Four: Making a Difference.

The Classroom

The research findings have revealed that the type of education offered by Te Aute College based on its unique brand have unequivocally made a difference to all of the participants. While the degree of difference among the participants varies according to individual stories, the commonality is that Te Aute College has made a difference as is reflected on in the following recollection about how *“Te Aute has impacted on where I am today. I think that on the whole though it wasn’t just the teaching but the teaching did give me an advantage in being able to pass exams and then make a career choice that was good”* (Manatu). Here the inference is that the whole Te Aute College environment contributed to this participant’s life and not just the academic dimension of Te Aute. Another instance recalls how the specific character and setting of Te Aute College made a difference to his life where *“it was a great boarding school and without a doubt Te Aute made a difference in my life, more so than if I had have gone to another school. I can see it too when I look at others who went to Te Aute in my time”* (Totara). Another instance simply refers to the enigmatic phenomenon that is Te Aute College and how *“everything, my whole life changed; it’s impossible to describe how much it changed it just changed. I could have been a gun shearer around Hawkes Bay or a truck driver you know”* (Tawa).

Educational provision at Te Aute College has had to overcome hardship and adversity throughout its history and the research participants of different eras have referred to such instances. Nonetheless, such hardships have evolved into experiences that in turn have created opportunities such as *“having to learn a lot from the start and it was a challenging experience and I am most grateful for the opportunity given, especially in the hard times of those early sixties”* (Miro).

While the Te Aute experience has led to lifestyles that have facilitated individual capacity to participate in the wider society as confident citizens, for many of its students, the teachers and effective teaching methods have undoubtedly contributed to the notion of ‘making a difference’. Though all of its students may have not succeeded in the same manner or level of participation in Aotearoa New Zealand

society, Te Aute College did and continues to provide an environment encompassed by the college's ethos that nurtures Māori potential. The notion of whakapapa also continues to play an important role in the nurturing of this potential. It has been ongoing since the 19th century and through utilising technological advancement and challenging or embracing the ideological education policy directives that have evolved in the education system's development; Te Aute College's whakapapa endures and fosters Māori potential and the resulting Māori advancement.

Independence

Te Aute College has not only made an overall difference to many of its students lives and pathways, it has also made specific differences to individual makeup by impressing certain qualities and values that help shape individual cognitive, social and cultural development. The following examples for instance, reflect some of the participants' stories concerning development on a personal level where

“Te Aute gave me my independence, it made me resilient and by the time I left I was no longer easily intimidated. I could travel the world with confidence” (Matai).

“Te Aute gave me self-confidence, an almost arrogance that I am someone important and that I have the power to influence people's lives in a positive manner” (Kohuhu).

“That school did empower, well it certainly empowered me and it certainly gave them the realisation if you like of our strength in some ways, so I reckon that it was good in that way” (Puriri).

“Going to Te Aute ensured that I made the most of myself. My going onto tertiary study is due to Te Aute” (Horopito).

Te Aute College not only provides an environment based on collective responsibility and whanaungatanga, it also fosters a sense of independence in its students in order that students can compete in the wider community, the nation and indeed, internationally. Whakapapa is therefore also seen to be the essential connection between the individual student and the collective body that is Te Aute College where the very nature of whakapapa permits individual and, or collective realisation; realisation that reflects individual achievement and realisation that reproduces

collective success.

Character

Māoritanga, whakapapa, spirituality, leadership, sport and an academic dimension have all contributed to the moulding of the character of Te Aute College students throughout its history. These aspects of educational provision at Te Aute College are what has shaped its unique brand of education and in doing so have simultaneously contributed to the notion of making a difference for its students. The following recollections demonstrate this phenomenon that has been and continues to be Te Aute College

“TA developed strength of character over the years and taught you how to work” (Nikau).

“Te Aute definitely made a difference for me, I don’t think I would have got the same respect, had the same respect if I had gone to a mainstream school” (Puriri).

“I could have gone anyway after intermediate but when I went to Te Aute, respect was hammered into me as was discipline otherwise you suffered the consequences” (Puka).

“My mother saw the change in me when I came home on weekend leave, I was a messy fulla but she noticed the change in my attitude, tidiness and cleanliness even after three months there” (Ibid).

“For some of us, the discipline taught us how to keep our surroundings clean and tidy. Te Aute also taught me to respect others, especially those outside of the college” (Matai).

These stories reflect the unique difference that Te Aute College has made to these research participants’ lives irrespective of when they attended Te Aute College and how Te Aute College has a unique ability to instil in its students, values that can assist individuals throughout their lifetime, no matter what they do or where they come from. Accordingly, there is a whakapapa lineage that Te Aute College maintains and implants in its students. For instance, just as biological blood lines cannot be stamped out of one’s whakapapa, the kinship and whakapapa lineage among all those who have entered the portals of Te Aute College cannot be erased either. For instance, once a Te Aute boy, always a Te Aute boy.

External Negative Influences

Students from a broad range of backgrounds and environments have attended Te Aute College where the isolated but sheltered Te Aute community bound by whakapapa and whanaungatanga has negated potentially damaging influences of urban environments in particular. In doing so, Te Aute College has made a difference to students by providing the necessary guidance and learning that may have been missed had such students remained in their hometowns or city suburbs for their secondary education. The following stories are testament to this sheltering effect where

“Going to Te Aute also removed me from gang influences that were beginning to grow and develop in my area” (Puriri).

“There were more distractions and concerns with the schools back home” (Kohuhu).

“Schools like Wairoa District High School would have had too many negative influences that would have easily captured us and perhaps have led us astray” (Makomako).

“A day school would have categorised me and I would probably not have been able to realise my full potential” (Manuka).

“Te Aute teachers treated me as though I was worth something and that I could achieve whatever I wanted if I worked for it. I do not believe the same could be said if I had gone to a high school in my home area” (Houhere).

“I could have been anything that I wanted to be as a kid, just get pissed like my uncles and that at the pub and be part of the local story and things like that if I hadn't of gone to Te Aute” (Tawa).

Fittingly, there is a layer of whakapapa that connects these research participants and other students of Te Aute College too whose families chose to send their sons (and daughters) there to harbour them from negative stimuli that otherwise may have led them down a pathway of becoming unproductive citizens and Māori who wouldn't realise their potential.

A Sense of Mission

Whakapapa has also paved a pathway that has embossed a sense of mission on the generations of students to enter Te Aute College. The degree of this sense of mission

has varied across individual students however, the natural infusion of this phenomenon has remained to this day where students leaving Te Aute College are equipped to enter the world with a sense of mission in what they do, a sense of mission for themselves, their whānau, their iwi, for their community and for Māoridom. The following stories indicate this unique experience where at Te Aute College

“There was a very strong influence, a combination of mission and obligation and responsibility to others” (Kareao).

“It instilled a sense of responsibility toward fulfilling a leadership role” (Totara).

“Hundreds of others are contributing to both Māoridom and New Zealand as a whole” (Kohuhu).

“The other thing that I probably got at Te Aute was a sense of mission, it might be too strong a word but it was almost a sense of obligation” (Manatu).

“It helped nurture and develop all of my interests. It developed skills in me that have gone on to serve me well in life - cultural understanding, leadership skills, faith, pride in myself and culture and sporting interests” (Makomako).

While these stories do not actually state how Te Aute College did this, the research findings overall suggest that the whakapapa of Te Aute College has played a huge part in this role. That is, a lineage of history, of tradition, of leadership, of spirituality and of obligation to mankind, elements that are metaphorically symbolised in the college motto *‘Whakatangata kia kaha - Quit ye like men be strong’*; have all combined to infuse qualities like obligation, responsibility and a sense of mission in the students that have been and remain a part of Te Aute College. For instance, since the late 19th century, Te Aute College became synonymous with ‘breeding’ good Māori leaders. This synonymy has undoubtedly impacted upon the fabrication of Te Aute College and its ability to inherently indoctrinate a sense of mission on its students while at the same time educating them according to the Te Aute College ethos and the generic Ministry of Education guidelines and requirements.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa has irrefutably been the dominant factor that has maintained the prestige

and mana associated with Te Aute College as well as the core mechanism that has projected this mana throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. A superficial inquiry might attribute Te Aute's contribution to society and to Māoridom specifically, as the result of good administration, teaching and management throughout its history. This thesis does not deny this notion, instead; it goes beneath the surface to investigate what is the common denominator or phenomenon that has

- Maintained a tradition?
- Moulded a college across generations?
- Nurtured a Māori worldview?
- Been impenetrable and unbroken?
- Provided an innate impetus to do well?

The research findings suggest that the unique brand of education nurtured by Te Aute College as the answer to these questions where the school's whakapapa both knowingly and unknowingly connects with students as soon as they enter the portals of the school. Accordingly, whakapapa assists in explaining the ethos of Te Aute College. For instance, in terms of nurturing a Māori worldview in its students, the following stories exemplify what Te Aute College did for these persons where Te Aute

“Taught me about Māoritanga, what it is to be Maori away from the main stream and it taught me a lifestyle centred on the marae and the importance of tikanga Māori” (Manuka).

“Te Aute definitely made a difference for me, it taught me about tikanga Māori” (Puriri).

“It instilled a sense of responsibility toward fulfilling a leadership role for whānau, hapū and iwi and to nurture tō tātou reo me ōna tikanga” (Karaka).

“TA strengthened my Māori culture and spiritual / religious aspects” (Kareao).

“I think most importantly, it made me proud to be a Māori and allowed me to see it as being an absolute strength” (Tarata).

“Even though I was and still am aware of my tribal affiliations I spent time growing up with and forged enduring friendships with boys from other tribes, this has moulded my view regarding some issues facing Maori today” (Matai).

“The breadth of contacts and students from throughout the country widened my scope of small rural upbringing. There was strong networking with the students that centred on whanaungatanga” (Totara).

Te Aute College is therefore seen as providing an education that not only instilled a Māori worldview in its students but an education that also empowered its students to utilise this knowledge within their own communities and in students’ future adulthood pathways, wherever this has led them.

Summary

The unique sense of what it means to be a Te Aute boy, the diverse yet similar reasons for attending Te Aute College, the wide-ranging memorable experiences gained at Te Aute and the phenomenon of making a difference in its students’ lives have been discussed and analysed throughout this chapter. In terms of the Te Aute experience, the school’s unique brand has both instinctively and perceptibly facilitated such experiences for individual students who have entered Te Aute College. Upon entering Te Aute College, students have connected to and added to their own whakapapa lineage.

At Te Aute College students have become more than a statistic, they have become the member of a whānau. This whānau has fostered and nurtured their education where the education at Te Aute College is firmly rooted in three simultaneously interacting contexts; the past, the present and the future. This is the ‘Te Aute experience’ and the school’s unique brand of education and its whakapapa that has developed and maintained this experience. The ensuing chapter expounds on the ‘Te Aute experience’ by investigating Te Aute’s contribution; a contribution to community, to Māoridom and a contribution to nationhood. Accordingly, the whakapapa of this contribution is also examined within the context of Māori advancement; individually as whānau, hapū and iwi members and collectively as Indigenous Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Eight

TE AUTE'S CONTRIBUTION

Ka tū te ihi, ka tū te wanawana!

Introduction

This chapter opens with a passage that substantiates the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement and that also reflects on a sense of contribution to Te Aute College and to Māoridom. It is taken from a letter written by Sir Peter 'Te Rangihiroa' Buck in 1951 to the principal of Te Aute College at that time, Richard Webb

"I cherish the deepest regard for Te Aute, for my three years in the college laid the foundation for my academic career. It was the teaching at Te Aute, and the formation of the Te Aute College Old Boys Association, that ingrained into myself and others our responsibility to the Māori people"
(<http://www.nzedge.com/heroes/buck.html>).

While Buck attended Te Aute College in the late 19th century from which time his outstanding list of accomplishments began to take shape, his pursuit of excellence, contribution to Māoridom and his contribution to scholarship at the highest level transcends time and generations. Like his contemporaries and the generations of Te Aute old boys that followed, their individual and collective contribution to Māoridom and to the whole of Aotearoa New Zealand has added to the whakapapa of Te Aute College. This whakapapa not only connects past students of the school, it tells a story; a story that contains the many past students of Te Aute College as well as the various features of Te Aute's contribution to Māori advancement.

It is this very contribution that evokes the phrase used as a subtitle to this chapter, '*ka tū te ihi, ka tū te wanawana*' that is interpreted as '*an essential force that makes one fearsome and awe-inspiring*' (see Mead, 2003). For example, the reputation of the school for contributing to communities, to Māoridom and to the nation is renowned

and it is this impressive reputation that is recognised in many circles with reverence and awe. This chapter explicates the research findings' relationship to the contribution made by Te Aute College to individual students' lives, to whānau, to communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, to Māoridom and to the nation in general. It does this by analysing the personal narratives and presenting these in three broad themes

- The Indicators of Te Aute's Contribution;
- The Strengths of Te Aute College;
- The Private and Public 'Good'.

While it was deemed impossible at the outset to measure the contribution of every student who has attended Te Aute College over the last 154 years, it was feasible however, to capture aspects of the research participants' stories that spoke of the Te Aute College contribution. A sample of past and current students, staff and board members has contributed to the themes defined and examined in this chapter.

Indicators of Te Aute’s Contribution

Te Aute College is an educational institution that epitomises a centre that was and remains capable of fostering a sense of contribution in its students. This experience is evidenced by its history as well as the individual stories that are held by past and current students, whānau, staff and board members. There are varying degrees of the notion of contribution that will be expounded throughout the course of this chapter. Figure One presents the research participants’ stories about the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement and to Aotearoa New Zealand. The second column of the table presents the four significant themes that emerged from the participants’ stories relevant to this section. The subsequent columns are ‘child’ themes of their respective ‘parent’ themes (see Chapter Six for an explanation of the research method, themes, codes and constructs).

Tree Node	1 st Level	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Indicators	Leadership	Development	Modelling	Obligation
		Māori worldview	Tikanga Māori	Māori wellbeing
				Iwi alliances
	Whanaungatanga	Tradition	Community status	Participation
		Physicality	Environmental	Kaitiakitanga
		Fellowship	Religion	Sense of Mission
				Duty
			Tribalism	Responsibility
	Academia	Research	Qualifications	Fulfilment
			Good teaching	Values
		Tertiary education	Scholarship	Role models
		Workforce	Community	National good
				Private good
	Endurance	Current status	Purpose to serve	Commitment
			Further research	Longitudinal
			State of affairs	Satisfaction
				Aroha
				Mana
			Non-academic measure	Community
				Doing well

Figure One: - Indicators of Te Aute’s Contribution.

Leadership

The Te Aute College Students' Association and the Māori Battalions of World Wars One and Two are exemplars of Māori leadership that have their foundations at Te Aute College in the first half of the 20th century where as students “*we were extremely proud of those men like Ngata and Buck and the work of the Te Aute College Students' Association who were great leaders of this country*” (Pohutukawa). Leadership nurtured at Te Aute College is a quality that has benefitted many communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. A range of views were disclosed that are attributed to this particular influence of Te Aute College

“The fact that many soldiers had their education at Te Aute College was testament to the ability of Te Aute College to instil great leadership qualities in its students; we were saddened at times when news of ex-pupils and boys' whānau members being killed was read out at assemblies but at the same time the sense of whanaungatanga was strong and bound us all together as one” (Koromiko).

“In terms of leadership and education at Te Aute, when you see leaders throughout the country today, Te Aute must be doing a good job” (Rata).

“Te Aute College is a breeding ground that has a tradition that when the time is right, students are able to step into the shoes of their tīpuna and take on their responsibilities within their own hapū and iwi” (Kowhai).

“I know successful ex-pupils of Te Aute who excelled in their various fields of endeavour; many outstanding men teaching in primary and secondary schools; community leaders, doctors, lawyers, business people, freezing workers, entertainers on the world circuit – all excellent ambassadors of their college” (Makomako).

“It was credited with producing the most renowned Maori leaders in modern times and so the culture of developing leaders was a strength of Te Aute too” (Kohuhu).

“In terms of its leadership, there were a number of strong leaders among the students in my time there where there were some strong student role models and leadership especially in many of our senior students and prefects” (Totara).

Past principal and educationalist Awi Riddell in the 1982 college magazine ‘*Te Wero*’ wrote that

I believe that the first concern with education must always be a concern for people. In the secondary school ours is a concern for the development of the

adolescent through to young adulthood. Therefore we must take cognisance of this development - physical, social, academic, emotional and spiritual; with the view to educating our children to lead happy lives while making worthwhile contributions to society. We need to give the adolescent the opportunity to be a success in some sphere whether it be academic, social, on the sports field, or in the acceptance of responsibility. Our system needs to be one, which endeavours to realise the potential of each child in one or more areas (p.1).

Sentiments such as these, given the opportunity to come to fruition, provide an ideal learning and teaching environment from which leaders of Māoridom and of the nation can be cultivated. The adage, *‘the true measure of man is not what he did for himself, but what he did for his generation’* (Riddell, 1986:68) certainly fits the mould of Te Aute College achievement since 1854. Chapter Three contains a brief discussion of this aspect and greater accounts can be found in other publications²⁹.

In terms of the educational needs of its students today and within the research parameters of this thesis, the necessity for strong leadership at Te Aute College is just as strong today as it has been in the past. This notion is also reflected in the following whakataukī (see Mead, 2001) and its interpretation by the author of this thesis that says, *‘Tama tū, tama ora; tama noho, tama mate - he who stands to lead nurtures prosperity; he who is idle and lacks vision encourages indolence’*. This interpretation is reflected in views held by the participants on leadership, where as one stated

“I think Te Aute College has a greater role to play today in this twenty-first century in meeting the educational and spiritual needs of its students. By leading by example and allowing our teenagers to have more voice and more responsibility in leadership, they will develop these skills further when they leave Te Aute.... Māori leadership is especially important today in areas of health, education, science, information technology, business, farming industry and even in the trades” (Pukatea).

Such responses mirror sentiments made by Awi Riddell in the 1986 *‘Te Wero’* magazine as he acknowledged the work and value of the college staff

Ko taku toa, he toa Takitini. As principal I am fortunate to have a very strong

²⁹ These publications include the annual school magazine *Te Wero*, the 150th anniversary publication titled *‘Koiri’*, the 125th anniversary publication, the historical publication titled *‘The Story of Te Aute College’* (Alexander, 1951), the *Appendices to Journals of House of Representation*, newspapers, magazines, reports, letters, journals and entries in volumes of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

and supportive staff, teaching staff, office staff and domestic staff; people who work hard for the school. I have always maintained that the strength of our school comes largely from the staff and its senior pupils (p.68).

An examination of great leadership of students and staff throughout the school's existence identifies a flow on effect of strong achievement and great success at Te Aute College and in the ensuing years of these various eras, great leadership throughout the nation. Taking the era of 1918 - 1945 when Ernest Loten was the principal, his expectations mirrored the college's overall achievements during this time where *"Loten had a very 'short fuse' and expected high standards in all facets of life at Te Aute and in return he got these"* (Koromiko). Developing the discipline, care and whanaungatanga led to what this same participant reflected on as *"things falling into place, you know being responsible, leadership and good values"* (Ibid). Although the college remained financially less well off, its achievements were innumerable, an outstanding result when considering the poor gains from its economic resource base.

Another indicator of the sense of contribution and responsibility that Te Aute College instilled in its students and that impacted upon leadership qualities was the formation of the *'Te Aranga o Te Aute'* project by teaching staff member, Jeremy Dwyer and a group of students (see Chapter Three). While this project was led by the small group, there was also support from the staff and old boys. The nature of the project undoubtedly set the foundation for students of that era to 'return a favour' to Te Aute College and later on to their own communities. One participant for instance, recalled going to a conference in Canada and an element of surprise and sense of pride in doing so

"There were about 30 old boys and girls from St.Stephen's, Te Aute, Hukarere and Queen Victoria; now that's a lot of old Māori pupils from these four schools to be at a conference in a foreign country. It's just an acknowledgement that these schools have produced leaders and that they are not only renowned nationally but internationally too" (Tawa).

The unique brand of education provided by Te Aute College has certainly been impressed on many students to come out of the school where leadership is 'marked' by students who really do go out into the world with cultural, spiritual and academic values. Consequently, young Māori have left and do leave Te Aute College well

prepared to make their way nationally and globally if that is their desire.

Whanaungatanga and Community Involvement

The concept of whanaungatanga is a reoccurring theme throughout this thesis. It is referenced in this chapter as a child theme of the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement. It is a concept that is nurtured by the nature of the school environment, its tradition, history and its branding as a Māori boys' boarding school. This sense of whanaungatanga has stayed with many students and been a part of their lives after leaving Te Aute College across many contexts. One example has been the contribution of Te Aute College to the Anglican Church as is recalled by the following reflections

“I think that it has made a contribution to the church over the years, it supplied ministers to the church for a number years even when I was there, there were always half a dozen kids wanting to go on to St John's and that was sort of the ultimate of the career. Before that there had always been Te Aute boys who had been in the ministry” (Kauri).

“The number of people who serve on the church vestry and contract that desire to serve on those bodies has come from their time at Te Aute” (Manatu).

“I am reminded of the church again and Te Aute's contribution to the church because of its status as an Anglican school and how many Māori ministers came out of Te Aute College” (Miro).

Less publicised contributions are the individual contributions made by past students to their own communities. While they may not seem as prominent as those illustrious and national contributions made by other past students, community contribution is paramount to positive participation in society and fulfilment as citizens of the country or members of the marae, hapū or iwi. For example, *“a lot of people are successful today by just bringing up a family and supporting your family including your mother and father who put you through college” (Tarata)*. As a contribution to life, to community and to whānau development, it is recognised in this thesis. Another participant stated that Te Aute College has also produced many *“tribal leaders, community leaders and politicians” (Kareao)* and so in terms of its contribution to whanaungatanga and community, Te Aute College contributes across the whole

spectrum where *“Te Aute implants in you a community role and you see it around the country in many ways today and throughout history” (Horopito).*

Te Aute College graduates have a whakapapa of contribution seen throughout the history of the school. Sentiments expressed by research participants of the World War Two and post-World War Two era and those international conflicts to follow are reflective of their time and consistent in defining Te Aute College, whanaungatanga and contribution. The following two stories are from different eras but they remain essentially of one vision and that is of Te Aute College’s ability to instil in its students, qualities of leadership, responsibility and a sense of community

“To see young Māori men confident in their identity and able to converse and live out their tikanga, culture and Christianity is a good thing whether this is at a national level or a tribal one” (Kowhai).

“Te Aute College fosters knowledge of all things Māori as well as an understanding of Aotearoa, te ao whānui and a commitment to supporting Māori where it’s about the fostering of well balanced individuals, people who have a desire to do better for themselves and for their communities” (Rewarewa).

‘Whakatangata kia kaha’ the college motto, represents these qualities. Life at Te Aute College irrespective of the era, aids in the shaping of student individual and collective identity. This identity fuelled by a sense of mission and obligation has shaped what Te Aute students have gone on to become in their adult lives. The values emanating from ‘Whakatangata kia kaha’ have enabled Te Aute College students to reflect on their place and role in the wider world in terms of contribution; a contribution to community, a contribution to Māori and a contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Tribal affiliations and community participation are important aspects of Māori life today as they have been in the past. Research participants’ stories consistently endorsed this view. Whakapapa binds the stories irrespective of time or era to Te Aute College where the participants were undivided in their experiences and opinions on Te Aute’s contribution; not only to their own lives but to the communities that they reside in and to Māori advancement.

Research, Scholarship and the Workforce

The indicators that outline the contribution of Te Aute College to academic achievement, research and to the labour market of Aotearoa New Zealand are briefly highlighted in Chapters Three and Four. These discussions centred on both traditional and contemporary aspects of the school's achievements. Traditionally, it was solely the school's unique brand of education that was built up over time that nurtured this sense of contribution. This element of life at Te Aute College today is reinforced by the Te Aute College 'brand' as well as its special character where the Pou Mātauranga's goal is to improve student engagement, achievement and retention and take Te Aute College to the forefront of education for Māori boys. Specific indicators of contributions made by Te Aute College to academic success and achievement for instance, include the academic record of Te Aute College that throughout its history has included Matriculation, University Entrance, School Certificate and NCEA.

NCEA is one measurement and parents who send their sons to Te Aute College expect there to be some academic gain that ultimately today is measured by the NCEA and also in the values and qualities that their sons leave Te Aute College with. Academic achievement and the academic record is an immediate indicator of Te Aute's contribution to this important aspect of education, *"it is only one measure and this doesn't necessarily translate later on in life to making a contribution to Māori; it often does but it's not always. It's an imperfect measure but its one measure"* (Manatu). This thesis is interested in collating the individual participants' views on what has been and is Te Aute's contribution of recognising such achievements today and in the future. However, the school's own objectives are one way of measuring educational success and so for example, if the Te Aute College Board of Trustees set specific goals of achievement across NCEA, then these goals can be measured in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

Te Aute College has made a contribution to tertiary education by virtue of the numbers of past students who have gone on to tertiary education throughout the

history of Te Aute College as well as the number of university graduates at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Included with university study in the tertiary sector are colleges of education (formerly Teachers' Colleges) and Polytechnics or Institutes of Technology and so historically and currently, Te Aute College through its former students has contributed to this sector of education (2004 150th anniversary past student registration details).

Measures of Te Aute's contribution to the labour market can be currently measured by the per cent of school leavers in jobs where *“the success of old boys would also be a positive measure in terms of employment rate, tertiary study, average salary and the type of employment”* (Rimu). Such measurements of contribution can be taken from the recorded history of the school as well as from registers such as those compiled at the 1979 125th anniversary and the 2004 150th anniversary celebrations of past student registration details. Such records expose a vast number of contributions to the labour market and industry by virtue of job descriptions and roles disclosed by past students.

It is also from these types of records as well as those aforementioned that both the private 'good' and the public 'good' are realised. That is, past students have gone on to do well for themselves and their respective whānau and to live and enjoy a quality of life that enables them to live life to their potential. In doing so, the capability of participating in everyday aspects of community and society are being fulfilled and so Te Aute College is seen to be actively playing an important role in this aspect of life. From this private good, achievement and fulfilment carries over into the public good where past students for instance, not only do well for themselves but in doing so they are able to fully participate across society or in the public arena and therefore contribute to this level of society. That is, Te Aute College nurtures the potential to contribute to one's marae and hapū community, to one's iwi and to the nation as each of these levels of society develops according to specific goals set down by their respective governing bodies.

The whakapapa of the contribution of Te Aute College to education and the labour market in Aotearoa New Zealand exists and has been maintained throughout the

history of the college. While at times in its history, achievement in these areas is documented well and other times not so well, there is the real capability today to effectively monitor such contributions through State mechanisms such as NCEA where the Ministry of Education holds individual school results as well as through the proactive maintenance of a register of what past students go on to do. The whakapapa of Te Aute College serves as a record of what has been achieved, it also serves as a blueprint for what can be achieved in the future where past discoveries inform the present that in turn can be utilised to map out the future.

Endurance

The fact that Te Aute College has a history and existence in excess of 150 years, attests to its endurance as an educational institution. This endurance is an indicator of its contribution to the lives of the thousands of students to have gone there, to Māoridom and to Aotearoa New Zealand. While this status has experienced a number of highs and lows and continues to do so, Te Aute's contribution is also a recognisable one where for instance, the notion of a Te Aute cultural capital undoubtedly becomes a part of those students who have gone to or currently go to Te Aute College. For instance, having gone to Te Aute College has in some ways given credence to life after Te Aute College across a range of contexts where *“I was the boss in my job and when others found out that I had gone to Te Aute, they were like, oh no wonder he went to Te Aute College” (Nikau)*. Another instance was recalled by one participant when he was trialling out for a rugby club team and *“they didn't even bother to trial me at the time and then I got in the team and I thought to myself, gee lucky I can play a bit because then I had to uphold this reputation that Te Aute had out in the real world” (Totara)*.

The current status of Te Aute College and its propensity to endure could lead to research about issues such as feasibility, sustainability and the diverse realities that impact on educational institutions such as Te Aute College. Research into the viability of such educational institutions that provide Māori education today will enhance their sustained abilities to endure albeit along the same position that they currently function

or in a manner where they specialise in certain aspects of education where

“Te Aute College may need to engage in research that dictates whether it specialises in certain areas of the curriculum such as solely Māori education or in sport with a specialised sporting academy that in due course can continue to allow Te Aute College to contribute to Māori education, Māori sport and to Māoridom in general” (Kawakawa).

Strengths of Te Aute College

This section of the chapter reveals a number of strengths of Te Aute College, strengths that make Te Aute College what it is today and strengths that are unique to the whakapapa of the college. Five major themes emerge as the foundation of these strengths and are a Māori worldview, academic attainment, religion, sport and tradition. These themes and their respective underpinning layers of child themes can be seen in Figure Two summarising the strengths of Te Aute College as drawn from the stories of the research participants. The enduring nature of the school emphasises the necessity to disclose the strengths of the school.

Tree Node	1 st Level	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Strengths	Māori worldview	Tikanga Māori	Whanaungatanga	Tuakana / teina
				Selfless staff
			Māori wellbeing	Drama
				Kapa Haka
			Biculturalism	Nationhood
	Academic attainment	History	Teaching	Flexibility
				Adaptability
			Role models	Enigmatic
				Inspirational
		Achievement	Competitiveness	Success
				Results
	Religion	The Church	Special character	Faith
		Tikanga Māori	Wairua	Collegiality
			Mana Māori	Whanaungatanga
	Sport	Rugby	1 st XV	Identity
				Mana
				Prowess
		Other sports	Commitment	Success
	Tradition	Qualities	Leadership	Whanaungatanga
				History
				Innovation
				Role models
			Holism	Pride
				Skills
				Collectivism

Figure Two: - The Strengths of Te Aute College.

A Māori Worldview

The establishment of Te Aute College stemmed from the partnership formed by Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti with the Crown and the Anglican Church. This whakapapa of Te Aute College is underpinned by a Māori worldview that links directly to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, who are the hau kāinga and who hold the mana whenua of the Te Aute valley. A Māori worldview was and remains an inherent aspect of everyday life at the school as disclosed by one participant *“you know I didn’t realise it at the time but in hindsight, my Māori knowledge today, this seed was planted at Te Aute” (Manuka)*.

The rationale for the whakapapa research methodological approach to this research stemmed from the reality that a Māori worldview underpins educational provision at Te Aute College. This traditional aspect of education at the school is strengthened today where it manifests as an important pillar of its special character in delivering education to the students of Te Aute College. The layers that make up Te Aute College or what this thesis refers to as the whakapapa of Te Aute College, are all enriched by a Māori worldview; Māori knowledge, Māori history and Māori aspirations for Māori. Even though there are various contexts of life and education at Te Aute College that on the surface may seem to have nothing to do with tikanga Māori, ultimately core concepts or tikanga Māori underpin learning and learning related activities where for instance, *“we could relate our sport to Māori, the teachings too had Māori aspects even if it was maths and living at Te Aute was about whanaungatanga most of the time” (Makomako)*.

As Te Aute College changed status from a private school to a State school, this evolving special character can be seen to be an important aspect of maintaining the tradition that was Te Aute College and thus continue the provision of its unique brand of education in changing times. The school’s special character today is built around five pillars. One of these pillars is Te Pou Tikanga Māori, which refers to ‘things’ Māori and to strengthening ‘te reo me ōna tikanga Māori’ throughout the college where the students are strong, proud and secure in their identity. While tikanga Māori and a Māori worldview have always been a part of Te Aute College, these aspects are

formalised today through Te Pou Tikanga Māori. This pillar encompasses everything Māori and at Te Aute College, this pillar is not only unique but it is indeed a strength of the college. For instance, irrespective of era, some participants saw tikanga Māori as playing the most important role at Te Aute College and in doing so being the key strength of the college in nurturing its students

“The strength of kapa haka and spiritual guidance under Rev Anaru Takurua was exceptional in my time” (Kohuhu).

“The strength of the college in my day was tikanga Māori - kawa, waiata, haka, whanaungatanga, te reo Māori, whaikōrero, pōwhiri and whakatau manuhiri” (Ngaio).

“Things Māori like kapa haka, te reo, wairua, manaaki, aroha and other tikanga were constantly around you in class, out of class and so it was a way of life that we enjoyed and that set us on a good pathway for our years ahead” (Kowhai).

Whanaungatanga

Fellowship and camaraderie at Te Aute College are continuous constructs that transpire throughout the emerging themes of the research and that can be linked to the whakapapa of Te Aute College. The following participants’ views highlight this phenomenon that is inimitably a key element of Te Aute College

“Because of the environment and being a smaller school, you become very personal with everybody, with staff and pupils and you’re not a number so you can develop relationships over the years you are there” (Karamu).

“Upon reflection I believe the greatest strength of the college at this time was the spirit of unity between the students, the teaching staff and domestic staff including the medical, administration and caretaker and grounds staff” (Kahikatea).

“The ‘house’ system was very strong and promoted pride, strong feelings and competitiveness and, there was a strong whanaungatanga system operating, a tuakana teina type system” ((Matai).

“The strong kinship with new fellow students really meant a lot to those of us who had not experienced comradeship” (Pohutukawa).

The strengths of this whanaungatanga resided within the college and wider Pukehou community too where *“there was a greater recognition of the school too within the community because of our involvement in a whole lot of things locally, even among*

the Pākehā community” (Miro). Among the tāngata whenua, the sense of kinship with Te Aute College was evident and this same participant recalled that “support was always there from Pukehou and Te Hauke whether it was for rugby, for gala days or for helping out when required” (Ibid). Undoubtedly, the whakapapa links of the tāngata whenua to Te Aute College was the mainstay that facilitated such involvement.

Academic Attainment

Education at Te Aute College has meant many things for the research participants; a Māori education, a holistic education, an education bound in wairua and Christian values or combinations of these. None of the research participants stated that they went to Te Aute College solely for an academic education although this was a contributing factor. Alongside this were reasons about sporting prowess, history, status as a Māori boarding school and their own whānau connections to the school although there are many reasons given. Academic achievement and excellence remained important as the following stories recall

“We are a school and so educational achievement is of paramount importance. In fact I would go as so far to say that we have a distinct advantage because as Apirana Ngata said, we have the ability to offer the best of both worlds of Māori and Pākehā” (Manatu).

“To me, it was good but I was lucky too to go to Te Aute because back then education was a cherished after thing, it was important and Te Aute was good at educating its students” (Nikau).

A notable trend in the stories told by some of the ‘older’ research participants was that the teaching at Te Aute College in the post-World War Two era was of an exceptional standard. Other earlier periods of teaching at Te Aute College, notably the John Thornton era and periods of the Loten era from the 1920s up to World War Two were also seen as exceptional. Following World War Two, Richard Webb became the headmaster and he too continued the imprinting of the Te Aute brand albeit in an era that saw the migration of many Māori families to the urban centres of Aotearoa New Zealand for employment (see Walker, 1990). For instance, in Webb’s era, Te Aute College produced a number of artists, poets, actors, farmers, academics, teachers,

ministers and professionals, many of whom who excelled in their respective fields and indeed still do. The following stories are reflections from some of these ‘older’ participants

“The learning and teaching stands out; there were different subjects and different teachers. These people specialised in certain subjects and that made a lot of difference because as you passed through the different subjects and as each term progressed, when you look back even though you were ignorant at the start, you attained the goals at the end” (Koromiko).

“Education was well drilled into you at Te Aute. I’m forever thankful for that” (Pohutukawa).

“Good teaching, we had excellent teaching. I remember the teachers well; very fortunate I think to actually have had such committed teachers, good at their subjects. So that’s the main thing I remember at school in those days and the main thing I’m grateful for and that’s good teaching” (Manatu).

“Haami was the feature of the classroom side. There were many good things about Haami and one thing he taught me was tolerance. He was passionate and committed to providing a quality education and was very short with boys that didn’t seek that opportunity” (Makomako).

“In fact the notes that I took in the 4th form in biology, I was using when I went to university” (Manatu).

The pursuit of academic excellence remained a priority under a series of principals, Awi Riddell; principal from 1978 to 1989 is one such example. Some of the participants from this era remember the classroom vividly, as do they most other aspects of life at Te Aute College. The whanaungatanga within the academic arena was evident in their stories

“There was a great group of supportive senior students who all aspired to do well academically and they did as we all went onto university” (Totara).

“The students seemed to gain this upward level in achievement in my time and we always compared our own achievements with one another” (Titoki).

While academic excellence has varied in strength from time to time throughout the school’s history, given the different curricula offered, the availability of resources and the dedicated teaching staff, Te Aute College has sustained support for students in this area. Today it takes a new form with NCEA. A critical component for academic success is the quality of teaching staff. Education in the classroom at Te Aute College today may differ from earlier eras but the consistent element is that dedicated,

supportive and knowledgeable teachers who understand and engage young Māori males remains essential to meeting the needs of all students. Comments made by past principal Awi Riddell on page 108 (Chapter Four) epitomise the criteria for teachers at educational institutions such as Te Aute College today.

Teachers are not only teachers from 9am to 3pm but they are also there for extra-curricula activities and other aspects of boarding school life. In this manner, teachers and other staff become surrogate parents for the students. They can nurture positive reciprocal relationships that aid in the learning process. Anything less and the learning process can fail to transpire as disclosed in the following experience and reflection

“I remember some staff during my time who you saw little of or they sort of make the time for you; I didn’t like them and I know others were of the same mind as me” (Kohuhu).

“The staff belong to the houses too where some go over and above for you while others do very little” (Puka).

“The board of trustees are responsible for hiring staff today and so the buck stops with them, if teachers don’t perform the board are the ones who need to ask the questions why and why not” (Kareao).

Religion

An earlier sub-section specifically noted the foundational partnership on which Te Aute College was established that included the Anglican Church as a partner. This relationship remains intact today and is recognised through the original Crown deeds signed in the 1850s and the State integration deed signed in 1975 (see Chapter Three). ‘Te Pou Wairua’, another pillar of the special character of Te Aute College has an overarching goal to strengthen the role of the Anglican Church and Christian values in the lives of the students at Te Aute. This pillar has propped up Te Aute College since its establishment. It has undoubtedly been a strength of Te Aute College throughout its history and Chapters Three and Four document this feature. The church and the Anglican faith form a critical element of the continued legacy of Te Aute College to Māoridom, recalled in the following stories

“The church was another important thing I remember because the Māori Synod of Waiapu would come every now and then to hold the gatherings and

services in Napier and they would come out to us at Te Aute. It was an Anglican Church school” (Kauri).

“We used to sing all our services (canticles), nowadays it’s all spoken. That’s something that I really appreciated, the Anglican service if you like” (Tawa).

“I Think that the strengths of Te Aute were its church services, it was an expectation and it just grew on you especially the singing in the church” (Miro).

The changing and evolving times in terms of the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the Anglican Church are evident today where for instance, very few students leave Te Aute College and go to St. John’s Theological College to study for the ministry. While this research has not uncovered any specific reasons as to why this is the case, a possible explanation maybe that the socio-economic and cultural landscape is different to that of the past. Māori are predominantly an urban based people leading lifestyles much different to those of their tīpuna. Despite this observation, the provision of religion and spirituality at Te Aute College continues and will continue to do so under its unique brand of education.

Sport

Chapter Three provided an account of the sporting feats of Te Aute College throughout its history, primarily those associated with the growth and development of the sport of rugby. Chapter Four introduced the ‘Pou Hākinakina’ that comprises the sporting pillar of Te Aute College where tradition and the school’s unique brand place rugby at the centre of this pillar. All of the participants viewed rugby as the focal point of Te Aute College’s sporting strengths in their respective eras

“Sport, especially rugby was huge” (Houhere).

“Rugby has always been a strength where Te Aute was one of the top schools in the country and this no doubt gave boys an incentive to go to Te Aute” (Ngaio).

“After a couple of months we found out that this is what it was all about, it was about rugby and aspiring to do well at rugby for the college” (Tarata).

Rugby remains an important part of the ethos of Te Aute College today although it is

not the ‘be all end all’ of life at Te Aute. The student roll no doubt dictates the pool from which its teams and more specifically its 1st XV rugby team is selected and competes in the local Hawkes Bay secondary competition and in its traditional fixtures with distinction. Te Aute College continues a tradition of playing rivals such as Wanganui Collegiate (over 100 years of annual games), Palmerston North Boys’ High School and New Plymouth Boys’ High School as well as other fixtures that have been in place since the 1970s. Participants note that other sports feature although not as prominent as rugby

“Sporting prowess was paramount be it rugby, athletics, cricket, tennis and swimming” (Titoki).

“Athletics was huge in my day and softball too where we won the national title and were runners-up on a number of occasions” (Manuka).

The history of sport and rugby at Te Aute College has added to the prestige and whakapapa associated with Te Aute College. It is seen as a particular strength of Te Aute College by the general public and so like the ‘Pou Wairua’, ‘Pou Tikanga Māori’, ‘Pou Mātauranga’ and the ‘Pou Whare Ora’, the ‘Pou Hākinakina’ forms a face of Te Aute College that projects the Te Aute College brand where rugby is traditionally recognised as a strength. Today, the ‘Pou Hākinakina’ therefore holds an important place in the educational provision for young Māori males at Te Aute College.

Tradition

Tradition is an essential element and strength of Te Aute College. It is a core element, one of several that collectively emanate a formidable awe that institutions such as Te Aute College project. The notion of tradition is impressed on students in all aspects of boarding school life at Te Aute College. In the post-World War Two era for instance, participants recalled how the students and staff all contributed to continuing this tradition

“It really taught me the heritage associated with the place, that I was personally involved because our ancestors gave the land” (Kowhai).

“Te Aute was self-sufficient, we grew our own veges (supplied Hukarere), had

a dairy from which milk was supplied and we killed and processed our own meat from our sheep farm” (Makomako).

The farm and the land were essential in terms of providing for both Te Aute College and Hukarere. Today, the college farm has changed, it is being run as a sheep and beef farm by the Te Aute Trust Board employed manager. However, some participants have said that the college farm should partly be used to provide meat and some produce for both schools by way of agricultural courses so that *“the schools would not have to pay others for their meat or veges instead they could grow their own and in doing so, obtain agricultural and horticultural qualifications like they did back then” (Puriri).*

Up to the World War II era, a high per cent of Māori were still rurally based and so as mentioned by one participant, there was a need among whānau, iwi and their communities to send their ‘sons’ to boarding schools such as Te Aute College

“I’m not sure Te Aute had a particular strength or it was a beneficiary of the time. A large number of Māori still lived in their traditional districts, the so called urban drift hadn’t completely depopulated rural areas and with the quality of transport and the road and rail infrastructure of the day boarding schools were needed” (Matai).

Nonetheless, the honour associated with going to Te Aute College has remained a strength where *“tradition was always a strength where the knowledge of all those who had gone before you and remembering the great things they did, was a strong part” (Makomako).* This strength influenced wider aspects of life too where pride in one’s surroundings was instilled in students where *“the college grounds and amenities were always kept clean and tidy regardless of their basic condition” (Ibid).*

Accordingly, these values and qualities complement the general provision of education that ultimately adds lineage to the whakapapa of Te Aute College. They impact on the educating of ‘well rounded’ students, knowledgeable, confident and ready to enter the wider world after leaving Te Aute College. This section concludes with participants’ stories that reflect on the tradition aspect and strength of Te Aute College and how it engendered a sense of esteem that eventually led to the sense of

obligation to a contribution to their communities later on in their adult lives

“This ‘life’ at Te Aute was very regimented and structured with very little idle time, discipline was a big part that when I look back now, it set me up for life” (Koromiko).

“Coming from a rural background there was order for every activity and while this was new to me and many others, it was a good thing. One of the big things back then was the cadets and military service and so that was about discipline” (Nikau).

“The assembly in the mornings was another good part of life there. It taught you how to start the day and it’s just like starting any meeting, the formality and that” (Makomako).

The Private and Public Good

As discussed in Chapter Four, Te Aute College strives to provide an environment that assists young men to achieve their personal potential in academic attainment; who are prepared for the challenges of today's world; who are strong in the practice and knowledge of Māoritanga and who have an insight into the Christian example of being an influence for good among their fellow students. This section of the chapter looks into the educational needs of Te Aute College students by identifying the type of education either, provided by Te Aute today or that should be being provided by Te Aute today from participants' views. In doing so, the contribution of Te Aute College to both the private 'good' of individual students and to the public 'good' of their communities is examined. For instance, one participant reflected on this aspect of education at Te Aute College by stating that *"I think the educational needs are being fairly well met today. Basically the educational needs of the students have never been questioned"* (Kowhai).

With the purpose of identifying the necessary capital that empowers students' private good and their potential to add to the public good of the nation, this section looks at the role of Te Aute College in contributing to this goal. Figure Three identifies the generational themes that reflect the research participants' views on both the private and public good that Te Aute College cultivates. The three main themes to emerge from the research on this aspect of the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement are citizenship, leadership and whakapapa as seen in the 1st level or generation of parent themes. The remaining columns and generational themes are 'offspring' of these parent themes.

Tree Node	1 st Level	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Private/Public Good	Citizenship	Te Aute's obligation	Quality teaching	Policy
			Achievement	Practice
			Special character	Whanaungatanga
				Independence
				Specialisation
		State obligation	Support	Development
				Direction
	Leadership	Direction	Responsibility	Development
		Obligation	Consultation	Student-centred
		Sense of mission	Māoridom	Community
	Whakapapa	Tradition	Education	Citizenship
			Bicultural	Nationhood
			Spiritual	Values
			Māori	Iwi
				Whānau
				Te Aute tradition

Figure Three: - The Private and Public Good.

Citizenship

The theme of citizenship and Te Aute's contribution to this is perhaps one of the most important aspects of the provision of education at the college. The special character of Te Aute College attests to the significance of this statement in that being able to participate in the nation's institutions and across the socio-economic, cultural and political spheres of society is a recognised Māori expectation³⁰. For instance, in order to fulfil a contribution to citizenship as stated by Durie (2001), Te Aute College must be able to "*educate the whole person; mentally, physically and spiritually*" (Tawhai). Accordingly, voices need to be heard; voices of Māori communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Historically, Te Aute College is testament to the reality of making a contribution to Māori communities and to the nation and so this tradition

³⁰ In 2001, Professor Mason Durie presented the opening address to the Hui Taumata Mātauranga: Māori Education Summit at Turangi which was titled *A Framework for Considering Māori Education*. Of the three broad goals for Māori presented in his address, Goal 2: - 'To actively participate as citizens of the world', centres on education being equally about preparing people to actively participate as citizens of the world. The Hui Taumata Mātauranga is a series of hui hosted by Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, first held in 2001, to provide Māori with an opportunity to gather to discuss educational experiences and aspirations (see Durie, 2001; also refer to the official website of the Hui Taumata <http://www.huitaumata.maori.nz/index.html>).

has left a whakapapa that maintains potential.

Today, Te Aute College aspires to continue a contribution to the private and public good of the nation by nurturing this potential in its students through its special character. Other participants have reflected on the state of education at Te Aute College today and *“think that the educational needs are being fairly well met today”* (Ngaio) or that *“spiritually, the needs of the students are being taken care of and the critical issue now is quality and high achievement in education”* (Kareao). Te Aute College has an obligation to its students, their whānau and their Māori communities to facilitate pathways that enable and empower students’ citizenship in order that they realise their potential and contribute individually and collectively to Māori advancement, as reflected in the following views

“Te Aute needs to be aggressive in its provision of education, spirituality and cultural values, and not settle for second best” (Kohuhu).

“Setting and maintaining high expectations and standards for staff and students is necessary” (Rimu).

“Te Aute needs to become as dynamic as the world around it – te ao hurihuri; it’s about progressive achievement” (Karamu).

Te Aute’s unique brand of education is especially pertinent to the nurturing of the private and public good in its students where the ethos of this brand establishes this intent. These expressions reverberate throughout the research participants’ stories about their connections to Te Aute College where for instance, this ‘private and public good’ is championed in the following views

“Te Aute has contributed to Māoridom because hundreds of pupils have left the school with these values that have allowed them to contribute to wider society by not only retaining but drawing from their cultural heritage” (Ngaio).

“Academic achievement is not the sole criteria for enhancing Te Aute. Producing good, able rounded citizens that can contribute to Māoridom and the world at large is important” (Manatu).

“Te Aute College is a place that sends out well rounded students committed to making a better world in which to live” (Rewarewa).

“An environment like Te Aute, properly resourced with passionate and committed people will be good and I believe it can do well and continue a tradition of contributing to New Zealand society” (Kauri).

Maintaining and enhancing these views is an obligation of Te Aute College and of the State in its various arms including the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Māori Development and their respective policy directions for Māori education and Māori development where *“the educational needs of the students are determined by what is set out in the New Zealand curriculum documents and in the school’s own policies”* (Tarata). Participants have also suggested that Te Aute College must be innovative in terms of the curriculum and service that it provides so that it can not only endure but maintain a strong tradition and whakapapa of being at the pinnacle of Māori education for young Māori males today as reflected on in the following view

“We continually battle to uphold Māori rights and in going forward we must continually ask what is Te Aute about today? We cannot sit on our laurels but we must also make our own mark in our time today. As we keep going forward and continually search and reflect on our position in society, Te Aute College and Māori must have a snapshot of where we are heading otherwise we are stuck and so we must be innovative in the way we develop as a community, a school and as Māori. Te Aute’s 150 years of history is important, however, we need to move on and focus on the next 50 years in particular” (Rewarewa).

Being at the pinnacle of Māori education and contributing to Māori development and advancement implies encompassing the whole educational spectrum; that is, not only in terms of delivering a first-rate service, an expectation of academic excellence and a facility conducive to these aims but also in the ‘goods’ that Te Aute College provides. These ‘goods’ refer to the curriculum and a vision of Te Aute College to provide a curriculum that specialises in what students and whānau may want and not necessarily what the State may want for students. Accordingly, in order to continue the whakapapa of contributing to a quality of citizenship and life, Te Aute College must also be given the autonomy and State support to transform its curriculum to reflect market trends as indicated by the following views

“Te Aute must be able to adapt courses to suit whatever current needs indicate” (Ibid).

“A possible farm cadet training model, which is being considered could further utilise all the assets and services Te Aute has as well as what a number of Māori communities want too” (Kauri).

Leadership

Leadership was investigated more fully in terms of the ‘Te Aute Experience’ in Chapter Seven and followed up an earlier sub-section of this chapter. It is fitting to include the theme of leadership in here as well because of the research findings. Leadership is one of the three core themes to come out of an examination of the private and public good nurtured by Te Aute College. The tradition of producing leaders who return to their communities and contribute in this capacity and, those who went on to excel in their respective careers becoming leaders of Māoridom and the nation is an important one. It is important for Te Aute College and for the advancement of Māori in the 21st century

“The young men of Te Aute today need to be mentored in their behavioural patterns and attitudes towards their fellow man. These “living skills” are a very important part of the development of our young men where all these things bring about that special uniqueness of man, his spirituality that we all possess and a potential” (Karamu).

The participants were unanimous in their views about the capacity of Te Aute College to nurture leaders across a range of contexts through the unique ‘sense of mission’ impressed upon students

“I think the headmaster never lost an opportunity to endure within us a sense of pride and a sense of guilt at the same time; pride that we part of a tradition, guilt that we weren’t working hard enough to make it come true” (Manatu).

This reflection is founded on the ability of Te Aute College to foster a sense of mission in its students, to expect them to do well for themselves, for their school, for Māori and for the nation. An understanding of this tradition is evident in some of the participants’ views on Te Aute’s responsibility

“I think Te Aute College has a greater role to play today in this new century in meeting the educational and spiritual needs of its students and aspiring to instil a Māori tradition and a Te Aute tradition of leadership in students befitting or with that hidden potential” (Kareao).

“Māori leadership is important in areas of health, education, employment, science and so on. Therefore Te Aute must strive to lead the way, just like it has in the past” (Manuka).

Consultation is an important consideration in the development of educational provision at Te Aute College where students, whānau, board members, staff and other stakeholders are an important part of this process. While it may be impossible at times to hear and consider all ‘voices’, there is an expectation of whānau including past students that Te Aute College has the potential to nurture leadership, a potential that transpires from its whakapapa. A student-centred curriculum is imperative for this whakapapa to continue where past, present and future analyses can facilitate the continuation of Te Aute’s tradition of contribution to its stakeholder communities and ultimately to the advancement of Māori; an advantage that would not only benefit Māori but also the nation, that is, the public good. In view of this

“The continuing success of Te Aute is dependent on the belief that this institution is still a place that turns out young men who are confident and equipped to be at the fore of whatever they do. This is a matter for the board of governors, the trust board and staff as being supportive of the curriculum and educational initiatives being considered as well as those wants and needs of whānau” (Kowhai).

Whakapapa

The notion of whakapapa is exclusively tied to the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement and to the nation by virtue of every student who enters the portals of Te Aute College. On entering Te Aute College, students become part of a greater connection with the college and with all who have gone before. The connection can be seen as a continuation of the whakapapa of Te Aute College. The lineage, traditions and whakapapa of the past are continually being added to by students and their whānau. While individuals obviously retain their own biological whakapapa, hapū and iwi connections, these are enhanced by their becoming part of a Te Aute College whakapapa as they move through the school then out into the wider world. Te Aute College graduates can be found contributing to the concept of whanaungatanga, to community, to Māoridom and to the nation.

Aotearoa New Zealand was founded on a bicultural relationship signalled by the Treaty of Waitangi as discussed in Chapters Two and Six. While the nation is very

multicultural today in terms of its population demographics today³¹, the bicultural foundations of the nation have rationalised the presence of immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand since 1840. Even though traditional and contemporary Māori aspirations are validated through a Māori worldview and the concept of tāngata whenua, the Treaty of Waitangi adds legislative legitimacy to the Māori ‘voice’ of today. This voice grew to prominence in the late 1960s and became stronger throughout the latter decades of the 20th century.

Te Aute’s whakapapa has its foundations in a Māori worldview, introduced in Chapter Five, where this is reaffirmed today for instance, through the connection with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the tāngata whenua. After 1840, Pākehā immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand increased³² at which time, Māori and Pākehā interrelationships became more common and in due course, increased; adding to existing Māori whakapapa. Te Aute College was established in 1854 and it is at this point that its whakapapa too became a bicultural one; a whakapapa of Māori lineage and a whakapapa based on the Anglican Church

“Its founder, origins and early leadership are examples of bicultural relations between Māori and Pākehā” (Kohuhu).

“I ask myself in what way will the future of Te Aute reconnect with its bicultural origins. I think that it is important to do so today just as Apirana Ngata said all those years ago in his whakataukī” (Kanuka).

“The way it was set up institutionally in a partnership of dependence between Whatuiāpiti and the Church sets a path for today where the future is about building that partnership so that students can benefit and be well educated” (Ibid).

Te Aute College therefore has a responsibility for ensuring the continuation of its whakapapa just as whānau do in advancing their own whakapapa (see Chapter Five).

³¹ The ethnic make up of Aotearoa New Zealand’s population surveyed in the most recent Census statistics reflect a pluralistic population with New Zealanders of European heritage being the largest group followed by New Zealanders who identify as Māori; persons of Polynesian descent are the next largest group. A full breakdown of these figures can be obtained from the Department of Statistics website www.statistics.govt.nz.

³² Revenue from land sales to European settlers was used to bring a continuous flow of British immigrants to New Zealand so that by 1860 the ‘Pākehā’ population had doubled the Māori population. Where Europeans became more permanently settled, sexual liaisons developed into marriage. Inter-marriage continued after 1840 but the rates were not clear due to no statistics being kept until 1886 (Oliver, 1981).

Through its whakapapa, Te Aute College has made a contribution to “*bicultural education for both Māori and Pākehā*” (*Karamu*) where Aotearoa New Zealand has simultaneously benefitted through the contributions of students to come out of Te Aute College to the communities that they have been involved in. A responsibility and obligation therefore remains in nurturing this aspect of citizenship that not only empowers individuals to walk comfortably in ‘both worlds’ but that advantages their respective communities and the nation at the same time where

“We not only have a role to play in improving our economic status; we also have a role to play in improving New Zealand and its standing in the global community. We have a uniqueness about being Māori here as well as being able to walk in a Pākehā world with ease and confidence and so Te Aute has the ability to develop this” (Karaka).

Summary

This chapter began by reflecting on a comment made by Te Aute old boy and distinguished scholar, Sir Peter ‘Te Rangihiroa’ Buck about what Te Aute College empowered him to be able to do and achieve in his lifetime. Exploring the layers of this reflection has revealed that generations of Te Aute students have strived to emulate Buck in their own way by making an individual and collective [Te Aute] contribution to Māoridom and to Aotearoa New Zealand. These contributions are testament to the reality of the whakapapa line of Te Aute College. That is, Te Aute’s whakapapa exists tells the story of Te Aute’s contribution to Māoridom.

This chapter explored this contribution by investigating three key themes to come out of the research; the indicators of Te Aute’s contribution, the strengths of Te Aute College and the private and public good nurtured by Te Aute College as told by the research participants’ stories. Aspects of these stories have been examined and rationalised within the context of this contribution to reveal a number of emerging themes; themes that have been born from ‘parent’ themes and that in turn have given birth to subsequent themes and so forth.

The following chapter will explore the notion expressed by a Māori whakataukī, ‘*Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini*’, interpreted here as ‘my

position today is not of my doing alone, but of everyone's'. The whakataukī is viewed as a metaphor for collaboration and so is applied to the key stakeholders of Te Aute College. Chapter Nine examines the issues and challenges facing Te Aute College today where the consolidation of Te Aute's position as an educational institution today and in the future will be explored.

Chapter Nine

HE TOA TAKITINI

E tū iho nei!

Introduction

Chapter Nine presents the participants' views on the position of Te Aute College today and the critical issues arising out of this position that confront the school based on three themes. While Te Aute College is the institution that is recognised in name in its role as an educational establishment, these three themes have contributed to this educational role throughout the history of the college and they have just as important a role to play today and in the future. This chapter explicates the participants' views that arise out of these three themes

- Te Hāpori Tautoko - wider community support;
- Te Whakahaeretanga - administration;
- Hei Tirohanga - visions.

The strengthening of the position of Te Aute College as an educational institution that contributes to the advancement of Māori cannot solely be practised and achieved by Te Aute College itself; that is, by current students, staff and board members. Undoubtedly, these persons do play a critical role however, consultation with and recognition of the experiences associated with each of these three themes is essential to the maintenance of tradition, education, Māori heritage and Māori advancement.

'He Toa Takitini', the title of this chapter, reflects this view where the position of Te Aute College today and in the future will not only be of the college's doing alone, but of a collaborative effort connected to all three themes. The chapter subtitle *'E tū iho nei'* is an expression meaning 'to exalt' and in doing so praise outwardly. The

expression placed at the beginning of this chapter alludes to a celebration of Te Aute's exploits as a result of diverse forces coming together for a common purpose; to fulfil the intentions of the mission statement of Te Aute College and to continue the whakapapa of Te Aute College; a whakapapa that details a contribution to Māori advancement.

Te Hāpori Tautoko

Te Hāpori Tautoko refers to the wider community support that Te Aute College can draw from and reciprocate. Examples explicated in this section of the chapter include the support that can be sought from the Māori boarding schools, each with their own special character and brand of ‘Māori boarding school education’ and, the sustenance that can be drawn from the diverse skill and knowledge base of its past students to make an impact on Māori educational aspirations and Māori advancement.

Figure One reveals the themes that emerged from the research participants’ stories regarding this specific aspect of educational provision at Te Aute College today based on the two ‘parent’ themes of wider community support.

Tree Node	1 st Level Codes	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Tautoko	Kura Māori	What works?	Collectivism	Paerangi
			Individuality	Identity
				Religion
				Character
		Critical issues	Need and demand	Proactive
			Future initiatives	Consolidation
				Other models
				Specialisation
	Past students	Conferencing	Old Boys’ Association	Dialogue
				Inter-tribalism
				Kanohi kitea
				Fundraising
			Mentoring	Role models
		Resourcing	Taking advantage	Consensus
			Workshops	Skill base
			Sport	Coaching

Figure One: Te Hāpori Tautoko.

Ngā Kura Māori

The Māori boarding schools have been discussed elsewhere (see Chapters Four and Five) and so this section centres on the supportive role that each of these six schools might play in ensuring the maintenance of a tradition of nurturing Māori potential and contributing to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand. Paerangi Ltd was established in 1996 as discussed in Chapter Four to provide support for these schools

but it was not as effective in this role as it aimed to be; two schools had closed by the end of 2002. In 2007, Paerangi Ltd ceased to function as an entity and so the name Paerangi has become synonymous as a collective title for the six Māori boarding schools, “*when you mention Paerangi today all it refers to is a name for the Māori boarding schools*” (Makomako). Nonetheless, the participants have told their own stories, reflecting on what the Māori boarding schools can do for each other to ensure permanence and endurance in this new millennium

“If the Māori boarding schools can begin to see themselves not as providing access to education but as adding value to education in a way that other schools can then they will be playing a very valuable role” (Manatu).

“I think that we need to move in that direction. The objectives to help us out will come from tikanga Māori and te reo Māori” (Puriri).

Such stories have shared a commonality based on what parents want from the Māori boarding schools for their children today. If Te Aute College can capture these stories, examine them and explore the feasibility of implementing specific education direction as spoken of by the parents and old boys, then they will continue to attract support. For instance, one old boy was of the opinion that “*Te Aute may need to find a niche in the school market to ensure its longevity*” (Tawhai) and therefore meet the demands of parents today. A failure to do so will undoubtedly result in a decreasing student roll that could ultimately be to the detriment of the college. A nationwide trend such as this would also have serious implications for the future of education provision at all of the Māori boarding schools.

The notion of specialisation in terms of the curriculum is important and while individual participants have revealed their visions, a collaborative effort bound by a strategic vision with the aim of a sustained contribution to Māori advancement is essential for the realisation of these visions. Consequently, the Māori boarding schools could be being supported in their endeavours to individually function for the collective purpose of Māori educational achievement more so than Paerangi Ltd was able to assist where “*it was a good thing but at the end of the day, they never had enough influence with the government*” (Manatu).

Sport and cultural exchanges do occur among the schools, and Te Aute College plays rugby against Hato Paora but has very little contact with Hato Petera. Student exchanges could lead to better communication where the three remaining male Māori boarding schools, irrespective of religious denominational background could be dialoguing more on gender based issues for young Māori males today including matters that male Māori will confront in life after school. Likewise, communication and dialogue with the female Māori boarding schools is just as important in order that a holistic approach to Māori boarding school education and achievement is shared and strengthened. While the individual identity of each school is a paramount objective, a collaborative effort in planning the strategic direction of Māori boarding school education can serve to sustain these identities and continue the whakapapa of contributing to Māori advancement. One of the participants felt strongly about the Māori boarding schools dialoguing more reflecting that

“Tradition is important and also a competitive factor among the Māori boarding schools but if these schools are not only to survive but excel in their roles then they must talk with each other so that they can remain strong and lead alongside the newer schools like whare kura” (Totara).

The Māori school age population is growing and will continue to so that by the year 2021, a quarter of secondary school pupils in Aotearoa New Zealand will be Māori³³. Accordingly, there is the urgency to plan for this population change because not only will these students and, more importantly, their families want a range of educational options but there will also be the opportunity of having an increased Māori student population. For instance,

“If you take the view as I do that you need multiple options because what’s good for one kid may not be good for another and so the more options that Māori can have the better. You could argue that the role of Māori boarding schools will be greater in the future because there will be more kids looking for greater opportunities” (Manatu).

The Māori boarding schools are all extremely independent in terms of identity and character but with one aspect in common, their respective status’ as Māori boarding

³³ The proportion of young Māori in the population is expected to grow considerably over the next twenty years where the proportion of secondary school aged children (13 to 17 year olds) who are Māori is expected to increase from 21 per cent in 2001 to 24 per cent in 2021 (Ministry of Education, 2005).

schools and their unity as a cluster of schools. Without losing any of their individual identities

“One option be that you might do your first two years at one of the boarding schools and then you did your senior school years at the one that offered the best subjects that you wanted so that St. Joseph’s might be the school that teaches science or media studies might best be done at Te Aute. So that’s where the agreement might be, you would enrol in your last two years at another school or you might just enrol in Paerangi and where you spend your first two years is where you happen to have some sort of feeling for” (Ibid).

An important analysis to come out of some of the participants’ stories is that if there is going to be investment in these schools, it has to have long term goals and it has to be based on what is best for Māori and not necessarily for the survival of individual schools. Those strengths disclosed earlier in the preceding chapter align with this type of investment where a strategic vision is paramount for the sustained and competitive endurance of the Māori boarding schools such as Te Aute College and a sustained contribution of these schools to Māori advancement. In terms of capitalising on the niche opportunity provided by Māori boarding school education, there is the potential to specialise in a mode of education that can benefit urban Māori youth and prepare them for the 21st century through the provision of education bound by tradition and future directions. The potential exists to offer such a programme; however, strategic planning taking cognisance of collaborative views that are well supported must occur first in order that long term goals are realistic and achievable. Specialisation and niche opportunities are generalised terms, and within the context of the Māori boarding schools they will remain so unless strategic planning is forthcoming.

All of the Māori boarding schools have their respective whakapapa based on a Māori worldview, colonisation, establishment founded on Christian values and Māori educational aspirations. These schools also share a collective whakapapa of nurturing Māori potential and contributing to the advancement of Māori. Continuity can come from a shared vision based on projected Māori demographics in the 21st century and in respect of the individual special characters of each school as asserted by the view that

“If they can’t factor into that then I don’t think there is any point of surviving for the sake surviving so if they’re going to survive, they are going to have to

be playing a role for Māori that is a critical role that probably no one else can do, which means finding a niche opportunity and delivering it well” (Ibid).

The whakapapa of the Māori boarding schools in relation to the provision of education in Aotearoa New Zealand since the 1850s is an extremely important aspect of education history. All of the Māori boarding schools have contributed to the development of Aotearoa New Zealand. It is this whakapapa that can be used to plan future directions for all the schools and specifically for Te Aute College. Such a future for instance, would entail educational provision at Te Aute College that contributes to Māori advancement. Resting on the laurels of tradition alone will risk the demise of the Māori boarding schools in the 21st century; utilising the notion of whakapapa in the strategic planning process will extend on tradition to be inclusive of future directions that are tied to Māori advancement. Many of the research participants’ stories reflect the need for the likes of Te Aute College to continue a contribution to Māori advancement and to identify and capitalise on niche opportunities. While the majority of participant stories generalised this aspect of the research, observations reveal that there is the scope to strategically plan for the future and to make such visions become a reality through dialogue that is attentive of collaborative views.

Past Student Support

Whakapapa not only facilitates the maintenance of tradition and the acquisition of one’s future status, whakapapa also invokes utu and the affinity to one’s lineage when this is known. Students who have been educated at Te Aute College and who have gone on to carve out their respective careers and make a contribution to society have the experience and aroha to give back to their ‘*Alma Mater*’. History and sections of this thesis demonstrate that not all students abide to this notion however, many do and so Te Aute College must not only take cognisance of the role of the Māori boarding schools but also of the capacity of past students to contribute back to Te Aute College. Te Aute College for instance, has a whakapapa with the Young Māori Party and its former status, the Te Aute College Students’ Association (TACSA) and although in recent decades the rekindling of this organization has floundered, there are voices crying out for this to be reignited

“A well run association would be instrumental in helping with the future” (Kowhai).

“A strong association would help to enlist old boys according to expertise” (Houhere).

“A priority for old boys if concerned is to create an active association that would not only benefit Te Aute, but all of Māoridom because the history of the Te Aute Association shows that it extended far beyond Te Aute’s gateway, it reached out to the whole country” (Manatu).

An organisation such as this has the potential to contribute to the development of Māori education and all issues confronting Māoridom today; including the Māori boarding schools. There are also the specific benefits to Te Aute College too that centre on mentoring young Māori males today where current students could be involved in various capacities where

“There could be weekend conferences for students to travel to, such as taiaha wānanga” (Puka).

“The collective could assist the youth of today away from the stereotyped machoness” (Koromiko).

“Te Aute old boys can be involved through networking, mentoring, tautoko and holding hui aimed at maintaining Māori identity, nationwide” (Rewarewa).

Proactive leadership of this ilk will undoubtedly contribute to the development of a niche opportunity for both students and past students of Te Aute College; it will also consolidate the position of Te Aute College at the forefront of Māori education in the 21st century and correspond to other research participants’ views on doing what is best for Māori. There are a number of reasons given as to why the TACSA ceased to operate or why it has failed to rekindle based on *“a lack of interest” (Totara) ... “The unavailability of time” (Tarata) ... “Not everyone has been interested in this” (Kanuka) ... “No one has really gone out and said hey, this is what is going to happen, where, when, why and so on” (Tawa) ... “We haven’t really known much about this at all in our time here” (Kawakawa).* Some of this reasoning might relate to experiences at Te Aute College that were not so great or reflect that past students may have lost interest in the college *“now whether that’s a reflection about how old boys feel about the school or not I don’t know especially when you hear them mention*

Te Aute's eloquence and influence" (Titoki).

Analyses lead to the evolving nature of society and the major issue of time available to commit to such projects in order for them to succeed, given the individual roles that people already fulfil with their whānau, in their careers and with their respective communities. Nonetheless, the potential and recent developments at Te Aute College have led to a collaborative old boy and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti driven project based on the Te Aute Endowment Land and a claim filed with the Waitangi Tribunal. Hui were organised nationwide over a period of four weeks to consult with old boys and interested whānau of Te Aute College. The commitment of those old boys responsible for the research and project emphasises the sense of mission and obligation that Te Aute College can instil in its students. The following reflections exemplify views on this notion

"I'm now at a stage where I'm able to devote time and experience back to Te Aute (Makomako)".

"You know in doing this, they would not only be helping Te Aute, but the whole of Māoridom" (Karamu).

Te Aute College does have the advantage of having a broad human resource base comprising of its past students and so there are wide ranging skills, a supportive network, diverse backgrounds including age and experience, role models and qualified leaders throughout the country. Past students for instance, have assisted with the coaching and training of sports teams, with fundraising and with helping the college out in whatever way they could. Accordingly, consultation with past students through various networks can be very powerful and beneficial to Te Aute College. A recent example of leadership and direction has been the establishment of a kaumātua group called *'Te Rōpū Pakeke o Te Aute College'*. The initiative was borne out of dialogue between past students who were either retired or nearing retirement about *"a 'kaumātua collective' for instance and the knowledge that it could offer to return the spirit"* (Koromiko). There reached a point in conversation among this collective about the lack of wairua at times among today's youth and that they could offer their life experiences and knowledge to 're-instil' this wairua. The aims of the collective were also borne out of the need to give something back to Te Aute College and in doing so,

“perhaps then give Te Aute something of its past, return its pride” (Ibid). This is another example that reinforces that Te Aute College can cultivate a sense of mission and obligation in its students; not only to society, but back to their *‘Alma Mater’*. These instances continue the whakapapa of Te Aute College, following the pathway trodden by earlier students of Te Aute College where direction combined with collaboration among key stakeholders has made a contribution to Māoridom and to society.

Te Whakahaeretanga

This section of the chapter investigates current administrative issues that confront Te Aute College and is built across two themes, the Anglican Church and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. While different groups and bodies can interact with Te Aute College through either of these themes, they are essentially the main platforms that validate the foundations of Te Aute College today. Both explicitly interweave the whakapapa of Te Aute College through all of its layers as both have a tradition that dates back to the establishment of Te Aute College. Both entities also directly relate to the Te Aute Trust Board in terms of membership and representation where the trust board come under the jurisdiction of the Church and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti as tāngata whenua, hold mana whenua. Figure Two explicates these contexts and details the themes associated with each parent theme as well as the generational themes that are subsequently borne out of the respective parent themes. Te Aute's position and potential as an educational institution today has been succinctly contextualised where

“We have a distinct advantage because we are a minority, we have our own culture and we need to harness that and I believe that a school like this can do it” (Kowhai).

Accordingly, at Te Aute College there's the capacity to collaboratively plan for and administrate the Te Aute resource (land base). The Te Aute resource is unique as is its whakapapa and so sound leadership derived from good decision-making processes and management systems are imperative to harnessing the potential of this resource. Collaboration and communication among stakeholders in the provision of education at Te Aute College is therefore seen be critical in sustaining the endurance of Te Aute as an educational institution steeped in tradition but equally renown for its educational excellence too.

Tree Node	1 st Level Codes	2nd Level	3rd Level	4th Level
Whakahaeretanga	Anglican Church	Direction	Chaplaincy	Religious instruction
			Spirituality	Taha Māori
		Stewardship	Direction	Representation
				Accountability
				Transparency
			Te Aute Estate	Obligation
		State support	Trusteeship	Leadership
				Performance
				Participation
				Stakeholders
	Whatuiāpiti	Partnership	Treaty of Waitangi	Whakapapa
				Benefactors
				Tikanga
				Kawa
			Informal	Staffing
			Biculturalism	Citizenship
		Participation	Representation	Obligation
				Credibility
				Membership
			Resources	Curriculum
				Scholarships
			Inter-tribalism	Affiliation

Figure Two: Te Whakahaeretanga.

Anglican Church

The relationship of the Anglican Church to Te Aute College has been discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four along with the characteristics that underpin this spiritual relationship akin to all of the Māori boarding schools. The research participants' stories regarding this relationship and the themes that reflect the place and the importance of the role of the Church in the provision of education at Te Aute College are examined.

In terms of the Christian example and direction of the Church, the trust board is responsible for the chaplaincy at Te Aute College and Hukarere. Prior to the restructuring of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Te Aute Trust Board reported to the Waiapu Synod whereas it now reports to the Pihopatanga o Aotearoa ki Tairāwhiti. Accordingly, the trust board has a relationship with the Pihopatanga and the Diocese of Waiapu as proprietors of Te Aute College. The Anglican Church has the stewardship of and responsibility for the college and the

land bequeathed to Te Aute College for education and therefore “*perhaps the Church as a whole needs to make sure that those placed in the role of stewardship, the hierarchy, have more accountability and help*” (Kareao).

The actual role of the Church to the general public and whānau is not as clear cut as it would seem, its role is vague and is seen as “*an establishment in the background of Te Aute College*” (Karamu). The public “*needs to be more informed of that role*” (Ibid). For instance, a greater clarification of the Church’s position in the role of Te Aute College today would provide greater transparency. In this way, whānau of prospective students would have a better understanding of what Te Aute College is about, and groups currently involved in affairs of the college would also have a greater understanding as opposed to misconceptions of roles, obligations and responsibilities that are sometimes directed elsewhere. For instance, “*the Pihopatanga should be more public in what its responsibilities and obligations to Te Aute are. Whānau should know about the whakapapa of the Church at Te Aute. I know of its role today, a role that not only concerns religious instruction but also the administration of the college*” (Rewarewa).

Te Aute College has the unique opportunity as a Māori boarding school to provide a balanced and holistic spiritual education today to which its whakapapa is testament. For instance, participants have stated that

“The foundations of Christianity can be taught alongside and as part of the education curriculum” (Kahikatea).

“We were taught Godly principles that taught students to care for one’s fellow man; that all were to contribute to their family, to your community and to the nation” (Makomako).

“While the Chapel represents the spiritual along with the whare, there needs to be staff around them as well who model te ao wairua whether it be Christian or Te Ao Māori, that is why I believe Hato Paora students and ex-students emanate te wairua a lot more than our school’s students do” (Kohuhu).

“The church has had a historical role with Te Aute from its inception and establishment, a traditional one too that is still strong today with prayer, karakia and daily chapel services” (Kauri).

According to one participant, *“the future of the college is tied up with the tikanga of the Anglican Church”* (Kanuka) and that in terms of the Anglican Church and Te Aute College

“Perhaps the solely tikanga approach is unfashionable at the moment because the Anglican Church is finding that after 16 years of a solely tikanga Māori approach that an interdependent bicultural approach is fashionable and positive. I believe that there needs to be a more balanced student that comes out of the school and as I’ve stated, the main area is spiritual” (Ibid).

This story reflects a return to the bicultural tradition established between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Crown and the Church in 1853 and the vision that this tradition aspired to. The recognition of more than one cultural approach also links with the acceptance of students of multi-denominational backgrounds who have entered the portals of Te Aute College. It is also a reflection of how the Anglican whakapapa of Te Aute College has linked with the whakapapa of other traditions, which is also indicative of the whakapapa connecting the Māori boarding schools. Te Aute College accepts students of all denominations as is recalled in the following stories

“Although some of us were from other religious backgrounds, Te Aute was Anglican and we followed this here” (Totara).

“I had to be aware as Chaplain, that some of the students belonged to other churches and respect their teachings. I was privileged when the Roman Catholic priest at Pakipaki came to see me and authorised me to administer communion to his Catholic boys. In the end I was there representing not only the Anglican Church but the whole church of God” (Kahikatea).

“Despite the Anglican Church’s strong influence, we continue to accept children of all denominations as has been the norm for many decades” (Karamu).

It is important to remember too that the special character of Te Aute College today is heavily based on a spiritual philosophy where this is *“what gives the school its identity as a State integrated school”* (Rimu). This spiritual philosophy weaves through the whakapapa of Te Aute College and will continue to do so while Te Aute College functions as it currently does under State regulations. It is this spiritual ethos that has also become embedded in many of the students to go to Te Aute College as is recalled in the following stories

“My spirituality and cultural identity were enhanced” (Kareao).

“TA strengthened my Māori culture and spiritual and religious aspects” (Karaka).

“It was the sense of order and Christian values that encompassed and strengthened my Māori values” (Horopito).

“The spiritual side of things was always very strong and I think it should be part and parcel of one’s education” (Karamu).

In terms of the role of the Church in the provision of education at Te Aute College today, there is unanimity among the research participants that this role is important. However, there is a need for the Church to also take cognisance of what other key stakeholder interests and aspirations are for Te Aute College so that a collaborative approach addressing all concerned parties’ needs is fulfilled. In this manner, the whakapapa of Te Aute College will continue by drawing from a range of traditional and contemporary contexts, thus not only advancing the descent line of Te Aute College, but the lineage of Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti

Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti have played an important role throughout the research process, which has been maintained throughout the discourse of this thesis as well. Chapter Two contextualised the relationship between Te Aute College and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and this sub-section of the chapter examines the important role of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti in the future of education provision at Te Aute College. Te Aute’s foundations are inextricably linked to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti where the notion of partnership has an important function today just as it did in 1853. This function has gained momentum in the last 30 years and has mirrored the wider societal bicultural issues of partnership associated with the place of the Treaty of Waitangi in State policies and practices. The Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between Māori tribes and the Crown, signed some 13 years earlier on February 6th 1840. The passage of time has not eroded this agreement and subsequently, the Treaty remains pertinent today in all relationships between Māori and the Crown, and indeed; for all Aotearoa New Zealanders, including new New Zealanders.

Partnership as stated by one participant *“has helped Te Aute’s obligations in the development of all Māori and Pākehā” (Kahikatea)* where this partnership can be continued and developed today *“by honouring the Treaty and the gifted land” (Kowhai)*. Chapters Two and Three of this thesis have also highlighted historical issues of partnership based on formal and informal occasions. Whakapapa also dictates the legitimisation of this partnership where participants who have not belonged to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti have acknowledged this connection when stating that

“Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti are the tāngata whenua and so the connection with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti is very important” (Pukatea).

“On the shores of RotoāTara, the local iwi granted the land and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hold a special place as tāngata whenua” (Totara).

Partnership

Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti research participants’ thoughts on partnership stem from the initial meeting between the hapū chiefs, Governor Grey and Samuel Williams in 1853 and underpin the sentiment and rationale for aroha and concern

“Te Ropiha and Henare Matua supported Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti when gifting the land” (Miro).

“This is why our whānau are so vocal, we have whakapapa links. The main role we should have is as kaitiaki of the lands” (Kowhai).

“The future of Te Aute is dependent on quality education with hapū access” (Kareao).

There are many instances of partnerships between Te Aute College and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti to come out of the research. These have occurred in varying degrees and include meeting with local marae groups, using local marae for fundraising, accommodation or inter-loaning resources, inclusion in hui and important events, kaumātua support on the paepae at pōwhiri and, the simple notion of maintaining contact and communication where *“the local iwi were a part of our whānau as far as the college was concerned” (Kahikatea)*. For instance, when the whare-nui was being built and adorned in the early 1990s, the *“placing and naming of tīpuna in the whare-nui had Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti input” (Kauri)*. However, in recent years the level of partnership has not been as reciprocal as it could have been according to research

participants of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti descent who have stated that

“This is not a strong relationship” (Kareao).

“At a governance level the relationship is very unhealthy” (Kowhai).

“There is no formal interaction with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti as far as I’m aware” (Ibid).

“The board should initiate stronger links; instead they think answers lie outside the area” (Kareao).

“There has to be respect given to everyone especially to tangata whenua” (Rewarewa).

The reasons for this dissension are based on the formal relationship that ostensibly should be being nurtured at a governance level on the Te Aute Trust Board. Since 2004, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti have been advocating for a ‘voice’ on the trust board and as a Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti participant recalls *“two years later we’re still waiting to hear something” (Kowhai)*. There have been Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti members on the trust board in the past who have spoken on behalf of hapū issues whereas currently and according to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti participants, these ‘seats’ are not being filled on the trust board consistent with the principle of partnership. The discord escalated in 2004 when the trust board was forced to put some of the Te Aute Endowment Land up for sale to finance renovations at Te Aute College that the Ministry of Education had stated needed to be completed in order to comply with current hostel accommodation standards. At this time, the trust board were forced into a corner by the ‘State’ and the only way out that they saw was to sell off land. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti were not consulted on this issue and instead found out by way of advertisements and signage at the place concerned.

The eventual sale of the land was halted through a series of hui between the hapū and the trust board. While Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti were at this time sympathetic to the trust board’s predicament, the hapū vehemently opposed the sale of the land, that for instance, *“may have set a precedence for future sales thereby eroding what is left of the endowment land” (Rewarewa)*. Instead, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti sought representation on the trust board, greater consultation and communication between the two entities. For instance, if this wasn’t able to be achieved then one participant

suggested that “*other avenues should be being explored, like petitioning the government and seeking assistance from our Māori MPs*” (Puriri). The board have agreed that Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti should have representation in their own right but this is yet to be formally cemented through the appointment of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti nominated Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti representatives.

The college has employed many local people throughout its history with hapū members filling both teaching staff and domestic staff positions in the college: where today, these positions perhaps take on more responsibility than that of the basic job description. That is, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti staff members have an obligation and responsibilities to not only fulfil their respective job roles but to maintain the dialogue and communication between the college and the hapū too. Today, a strong Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti presence on the staff is evident where there are instances of a genuine effort on the part of staff to see Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti step up. This includes the maintenance of kawa and tikanga and the teaching and practicing of these traditions at pōwhiri in karanga and whaikōrero, as well as waiata tawhito.

Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti gifted over half of the original Te Aute Endowment Land acreage and are tāngata whenua over the Endowment Land. The whakapapa of this relationship rationalises hapū views about the governance and management of Te Aute College today as well as the importance of a healthy relationship between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Aute College. These include certain traditions upheld by the college that include Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti kawa³⁴ and tikanga being the norm in terms of the marae and the tikanga associated with the marae and pōwhiri. Certain aspects of the curriculum at Te Aute College that reflect the tāngata whenua history of the district are taught in some curriculum areas, but this is not compulsory. Some research participants have stated that there should be key parts of the curriculum though that includes the local history so that students “*know where they are, how they got to be here and why they are here*” (Karamu). For instance, some participants have recalled

³⁴ The marae kawa of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti is based on ‘pā eke’ where the hosts (Te Aute College) have speaking rights first and visitors follow. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti are also given the opportunity to speak on the paepae either through staff or by inviting elders into the school to do so.

how

“It was taken for granted and it wasn’t until later on and I thought about it and realised that my tīpuna were part of that” (Kareao).

“We were aware that Te Hāpuku donated the land on behalf of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti but that was about it” (Tarata).

“We had families of boys who belonged to the iwi kāinga but we were never really involved in the history stuff, it was for personal interest if you wanted it” (Titoki).

“At college I never knew about the history until I had left” (Manuka).

There also lies the opportunity here to explicate the whakapapa of Te Aute College within the context of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti so that this knowledge can be added to the whakapapa that students already have, as well as to the other whakapapa traditions of Te Aute College. These traditions include the relationships between present day students and past students, the whakapapa of Te Aute’s achievements and the whakapapa that relates to Māori achievement of the past and Māori advancement today.

Participation

The notion of partnership invokes the participatory rights and obligations of all those associated with Te Aute College such that the obligations of Te Aute College are the same as any other marae or hapū in Aotearoa New Zealand. That is, Te Aute College has a responsibility to acknowledge the gift, to look after the land and the assets and to nurture its teaching and learning in order to realise the potential of its student body in order to equip them with the necessary skills and values to fully participate as citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Aute College also has an obligation to ensure the visual presence of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti that includes board representation already discussed and student population. Some Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti participants have stated that, based on the ‘Whatuiāpiti gift’,

“A local quota should be set for Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti students” (Kareao).

“I remember a time when it was put forward that Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti boys should be free to attend” (Matai).

This has never been realised: despite the land acreage, the trust board has never been in a position to generate substantial finances in order to satisfy initiatives such as this. Nonetheless, the “*college needs to be inclusive of others*” (Rewarewa) and that it is important to remember that students travel from all over the country and abroad who are from other iwi and so there is the importance of maintaining a tradition that instils a feeling of ownership in all students of which Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti fully endorse. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti along with the Crown and the Church established Te Aute College for their ‘children’ and extended this intention to include other iwi’s children throughout the country. For instance,

“The school has an obligation to ensure that students are aware of local iwi contribution and the fostering of this understanding and contact should be built on maintaining existing relationships and developing these to enhance tribal unity and cohesion in national affairs” (Kohuhu).

The pan-tribal connections at Te Aute College have a whakapapa that extends back to the pre-colonisation period of Aotearoa New Zealand and the inter-tribal warfare and relationships that prevailed. The whakapapa of these connections also dates back to the 1820s (see Chapter Two) and the great inter-tribal battles at Te Roto-a-Tara where

“Inter-tribal fighting had no sooner finished when Te Aute was established and next thing, students from all over were welcome....This was Kahungunu clearly showing how tikanga interfaces with the living and that for tangata whenua is a key component to the way Māori think” (Miro).

The research reveals that the interaction between Te Aute College and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti has varied during different periods of history. As mentioned previously though, the relationship can be enhanced by transparent communication or by what one participant stated “*board appointments by the ahi kā*” (Kowhai), that is, through a partnership model that reflected a ‘50 / 50’ level of partnership at the least. As well as being involved in education at the college, there are also calls by some participants for pro-active community involvement where “*our young men should be out meeting and knowing local affairs of Whatuiāpiti to complement their learning and extra-curricula activities (Kanuka)*”.

With the Te Aute Endowment Land, Te Aute College should be able to educate its students to maximise their potential however, Te Aute College instead endeavours to

accomplish this with no real supportive economic base or substantial resources. Decision-making at governance and management levels involving Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti is critical to the performance of the college. Re-establishing this foundation block and collaboratively working with other bodies to not only benefit Te Aute College, but the whole of Māoridom will ensure the credibility of an institution such as Te Aute College in its contribution to the advancement of Māori. The special character of educational provision at Te Aute College lays this platform. With collaborative and effective leadership, the potential exists to advance the whakapapa line of Te Aute College and continue to serve communities, Māoridom and indeed the nation.

Hei Tirohanga

The last section of this chapter reflects on a vision for Te Aute College in its future role and function as a Māori boarding school providing a special character education based on a Māori worldview, Christian values, academic excellence, sporting achievement and a healthy environment for its students and their whānau. The views and visions in this section have been taken from the research participants' stories and, analysed and categorised by themes, which are reflected in Figure Three.

Tree Node	1 st Level Codes	2 nd Level	3 rd Level	4 th Level
Vision	Academic	Achievement	Ruthlessness	Excellence
			Leadership	Values
				Skills
				Recognition
				Māori
				Mission
	Heritage	Māoritanga	Bicultural	Foundations
				Societal roles
			Tikanga Māori	Endurance
				Whanaungatanga
		Christianity	Faith	Calling
			Wairua	Mysticism
		Tino rangatiratanga	Kaupapa Māori	Autonomy
			Land base	Resource
				Whatuiāpiti
	Future Initiatives	Administration	Marketing	Tourism
				Niche market
			Practice	Specialisation
			Whanaungatanga	Being Māori
				Uniquely Te Aute
				Whakapapa

Figure Three: Hei Tirohanga.

While many views have already been expressed in this chapter and in the preceding two chapters, this section's analyses are a direct response to the question asked of the research participants, *'what is your vision for the future of Te Aute College?'* Research participant responses to this question have been categorised into three main themes

- Academic;
- Heritage; and,

- Future initiatives.

The notion of whakapapa is a notable thread linking all three themes together. This phenomenon of whakapapa intertwining throughout the analyses has been a consistent element and has accordingly been addressed and explicated across all of the contexts that the research findings chapters have embraced. Hei tirohanga represents these visions and the rationale for these stories and visions stems from the connection that each participant has had and still maintains with Te Aute College.

Academic Vision

The stories of the research participants reflect a strong stance on the importance of academic achievement at Te Aute College today. This ideal encompasses the whole learning and teaching environment where *“there needs to be an aggressive almost ruthless determination to succeed both by the students and staff who work there”* (Karaka). An engrained ideal such as this may be something expected of the college however, this is not always a reality 100 per cent of the time and so this vision replicates the following views that

“Progressive and aggressive strategies need to be implemented to achieve inspirational necessities; only the best will do, second is not an option” (Kohuhu).

“Academic excellence needs to be a focal point; take a leaf from St. Joseph’s book, they’re going strong and so the critical issue now is quality and a high achievement in education” (Ngaio).

“Te Aute needs to maintain the status as a school of excellence, a school of high quality teaching and a school that has high expectations of its students” (Manatu).

If Te Aute College aspires to add esteemed lineage to its whakapapa line then in doing so it must reach out and capture its student population and their whānau. Taking advantage of technology and combining this with tradition can provide parents with what they may be looking for in an educational institution for their sons’ education where for instance, *“parents are continually looking for what schools can provide their child”* (Ibid). Te Aute College has the potential to provide for whānau and

parents and, in doing so, strengthens further the qualities and character of Te Aute College that whānau see as worthwhile and therefore as being an attractive pathway. One participant commented on such a pathway and the links that can directly and indirectly lead to Māori advancement, when stating that Te Aute College is

“An institution that can provide for the aspirations of young Māori and their parents by producing young people able to fulfil their potential and be productive citizens as Māori” (Puriri).

In order to fulfil such a vision, strategic direction, collaborative partnerships and uncompromising leadership on the part of Te Aute College are essential elements that can put Te Aute College at the forefront of Māori secondary school education. The college goes beyond an access point to Māori education by adding appeal to education in a style that other schools cannot or do not reproduce. Innovation in the quest of academic excellence is not a new or modern phenomenon; headmaster John Thornton was innovative in his time at the helm of Te Aute College. In doing so, he created an academic pathway for those students and whānau who aspired to this ‘unseen before’ opportunity for academic excellence by preparing students for the matriculation examination of the New Zealand University.

Academic excellence at Te Aute College in the 19th century came about through strong leadership and nurturing students who displayed aptitude and potential in this arena. Academic excellence at Te Aute College in the 21st century can be strengthened for instance through strategic planning and elements of a strategic vision that centre on Year 11, 12 and 13 subject offerings that are tailored to meet the needs of the students and their whānau. Strong leadership and good teaching would also be essential elements to ensuring a sustained academic excellence at Te Aute College. Time transcends generations and so the whakapapa of Te Aute’s academic distinction exists *“the template is already there, we’ve been there before so lets use the past and plan our future” (Totara)*. This same whakapapa has the potential to strengthen the academic pillar of Te Aute College today where Te Aute College preserves a connection with the past in its quest for advancement; advancing the descent line, advancing academic achievement and advancing Māoridom.

A Heritage Vision

The essence of how and why Te Aute College was established still sits very much at the forefront of research participants' visions for the college. The fact that Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Crown and the Church were involved in its establishment is a significant event. While the laurels of this relationship cannot be rested upon alone, it was visionary for its time and has implications for today and for the future of Te Aute College. That is, partnership was a key element of the arrangement and it is this same notion of partnership that can be usurped today in terms of getting Te Aute College to the forefront of Māori education. This bicultural arrangement sits strongly with the vision of some participants where

“The vision that the forefathers of this college had is still an appropriate one for today. The question is the way it was set up institutionally in a partnership of dependence and so, is the future about not building that partnership?” (Kanuka).

“I believe we still go through the same Māori and Pākehā issues as in the years gone by and things are still occurring today that occurred in the past. That is, Te Aute is about two cultures and providing one pathway; the school hasn't changed much at all” (Ibid).

The foundations of an educational institution equipped to cater for the evolving needs of Māori education were put in place in 1854, and generations of students, staff, Church leaders and government officials have all contributed to the whakapapa of this heritage since that time. Chapters Three and Four provide an insight into changing State policies, the Church's role and the curriculum offered at Te Aute College. All are significant contexts that have impacted on Te Aute's ability to function at its potential. In terms of combining tradition, spirituality and a contemporary setting

“We must acknowledge those who have been here in the past but we must be able to live in today's world, like Apirana Ngata said in his whakatauākī, we must maintain a school in which the values of Maoritanga, the ideals of Christianity and the academic principles of the Western world are interwoven; then Te Aute will be providing a complete education” (Manuka).

A key question then is how does heritage fit into the future? A Māori worldview locates tradition, heritage and tikanga as important aspects of contemporary society (see Chapter Five). But as Sir Apirana Ngata stated, these cultural values must also be

responsive to Western or modern day realities in order for Māori to realise their potential and make a contribution to life, community, Māoridom and nationhood. The notion of whakapapa addresses this question where the foundations of the past can be built on and developed to reflect a contemporary landscape relevant to the passage of time. In order for Te Aute College to progress in the 21st century, an understanding of its past and present status is essential in the development of a strategic vision that clearly maps out future directions.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Another vision offered by some research participants is the possibility of Te Aute College finding its future niche through the utilisation of its own resources and in doing so operating from an exclusively Māori worldview and being in charge and responsible for its own destiny. The perceived appropriate financial sustenance from the Te Aute Endowment Land and, tikanga Māori and te reo Māori are seen as the necessary components to facilitate an educational approach such as this that adds value to education at Te Aute College and that contributes to Māori development and advancement. This vision is reflected in the following views

“Land, te whenua and te reo o Kahungunu will be two key aspects for the future and that should be key aspects of Te Aute” (Kowhai).

“By the year 2050, te iwi tata o Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti should be making all of the decisions regarding Te Aute College and its lands” (Ibid).

“My real desire is that it stays open and goes total immersion Māori. The paper that I presented there was a paper on the possibility of a wānanga that was totally user friendly to Māori and that empowers Māori people and institutions. But my heart of hearts, I would have loved Te Aute to stay as it is but total immersion; that would be my first choice by far” (Tawa).

“The objectives to help us out will come from tikanga Māori and te reo Māori” (Rewarewa).

While this vision also reflects the notion of tino rangatiratanga it does not imply a separatist approach to education provision. Rather, it is an approach that utilises a Māori worldview and celebrates its bearing on the delivery of Māori education today from a distinctive Te Aute College perspective. Other participants’ visions for the maintenance of the Māori heritage of Te Aute College are not as select but

nonetheless, centre on the current special character of Te Aute College “*by keeping on doing what it’s doing as a school to advance kaupapa Māori*” (Tawa).

The question then has to be asked: is Te Aute College advancing kaupapa Māori? The answers to this question may reside in the aims that the trust board and board of trustees have for Te Aute College today. These aims need to take cognisance of the notion of advancing kaupapa Māori and contributing to Māori advancement as well as having mechanisms in place to monitor their attainment. Research participants have undisputedly agreed in their visions for the place of ‘te ao Māori’ at Te Aute College as these stories suggest

“The fostering and retention of te reo Māori and Māori tikanga are important, whilst at the same time recognising the kaupapa of the mission statement” (Miro).

“A place from which will be sent our young men academically qualified, strong in knowledge and practice of Māoritanga, with an insight into the Christian conception of being an influence for good among their fellows during their lifetime” (Koromiko).

“Te Aute must continue to foster the importance of being Māori in their students and producing good, able rounded citizens that can contribute to Māoridom and the world at large is important” (Rata).

Accordingly, the whakapapa of Te Aute College once again manifests in the participants’ stories where the Te Aute experience is a key aspect of this whakapapa, as is Te Aute’s contribution to Māoridom, to the nation and to citizenship. A sense of mission is borne out of the brand of Te Aute College, it is ingrained throughout aspects of the curriculum and boarding school life, and it remains with many students in their adult lives as seen in their stories.

Leadership

The notion of leadership is synonymous with different eras of Te Aute’s history; at times it has been exceptional, at other times not so great. Many students to come out of Te Aute College have also gone on to become leaders in the own right; leaders of their communities, of their iwi, of Māoridom and of the nation. Fittingly, this notion of leadership has featured strongly throughout the thesis where leadership is

recognised as playing a significant role in the realisation of Māori potential, the nurturing of this potential and the eventual contribution of this leadership to Māori advancement. In order to add prestige to the leadership whakapapa of Te Aute College today, leadership itself has to be pertinently modelled by staff and students. For instance,

“Leadership courses with a preference to descendants of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti will be strengthening for the college and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti” (Kareao).

“Producing young people able to fulfil their potential; become leaders and be productive citizens as Māori will come from good planning” (Manatu).

“My vision for Te Aute centres on the need to meet the needs of young Māori males. It’s never always rosy here at Te Aute but it is different outside of Te Aute and when you’re out there, challenges lay ahead and so we must equip the students for the outside world and life after Te Aute” (Makomako).

“Te Aute College has the potential to produce core leaders within Māoridom but failing that just being contributors to society is demanding enough” (Houhere).

There is the capacity for Te Aute College to enter into partnerships with tertiary providers and develop leadership programmes that lead directly to future pathways for students of Te Aute College. Just as Thornton schooled many of his students in the matriculation examination requirements of the 19th century, Te Aute College can follow this same model today and prepare a direct academic pathway for students of this ilk or who have unrealised potential that may never ever be capitalised on. Students for instance, could be not only completing their NCEA but they could also be undertaking year one tertiary papers. Consequently, a future pathway for them will have already been paved and Te Aute’s obligation to its students and indeed to the advancement of Māoridom would be innovative and future orientated. Te Aute College would not only be going a long way to producing future leaders but it would essentially be demonstrating a model of leadership envious to whānau and communities nationwide and thereby contributing to a strategic vision encompassing both Te Aute’s endurance and Māori educational aspirations.

The notion of leadership is not only tied up with political leadership important as this may be. There is also the capacity for leadership across all spheres of society such as in the professions, the trades, industry, agriculture, the home, the Church, marae and

iwi. Leadership is an attribute that predominantly comes later in one's lifetime (unless born into royalty or rangatiratanga for instance; Māori or non-Māori). While students may leave Te Aute College on different pathways, the aim of the mission statement of Te Aute College is to aptly equip all students to travel such pathways. In due course, their training at Te Aute College facilitates their journeys along these pathways and impacts on their leadership qualities that may come to fruition later in life as many participants have stated

"We need carpenters, we need farmers, fathers; you know the world is made up of all these occupations, and it's not just about lawyers and accountants and doctors. My belief here at Te Aute is whatever the boy's potential is, we make them the very best that they can be" (Matai).

"The role of Te Aute in the future is very important to me because it's one of the core kaupapa why I remain passionate to being on the board or contributing in whatever way I can now that I am older and experienced" (Totara).

"Whatever the boy's potential is, we make them the very best that they can be. Whether it be in the fields of academia, looking to the health, education and general welfare of our people. Whether it be servicing us through the trades, the general workforce or the defence corporation" (Rewarewa).

The individual qualities associated with leadership at Te Aute College are instinctively connected to the motto of Te Aute College, *'Whakatangata kia kaha - Quit ye like men be strong'*. As discussed in Chapter Eight, the college motto and life at Te Aute College shaped the individual, what the individual became, how they thought about themselves and who they were in the bigger world. The impact of these two phenomena culturally and socially constructed student responsibilities and obligations and associated qualities so that in a sense the construction was somewhat innate where life at Te Aute College for instance, was the 'norm'; everything that occurred at Te Aute was an 'everyday' occurrence. Leadership occurs in varying degrees across many contexts and so the explication of the college motto within the context of leadership is fittingly described by the following reflection

"My vision hasn't changed, Whakatangata kia kaha; it has been the same from the beginning and will be so 'til the end and that is to take up the challenge and be a man, be strong in that and all of the challenges that come up in life" (Karaka).

Future Initiatives

The future of Te Aute College is inextricably tied up with its strategic direction that ultimately comes from the trust board, the board of trustees, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Church and the State. Whānau have a role to play in this direction too, and this role comes from their voices being represented in either some or all of the aforementioned entities. Part of this strategic direction undoubtedly comes from the innovation of Te Aute College to develop, implement and refine future initiatives or to specialise across the whole of Te Aute College curriculum. While this has been broadly generalised, these generalisations centre on Te Aute College specialising in its curriculum delivery

“I think that we need to adhere to the concept of “specialising” and move in that direction where Te Aute may need to find a niche in the school market to ensure its longevity” (Puriri).

There is the latitude for stakeholders of Te Aute College to collaboratively develop a strategic plan and vision that clearly maps out the future direction of the curriculum of Te Aute College. A *“specialist rugby and sports academy” (Matai)* is a view that stems from Te Aute’s whakapapa with sport and sporting achievement in Aotearoa New Zealand. This vision also stems from the basis that Te Aute College has an adequate land resource that could be utilised to service appropriate buildings, arenas and or sports fields. The geography of Te Aute’s landscape is suitable for establishing *“a Māori golf academy” (Kohuhu)* as stated by this same participant.

These visions give credence to the notion of putting Te Aute College in a position of offering parents and whānau added value to their sons’ education that can be complemented by a special character education enhanced by a Māori worldview, Christianity and academic excellence. Strategic direction includes planning for the future and capturing a snapshot of where Māori are heading; a failure to do so would not only be detrimental for Te Aute College but for Māoridom too and so Te Aute College must be innovative in the way it develops as a school and as a community. The following participants’ stories not only reflect a vision but also the proactive nature of grasping this vision where

“Te Aute’s strengths will lie in being able to determine the national and

international situations and being able to adapt courses to suit whatever current needs indicate” (Manatu).

“We need to move on and focus on the next 50 years in particular. We need to be innovative and view education from a global perspective” (Kareao).

“Keeping abreast of political situations that should indicate future needs for Māori representation and Māori realities for the future” (Rewarewa).

Another vision that encapsulates a growing trend among Māori communities throughout the country is *“the thought and action of becoming part of a tourism trail” (Kauri)*. This vision is based on the utilisation of the geographical landscape, landmarks, the *whare-nui* and *tikanga* Māori that Te Aute College is bound by and, the history and contemporary features of the wider community. Hawkes Bay has many tourist attractions but *“it doesn’t have many Māori attractions like Rotorua does and so we should become a part of this” (Ngaio)*. The *whakapapa* of Te Aute College could form the basis of such an initiative in conjunction with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, thereby developing a proactive partnership in the field of tourism. This vision may be secondary to primary concerns that centre on the provision of education or of a specialised curriculum at Te Aute College. However, as stated such an initiative might be developed in conjunction with tertiary providers offering tourism courses and in doing so lead to a tourism pathway for some students, based not only on developing ‘tourism guides’ but on business management skills, economic development, Māori development and developing Māori entrepreneurs and company directors.

Some participants have expressed views highlighting the need to utilise the Endowment Land and develop an agricultural based curriculum for students interested in farming, horticulture or viticulture. Te Aute College has a *whakapapa* with an agricultural curriculum however; today, participants envisage that Te Aute College would have greater control in the development of such a programme under its own terms and conditions in conjunction with the State. Again there lies the potential for strategic planning to align such a programme with tertiary providers so that future directions are clear for prospective students and the continuity of the learning pathway is guaranteed and therefore highly sought after by such students. The Endowment

Land has the potential to cater to the aspirations of potential beef, sheep and deer farmers, orchardists and market gardeners, viticulturalists and wine makers and, to farming, forestry or conservation consultants; as well as to the other initiatives that involve utilising Te Aute's land resource. In this way, Te Aute College might specialise in more than one area that might include an academic, sport and land based curriculum and in doing so, cater for the diverse aspirations of students and their whānau.

There has also been a vision that replicates a trend among some secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand to attract and provide education to students from abroad "*we should encourage more overseas students not only from our Island neighbours but from Japan and Asia*" (Kauri). A vision such as this though would need to take into consideration the special character of Te Aute College and ask itself, how Te Aute College would cater to their specific needs as well as those of the rest of the college. Te ao Māori for instance, plays an important role at Te Aute College and so planning an initiative such as this would need to take this critical element of Te Aute College into account.

Te Aute College does have a tradition of and whakapapa of educating students from the Pacific Islands and so a contemporary initiative such as this would not only enhance Te Aute's contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand but indeed, to the Pacific Rim and internationally too. It must be reinforced again that for these visionary initiatives to eventuate, there is a necessity for strategic direction, collaborative planning and aims that seek excellence. These aims must also take into consideration the benefit and contribution to Māoridom and to the nation. A failure to do so would deviate from the whakapapa of Te Aute College contributing to Māori advancement and be too narrowly focussed for the provision of Māori education in the 21st century. Te Aute's role today extends beyond its gateway; it always has but there is a necessity to keep this intention at the fore of the future strategic direction of Te Aute College where

"An environment like Te Aute, properly resourced with passionate and committed people will be good and I believe it can do well in New Zealand society" (Rewarewa).

Summary

This chapter concludes the analyses of specific areas of the research findings that have come from an analysis of the stories that each of the research participants have told about their connection to Te Aute College. This chapter has investigated three key themes that impact on the provision of education at Te Aute College today, Te Hāpori Tautoko, Te Whakahaeretanga and Hei Tirohanga. In doing so, this chapter has analysed the research participants' stories associated with each of these themes and the relationship of these stories to the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Te Aute's whakapapa has an important role to play today and in the future of Māori education in Aotearoa New Zealand. This whakapapa does not merely permit Te Aute College to rest on its laurels either. It recognises its heritage and in doing so facilitates the strengthening of the position of Te Aute College as an educational institution that recognises Māori potential and contributes to the advancement of Māori in the 21st century. Just as the notion of whakapapa invokes a collective spirit in terms of the connections between individuals and whānau, the function and role of Te Aute College too has to be a collaborative or collective exertion in order that the maintenance of a whakapapa of tradition, education and Māori heritage is carried into the 21st century. *'He Toa Takitini'*, reflects this collaborative effort where the continuation of the status and position of Te Aute College will not come solely from a college that closes in on itself but from a college that unifies key stakeholders in Te Aute College and that accepts a responsibility for Māoridom.

Collaboration and strategic direction are important characteristics of an enduring Te Aute College in the 21st century. This chapter recognises the importance of individual boarding school history and traditions that stem for whakapapa. Just as importantly, the necessity to build its future capacity by dialoguing with the other Māori boarding schools, with past students, with Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, with the Anglican Church and with other key stakeholders is critical for Te Aute's future direction. Personal and or group agendas, as opposed to a collective vision or strategy for Te Aute College will undoubtedly contribute to the demise of Te Aute College. Therefore if the whakapapa

of the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement is going to be progressed in the future then it is crucial that all voices of the key stakeholders in Te Aute College are heard. The interpretation of ‘He toa takitini’, the title of this chapter, represents this notion where Te Aute’s pursuit of educational excellence for instance, will come from strategic direction founded on collaborative communication and planning as opposed from ‘He toa takitahi’ or individual endeavours.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Ten, follows and provides the overall summary of the research. This summary includes a review of all of the chapters from Sections One, Two and Three where the overall final analysis also reflects on the importance of the notion of whakapapa to Te Aute College as well as to the methodological approach underpinning this thesis.

Chapter Ten

HEI WHAKAMUTUNGA KŌRERO MĀKU

Hi aue, hi!

Conclusion

On April 17th at Te Roto-a-Tara pā, the chiefs who spoke on behalf of the hapū of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti stated that

“we will make over a piece or portion of land for the purposes of a college or school, for the education of our children, and those of the white people, that they may grow up as one people”.

This statement transcends time and space; it encapsulates a vision that remains relevant to Te Aute College today. The quest for education is akin to the present day notion of advancing Māoridom and equipping Māori to actively participate as productive citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond.

The aspiration of growing up as one people supports a contemporary notion of nurturing students to live in a shared future, a future that since the early 19th century has been inclusive of non-Māori traditions, values, ideologies and cultures. Just as the notion of whakapapa preserves a connection with the past in the quest to advance genealogical lineage; past history and traditions too, have a connection with future directions.

The future direction of Te Aute College is inimitably tied to its whakapapa of school leadership and achievements. This thesis has examined and celebrated the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement. Indeed this thesis endorses the capacity for Te Aute College to continue its lineage of contribution into the 21st century and beyond, given sound strategic planning and direction.

The thesis has investigated the whakapapa of Te Aute College, a Māori boarding

school in Pukehou, Hawkes Bay, and the unique brand associated with the college that has developed and been sustained by its whakapapa throughout its history. Te Aute College has a whakapapa connected to the realisation of Māori potential through a tradition of educating students and endowing them with the necessary skills and aptitude to make a contribution to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand. This thesis has not only investigated the layers of whakapapa of Te Aute College but in doing so, has examined the contribution Te Aute College has made to communities, to Māoridom and to Aotearoa New Zealand.

At the outset, the research aimed to examine a range of influences that have impacted on Te Aute College and to see how Te Aute College may be placed in the 21st century. The intention was to examine the impact of such influences alongside the multiple layers of whakapapa that define the institution nationally renowned as Te Aute College, a Māori boarding school. An investigation of Te Aute's whakapapa, its history, its position today and of the personal stories of those persons and groups who participated in the research culminated in three major themes, which ultimately formed the basis of the three chapters that made up the fieldwork findings in Section Three

- Experience;
- Contribution;
- Collaboration.

Whakatangata kia kaha, the motto of Te Aute College has manifested itself throughout these analyses where the notion of 'quit ye like men, be strong' has reverberated throughout the whakapapa discourse of Te Aute College. This is seen in both the brand that is Te Aute College and in the mana that Te Aute has and emanates. The whakapapa, the motto and the mana of Te Aute College have simultaneously imbued in its students a sense of contribution to society, a sense of obligation, responsibility and mission.

Stories from research participants have told of this contribution and have recalled

national, Māori and local examples of contributing to citizenship and Māori advancement. In recalling these instances, the narratives have also celebrated a 150 year contribution by Te Aute College to Aotearoa New Zealand.

The findings reveal that Te Aute College has cultivated an ethos of service in its student body that has culminated in a culture of contribution; a contribution to community, a contribution to Māori and a contribution to society. To summarise, it is this ethos of service that has definitively formed the contribution of Te Aute College to the development of Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation and to Māori advancement. The whakapapa of Te Aute College is testament to this ethos as are the research participants' stories.

From the documentary analysis, from the Whatuiapiti oral and written history and from the interviews conducted with a wide sample of stakeholders of the school, grounded as it is in the profiles and achievements of generations of students of the Te Aute College community, it is clear that the Te Aute tradition has produced graduates who lead whānau, hapū and iwi, and who contribute substantially to Māori development and to the good of the nation. This much is reflected in the narratives collected during the research process and in the long history of contribution and accomplishment by former students of the College.

While Te Aute College has been the research topic of this thesis, the notion of whakapapa has also made a significant contribution. It is an element that weaves through all phases of the research process and the very fabrication of Te Aute College. Whakapapa has formed the basis of the research methodology employed and has bound all of the chapters of this thesis into one lineage. The research objectives centred on

- Employing a whakapapa research methodology and exploring the whakapapa of Te Aute College and the 'Te Aute' brand that has developed out of this whakapapa;

- Identifying and examining the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement and national identity;
- Exploring how Te Aute College might continue to contribute to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand and thus maintain a tradition of producing students who are capable and competent in contributing to Māori advancement in Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter One introduced the thesis topic - Te Aute College and established the thesis objectives and intentions. Chapter One also provided a brief overview of each of the ensuing nine chapters.

Section One contained Chapters Two, Three and Four and contextualised the research community, Te Aute College. Chapter Two did this by establishing the whakapapa links of Te Aute College to the earliest inhabitants of the Te Aute valley and to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. This contextualisation continued by establishing a history of Te Aute's existence since 1854 and by locating Te Aute College within the wider landscape of 21st century Māori education provision in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Two is especially significant to the discourse of this thesis in that the legacy of Te Aute College is inextricably connected to te ao Māori through the tāngata whenua, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. The foundation of that formative relationship in 1853 rationalises the prominence of an essential element of the character of Te Aute College, a Māori worldview. The formative relationship between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Crown (Governor Grey) and the Anglican Church (Samuel Williams) not only endorsed a Māori worldview but it endorsed a Pākehā view too; it was in effect a pact between the three parties.

In recent years the notion of biculturalism has become synonymous with Māori and Pākehā relationships where in retrospect this term has also been applied to the 'spirit' of the Treaty of Waitangi through the principle of partnership that derived from the

1840 Treaty texts. The same bicultural foundations of this agreement came to the fore at the original meeting between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Crown and the Anglican Church where a specific arrangement was formalised between Māori, the Crown and the Church with the outcome of this meeting being the eventual establishment of Te Aute College.

Today, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti continue to have an important role to play. They participate in celebrating the extent of Te Aute's contribution to Māoridom, and as tāngata whenua, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti also hold the mana whenua and so have a vested interest in the governance and management of Te Aute College. In this role, their representatives assist in seeing that Te Aute realises its educational objectives as a Māori boarding school providing education for its students.

The role of the Anglican Church today is just as prominent. Te Aute College was founded on Christian principles by the Anglican Church and remains so contributing to the enduring nature of Te Aute College alongside the Crown's role and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. Christian values are a key pillar of the special character education provided at Te Aute College today and the lineage of this tradition is evident throughout the research findings where this too has significantly contributed to Māori advancement. The special character of Te Aute College is a modern phenomenon, a phrase coined during the State integration process of the mid-1970s. The notion of the special character of Te Aute College is therefore not associated with the college's first 120 years rather; it is a term that is inclusive of the last 35 years.

Chapter Three is divided into two; Parts A and B. Part A covered the period 1854 through to 1921 and Part B covered the period 1922 through to 2005. The chapter provided some of the historical background of Te Aute College transcending the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. A sound knowledge of the Te Aute community was essential in constructing an understanding of the ensuing chapters of the thesis. The chapter detailed a lineage of history over successive generations. It helped to illuminate the notion of whakapapa and its correlation to the research community against a background of significant achievements, events and milestones.

It was these achievements that not only developed but also consolidated the Te Aute College 'brand'. It is this brand that has been imprinted on generations of Te Aute students as they have gone on to make their mark. While the Te Aute brand shaped what its students became, it also shaped Aotearoa New Zealand by ironically, influencing Pākehā education. That is, without schools like Te Aute College the State policy of assimilation that officially existed for over 100 years would have totally consumed the Māori culture such was the impact of assimilation across education and the socio-political sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand. The Te Aute College brand and a history of Māori boarding school education have remarkably shaped Māori identity since the mid 19th century.

Chapter Four concluded Section One and consolidated the thesis discourse on latter 20th and early 21st century developments by examining a range of influences to impact upon the provision of education at Te Aute College today. This chapter also investigated the implication of these influences as Te Aute College strives to meet the challenges and changing dynamics of Māori education in the 21st century.

The mana and ethos of Te Aute College that derives from the motto of the school, '*Whakatangata kia kaha*', is inextricably tied to the special character education that is provided by Te Aute College today. Chapter Four examined the nature of this special character and what it is built on. The ethos of Te Aute College is the uniqueness that sets the college apart from other educational institutions and bestows a special sense of purpose on its role and function. In doing so, the mana of Te Aute College is enhanced as is whakapapa of the record of educational provision for students who have gone on to make positive contributions to society and to Māoridom. Consequently, the relationship between Te Aute College and a contribution to Māori advancement is unquestionable as revealed by the personal narratives detailed in the research findings chapters. The notion of whakapapa continues to impact on this phenomenon where Te Aute College endures today as an educational institution with traditions linked to the present that are in turned used to strategise for the future. The future of Te Aute College must be guided by the tradition of contributing to Māori advancement.

From the outset this research intended to centre on the notion of whakapapa and a Māori worldview, embraced by notions of Indigeneity. Accordingly, Section Two of this thesis investigates the development of Māori research and the appropriateness of a Māori worldview and a whakapapa-centred methodology for the research across two chapters; Chapter Five and Chapter Six. Chapter Five succinctly examined the notion of whakapapa and its rightful space in Indigenous research methodology today where both traditional and contemporary interpretations of whakapapa were explored in conjunction with the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Titled ‘A Māori Worldview’, Chapter Five examined the Māori epistemological basis of this thesis and the research methodological approach that it employs, where it was also argued that the strengths of a whakapapa research methodological approach have the potential to be applied across other Māori community contexts. This approach also had the potential to extend to Indigenous communities worldwide where the interrelationships between the physical and the metaphysical and between people and their natural worlds are similar to Māori traditions; traditions based on ‘te kauwae runga’ and ‘te kauwae raro’. For instance, whakapapa facilitates the organisation of knowledge thus, legitimising a Māori view that is Indigenous; a position that resides at the heart of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing and Māori ways of acquiring new knowledge.

The whakapapa discourse was applied in examining the multiple layers of whakapapa that make Te Aute College what it is today. These layers have constructed the brand of Te Aute that emanates from any mention of Te Aute College. Thus a Māori worldview not only legitimates the whakapapa of Te Aute College but it also strengthens the brand that is Te Aute College.

Chapter Six is divided into two; Parts A and B. Part A is sub-titled ‘The Development of Māori Research’ and Part B is sub-titled ‘Te Huarahi Rangahau - Research Methods’. Part A located the whakapapa research methodology more succinctly by examining the development of Māori research from the early 19th century and up to the present day; a period that has seen Māori move from a position of being the

‘researched’ to becoming the ‘researchers’. In doing so, this part of the chapter examined the specific application of a whakapapa-centred research methodology to this research and maintained its position alongside other research methodological paradigms.

Part B set out the research methods used throughout the entire research process. For instance, the three-phase dynamic that represents the creation of the world according to a Māori worldview was utilised to metaphorically represent the research methods. That is, the phenomenon known as *‘Te Kore’* - the very beginning of the research process gave birth to *‘Te Pō’* - literature review, data collection and analysis. This ultimately produced to *‘Te Ao Mārama’* - the world of light, a metaphor for the research outcomes and the acquisition of new knowledge. The multiple layers of the whakapapa of Te Aute College and individual threads within each of these layers all had their own respective line according to a whakapapa-centred research methodology. Subsequently, the research method facilitated the examination and celebration of the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement as well as the accompanying research objectives.

Section Three introduced the research findings over four chapters; Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten. Chapter Seven asserts that the whakapapa of Te Aute College, its history, its position today and its future direction are contexts that are impacted on by the notion of the ‘Te Aute experience’. The chapter is aptly titled so and has argued that the consequences of this experience and an affiliation to Te Aute College are bound by the notion of whakapapa.

Whakapapa has inherently and visibly created such experiences for students, whānau and staff who have entered Te Aute College where their respective whakapapa have been embraced by that of Te Aute College thereby securing a sense of belonging to a wider whānau. This Te Aute College whānau has cultivated the potential to produce the Te Aute experience that in turn is supported by the whakapapa of Te Aute College. This experience encompasses the spiritual, social, emotional, cultural, physical, academic and mystical realms endorsed by Te Aute College that has

impacted on the notion of ‘what it means to be a TA Boy’. The unique sense of this statement, the motivation for attending Te Aute College, wide-ranging experience gained at Te Aute and the phenomenon of making a difference were examined throughout the chapter.

The outcomes of the Te Aute experience explored through the thesis research objectives centred on the notion that the Te Aute experience has the potential to transcend time and generations. For instance, if Te Aute College can continue to refine and enhance the experience that it offers to a student population, including whānau and staff, then there is an opportunity to maintain the whakapapa of realising Māori potential and contributing to Māori advancement and citizenship.

Te Aute College provides an ideal environment with an abundance of latent resources that may well be capitalised on in future. The Te Aute experience is unique and for those who are the beneficiaries, there comes an innate sense of contribution, of being Māori and of being proud individuals capable and competent of participating in whānau, in communities and as productive citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The college motto ‘Whakatangata kia kaha’ has also shaped the Te Aute experience and in turn has shaped the identity of students educated at Te Aute College. A sense of mission and obligation are layered within the manifestations of ‘Whakatangata kia kaha’ and these same qualities are constructions of the Te Aute brand. Consequently, this thesis not only champions these foundations of the contribution of Te Aute to Māori advancement but indeed celebrates them too. In this manner the Te Aute experience is a reciprocal phenomenon that not only equips students for their lives ahead of Te Aute College but that consolidates and broadens the whakapapa of Te Aute College.

Chapter Eight examined the importance of the notion of contribution and examined

- The tangible indicators of the contribution of Te Aute College to the domains of individual character and leadership, community and society, to hapū, iwi and to Māoridom;
- The strengths and ability of Te Aute College to support contribution;
- The influence of Te Aute College on both the private and public good.

While this chapter examined examples of individual contribution, it also recognised that there were many more contributions made by graduates of Te Aute College and that it was impossible to produce evidence of every individual contribution. However, the stories told by the research participants have revealed that generations of Te Aute students have emulated each other in their own way by making an individual and collective contribution to Māoridom and to citizenship. Becoming successful was exemplified by the enhancement of the private good through achievement, whānau development and community participation that ultimately led to the collective enrichment of the public good in the way of iwi development, the advancement of Māori and a contribution to nationhood. These contributions are testament to the vigour of the whakapapa of Te Aute College that tells the story of Te Aute's contribution concerning a lineage that extends from the past to the present. Te Aute College possesses the potential to sustain and carry on a tradition of contribution into the 21st century by recognising and strategically planning for the dynamics of Māori education provision today and utilising its whakapapa to make this a reality.

As Te Aute College aspires to build 21st century whakapapa lineage through the provision of education, there are a number of critical issues that confront the college today. Chapter Nine titled 'He Toa Takitini', a metaphor for collaboration, examined three themes that converge on the future status of Te Aute College, its whakapapa and its contribution to the advancement of Māoridom

- Te Hāpori Tautoko - Wider community support;
- Te Whakahaeretanga - Administration;
- Hei Tirohanga - Collective visions.

Chapter Nine argued that an examination of the stories of the research participants and relevant documentation revealed that the position of Te Aute College as an educational institution that contributes to the advancement of Māori cannot just be practised and realised by Te Aute College on its own. Consultation with and recognition of the experiences associated with the primary and secondary stakeholders of Te Aute College is essential to the maintenance of a whakapapa lineage of tradition and Māori heritage.

The dynamics of Māori education provision in the 21st century vary considerably from both the 19th and 20th centuries respectively. However, the one constant that has not changed is that while Te Aute College is inimitably linked to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and to the Anglican Church, its reputation and mana reach out to Māoridom throughout the country. Consequently, collaboration for the good of Māoridom is the key theme to emerge from this chapter. Its title ‘He Toa Takitini’ reflects a view of diverse forces coming together to fulfil a common purpose and to execute the intentions of the mission statement of Te Aute College; the advancement of the private and public good.

Future Directions

This thesis sought to discover how Te Aute College might function as an educational institution in the 21st century. The thesis intentions were not to state how Te Aute College should function, such obligations and responsibilities clearly lie with the leadership, governance and management structures of Te Aute College today. However, what this thesis has done is categorically highlight the multiple stakeholder interests in Te Aute College and their respective connections that influence the provision of education.

Reflection on the history of Te Aute College, an examination of its current role as a provider of Māori education and analyses of research participants’ stories on Te Aute College has enabled this thesis to put forward possible future directions that might be considered as it confronts the challenges of being a Māori boarding school in the 21st

century. The following whakataukī explains this point more clearly

‘ka riu te aute waka nō ngā hīanga ki te Ara-tapu-o-Ahuriri’ meaning, ‘te aute the precious canoe is adzed out because of the sporting actions of the sacred pathway of the land-altar-that-is-uplifted-in-anger’.

An interpretation of the meaning of this whakataukī implies that the final shape and destiny of Te Aute College should not be left in the hands of those who do not have its best interests at heart. Accordingly, this interpretation has ramifications for those key stakeholders of Te Aute College where ultimately, this notion of best interests concerns a sustained contribution to Māori advancement by ensuring only the best outcomes for students of Te Aute College. The lineage and tradition of Te Aute College has categorically contributed to this phenomenon as well as to the shaping of Māori identity; indeed, to Aotearoa New Zealand. The future of Te Aute College must undoubtedly be built around the Te Aute tradition.

The college has a whakapapa that connects a Māori worldview, Christianity, academia, health and sport. Collectively, these project that which is distinctive and special about Te Aute College. In order that Te Aute College maintain its rightful place alongside other educational institutions today, the college cannot rest on its laurels and a taken for granted position. Instead, its heritage and today’s special character have the potential to be developed and aligned to 21st century education dynamics as influenced by State policies, market tendencies, whānau aspirations, religion, Māori development and global trends.

For instance, Te Aute College was established on Māori and Christian values and these dimensions maintain the same level of significance today in terms of the Te Aute experience. These dimensions impact upon the notion of ‘what makes a Te Aute boy’. There is a distinctive combination of a Māori worldview, the Anglican faith and the State curriculum that have formed the basis of the Te Aute brand. However, the fragmentation of rural Māori communities in comparison to the mid-20th century, the impact of technology on Māoridom for instance, infrastructure, communication and a global economy dictate the necessity for innovation.

The challenge therefore for Te Aute College and its key stakeholders today is to draw from the strengths of the past as elicited from the many interviews that made a contribution to this thesis. Once again, the school has a role to play in realising the aspirations of urban Māori, of whānau and of those for whom a Te Aute education is a tradition. Therefore strategic planning that encompasses a long-term vision for Te Aute College and for Māori advancement could be part of a proactive and innovative on-going vision. Te Aute College has much to celebrate in terms of its contribution to Māori advancement. Therefore it is imperative that the whakapapa of Te Aute College be celebrated and built upon in order that past, present and future directions are linked by school tradition and by the contemporary realities of Māori education for Māori advancement.

The vision of Governor Grey in the late 1840s was that the Church boarding schools would be able to eventually produce all the supplies that they needed and in doing so be able to entirely support themselves. Māori land benefactors gave over 4000 acres of land to the school to support this ideal. Because of leases in perpetuity approved by the government of the day in favour of a local missionary family, Te Aute College has never been in a position to be able to fully support itself and sustain its provision of a fully resourced education even though it was originally endowed with over 8000 acres; it is still waiting to do so.

Te Aute College has the necessary resource base to be able to sustain a long-term plan alongside an innovative and proactive vision. As seen from the research, there is limited ability to capitalise on economic benefits from a resource base that is currently inhibited by unjust and restrictive legislation. The Waitangi Tribunal Claim into the Te Aute Endowment Land will perhaps lead to a fruitful outcome for Te Aute College.

Regardless, Te Aute College must continue to strive to maintain its contribution to Māori advancement and provide the best outcomes for its students through innovation and with the resources that it is able to maximise. With a sense of mission as a Māori boarding school as well as a whakapapa of contribution to Māori advancement

nurtured by all those who have been and still are a part of Te Aute College today, the college is well placed to maintain a significant role in delivering a quality Māori education to enhance Māori development.

This thesis has consistently examined the potential of Te Aute College and its ability to contribute to Māori advancement. A key aspect in the realisation of this contribution has been the leadership and teaching at Te Aute College throughout its history. Te Aute College has epitomised Māori leadership throughout specific eras of its history and accordingly, when leadership has been passionately and consistently modelled throughout the multiple layers of college life, Te Aute College has performed well and a strong contribution to Māori advancement has ensued.

Research participants' stories have shown that good teaching at Te Aute College gave them an indispensable knowledge and skill base that strongly influenced their respective pathways after Te Aute. It equipped them with a capacity to actively participate in society where they could make a difference, to their own lives and to those of others. In order for Te Aute College to maintain this whakapapa of good teaching, sustain its contribution and meet its obligations to all of its students and to Māoridom good teaching will be an imperative. For example, an institution like Te Aute College not only needs well qualified teachers, teachers must want to be at Te Aute College. Such teachers will need to understand and engage in the special character of Te Aute and be teachers who understand the modern realities for all students today.

Through the management structure, strong leadership can be modelled. School policies can reflect these ideals, building on school tradition, whānau aspirations and an informed and up to date notion of the key aspects of the Te Aute experience in developing strong, well taught and innovative leaders for the decades ahead. External monitoring systems such as the Education Review Office are but one aspect of a school review; a collective representation of the key stakeholders would be another that might nurture a strong leadership model.

It is essential that Te Aute College find a strong pathway into the future if it is to endure in its capacity to contribute to Māori advancement. The future focus has to be set and Te Aute College must then position itself to reach the goals set. A challenge of this nature is not an unknown phenomenon. The whakapapa of Te Aute College is testament to this; it has been confronted by many challenges throughout its history. The challenges of the 21st century can be managed through strategic and visionary planning just as they were in the 20th century. Tradition is an important aspect of all the Māori boarding schools and the realities of the 21st century project the necessity for these schools to simultaneously move forward and engage in dialogue and regular communication as part of their individual and collective strategic planning. If individuals, whānau and communities are going to invest in Te Aute College for instance, a strategic vision that is transparent, clearly attainable and highly sought after is imperative for its endurance as a Māori boarding school that provides an education that whānau want for their sons.

One of Te Aute's greatest sons, Sir Apirana Ngata metaphorically speaks of retaining cultural identity alongside the constantly evolving technologies of society and faith in Christianity with the following words

E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tōu ao, ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga, ko tō wairua ki te Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Grow up tender child in the days of your world, learn and master the ways of the Pākehā for your wellbeing, cherish those treasures of your ancestors that make you who you are, your soul to God the creator of all things.

These words set in place a vision for the future that still stands today. While leaders come and go, the notion of leadership in te ao Māori is cyclic as indicated by the following metaphor, 'mate atu he toa, ara mai rā he toa' - 'a champion warrior dies and another rises to took his place'.

Therefore, leadership that can draw the threads of vested interests held by the key stakeholders of Te Aute College into one strand is critical. The research findings from this thesis suggest that this strand sees

- A future vision founded on long-term planning that cultivates the special character of Te Aute College in the 21st century;
- An uncompromising approach to realising student potential to secure the best possible outcomes for them on leaving Te Aute College;
- The role and function of Te Aute College is not just for the school alone. The future of the college must focus on the bigger picture, the advancement of Māoridom and the contribution from the college through a commitment to excellence in the education it will provide.

As tāngata whenua, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti have responsibilities and obligations in respect of Te Aute College. Responsibilities such as sustained communication with all the entities of Te Aute College so that collectively, they are able to contribute to the college's future and maintain its contribution to Māori advancement. Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and the boards of the school have a relationship that might not always be in agreement but ultimately they do have the wellbeing of the school at the fore.

This thesis argues for a collaborative effort in caring for the present and future wellbeing of the school between Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, the Te Aute Trust Board, the Anglican Church and representatives of the student body. A collective approach might ensure that the voices of all people are heard because even though individual stakeholder groups may have specific voices, these voices must encompass an overall vision that centres on the broader view, Māori advancement.

This thesis has argued that the notion of whakapapa has an unquestionable bearing on past, present and future directions of Te Aute College. As this thesis comes to a conclusion, the nature of the whakapapa of Te Aute College and of a whakapapa research methodology assists in telling the story of Te Aute College and in charging new generations with the care of the school. Just as one's ancestors and ancestral precepts remain an innate part of a Māori worldview and of the advancement of Māori, so too will the tradition that is Te Aute College remain imprinted on Māoridom and on Aotearoa New Zealand. 'Te mana o Te Aute' means more than the literal translation of the power of Te Aute; it encompasses the enduring strength of Te

Aute and the Te Aute tradition, 'te ihi, te wehi, te wairua me te mauri o Te Aute'.

This thesis concludes with the echoing words from a line of the Te Aute College haka, summing up all that the school has meant to succeeding generations of Te Aute College students

'Whakatangata kia kaha, Whakatangata kia kaha, Whakatangata kia kaha!'

APPENDICES

Appendix One

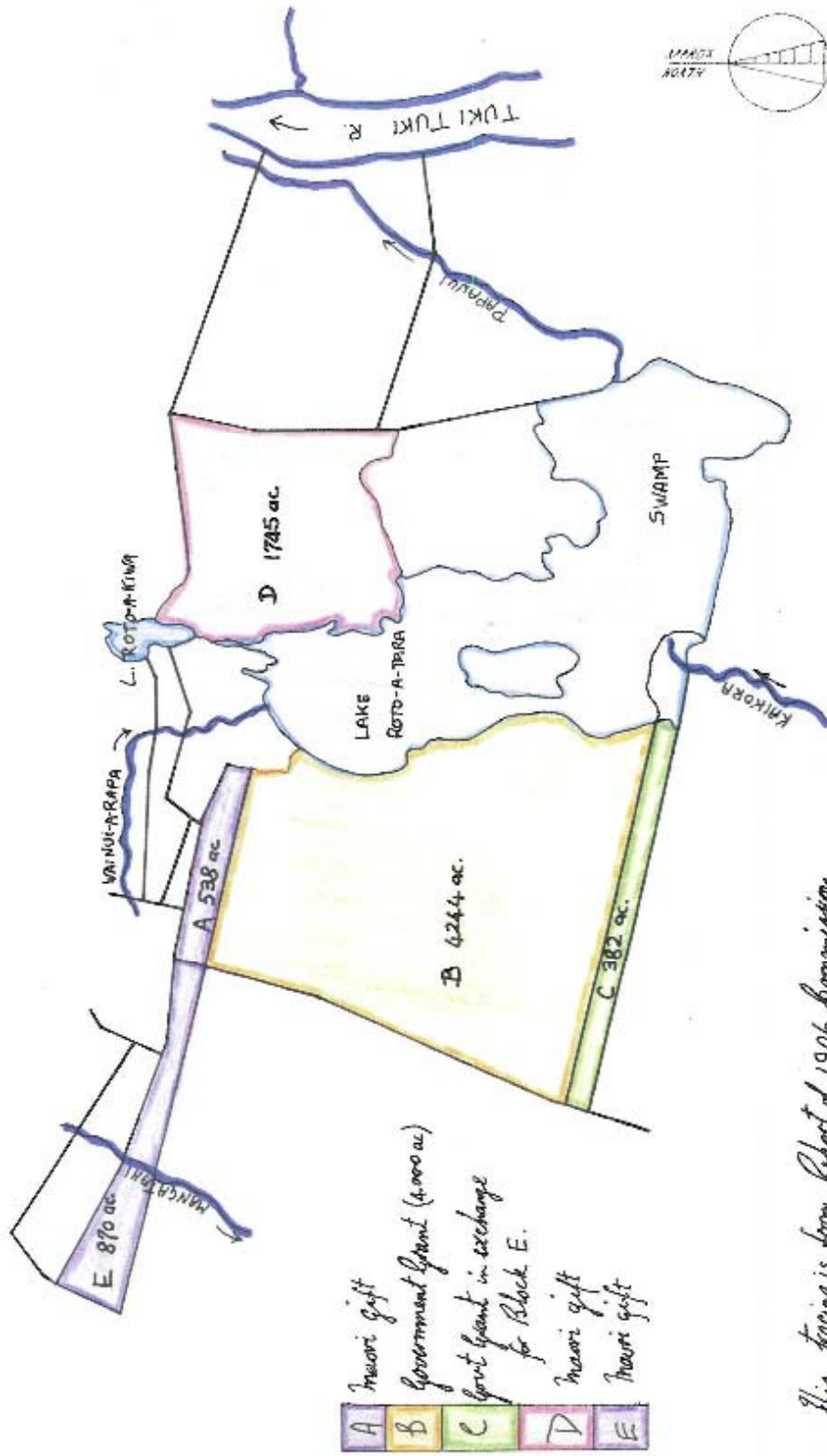
Te Aute College Endowment Land Maps 1, 2, 3 and 4

There are four maps in Appendix One and these maps were prepared around the turn of the 20th century when the 1906 Royal Commission was held or thereafter when the Te Aute College Endowment Land was subdivided. The maps briefly detail a chronology of the changing size and shape of the endowment land where specific portions, that is, the Crown gift and the Māori gift are colour coded for distinguishing between the two gifts as well as the land exchanges that took place. Interestingly, these maps have been used as references to the Te Aute Estate or to the endowment land throughout the 20th century and into the beginning of the 21st century. However, they are inaccurate to an extent, as this thesis has disclosed by way of reference to a forthcoming Treaty of Waitangi claim. The maps inaccurately convey the size and extent of the Māori gift as well as the more important issue of a large portion of this land, the Māori gift, being sold by the Crown between the years 1853 and 1859.

Appendix Two provides comparison maps / drawings of the equivalent of blocks 'A' and 'E' taken from Maps 1 and 4 in Appendix One. In Map 1 of Appendix One, the total acreage of blocks 'A' and 'E' is 1652 acres. Conversely, once an exchange takes place between blocks 'E' and 'C', the acreage of this part of the 'Māori' gift is reduced to 920 acres; a loss of 732 acres even though the original size was not correct in the first instance as pointed out below. Block 'D' is undisputed in terms of acreage.

The size of block 'E' is documented as 870 acres in Map 1. However, this figure is incorrect as Appendix Two discloses. If 'we' backtrack before the above exchanges, Map 5 shows that the western portion of the Māori gift originally extended significantly west of the Mangaotai stream; on Map 1, the boundary only just passes the Mangaotai stream. Even worse, the boundary of this part of the Māori gift was eventually moved further eastward (back towards Te Aute College) to '*Takanga-o-Tamakura*' so that in all, around 1760 acres were sold by the Crown against the wording of their own 'Crown' deeds (ie. 1857). This is detailed in Map 6.

MAP 1

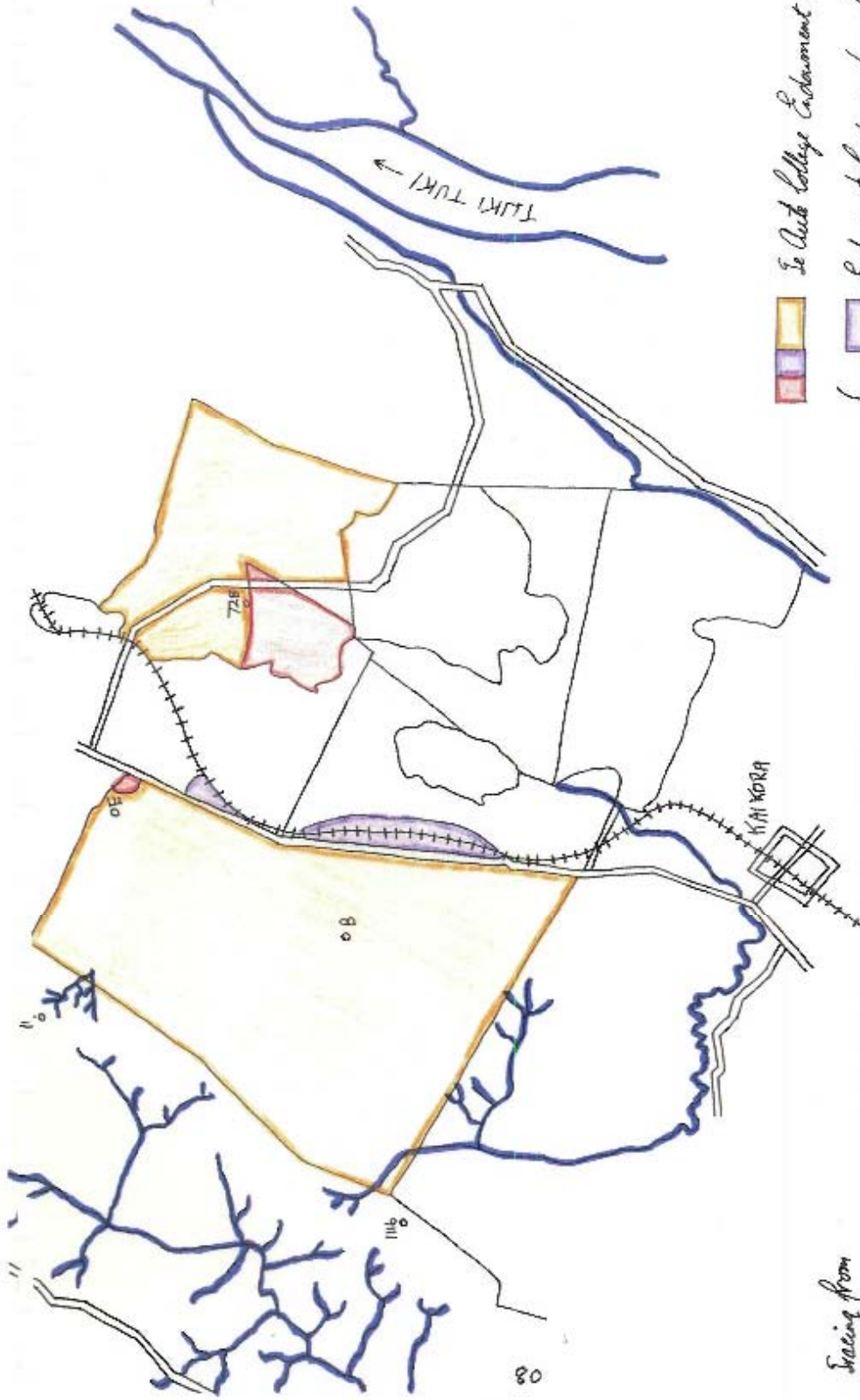


This tracing is from Report of 1906 Commission

EXHIBIT No. 28

(Compiled from Diagram on above page.)

MAP 2



- Le Queb College Embowment Lands
- Embowment lands exchanged with Archibald S. Williams for an equal (315 acres) Bill
- Exchanged with W.T. Williams

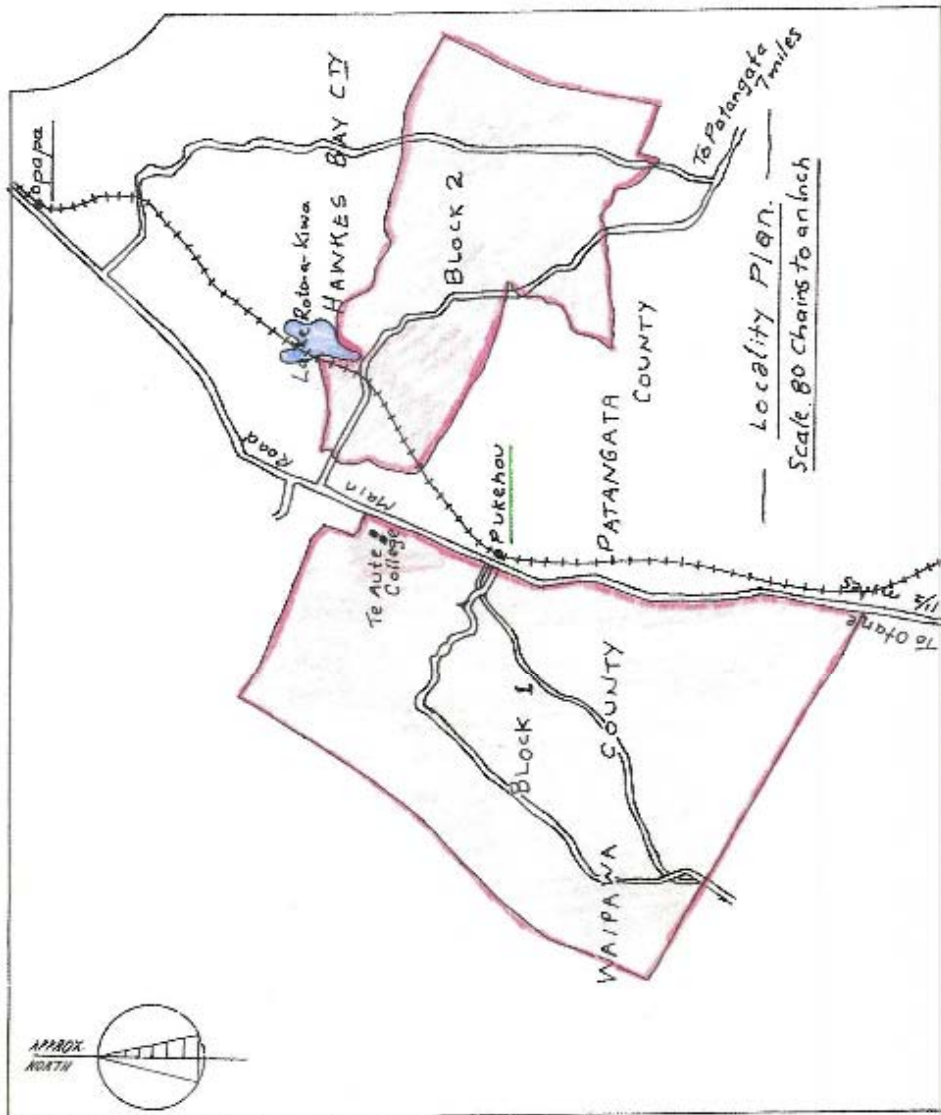
Exhibit No 30 does NOT give this information.

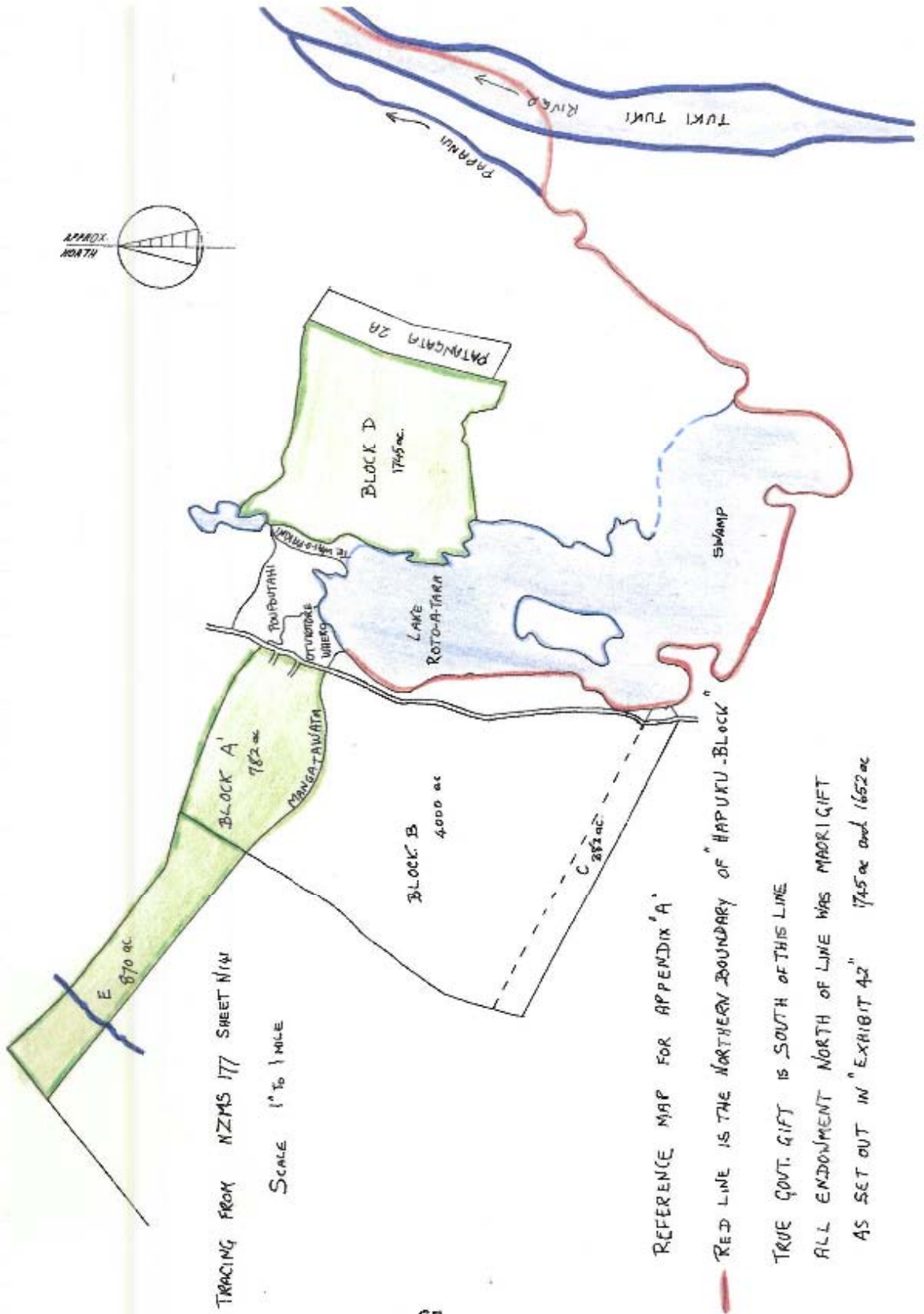
Tracing from Exhibit No 30

SCALE 1 mile to an inch.

A Fencing from
A Map for the Subdivision of the
Te Aute College Estate
Prepared by A. G. SAKBY. 1915

MAP 3.





Appendix Two

Te Aute College Endowment Land Maps 5 and 6

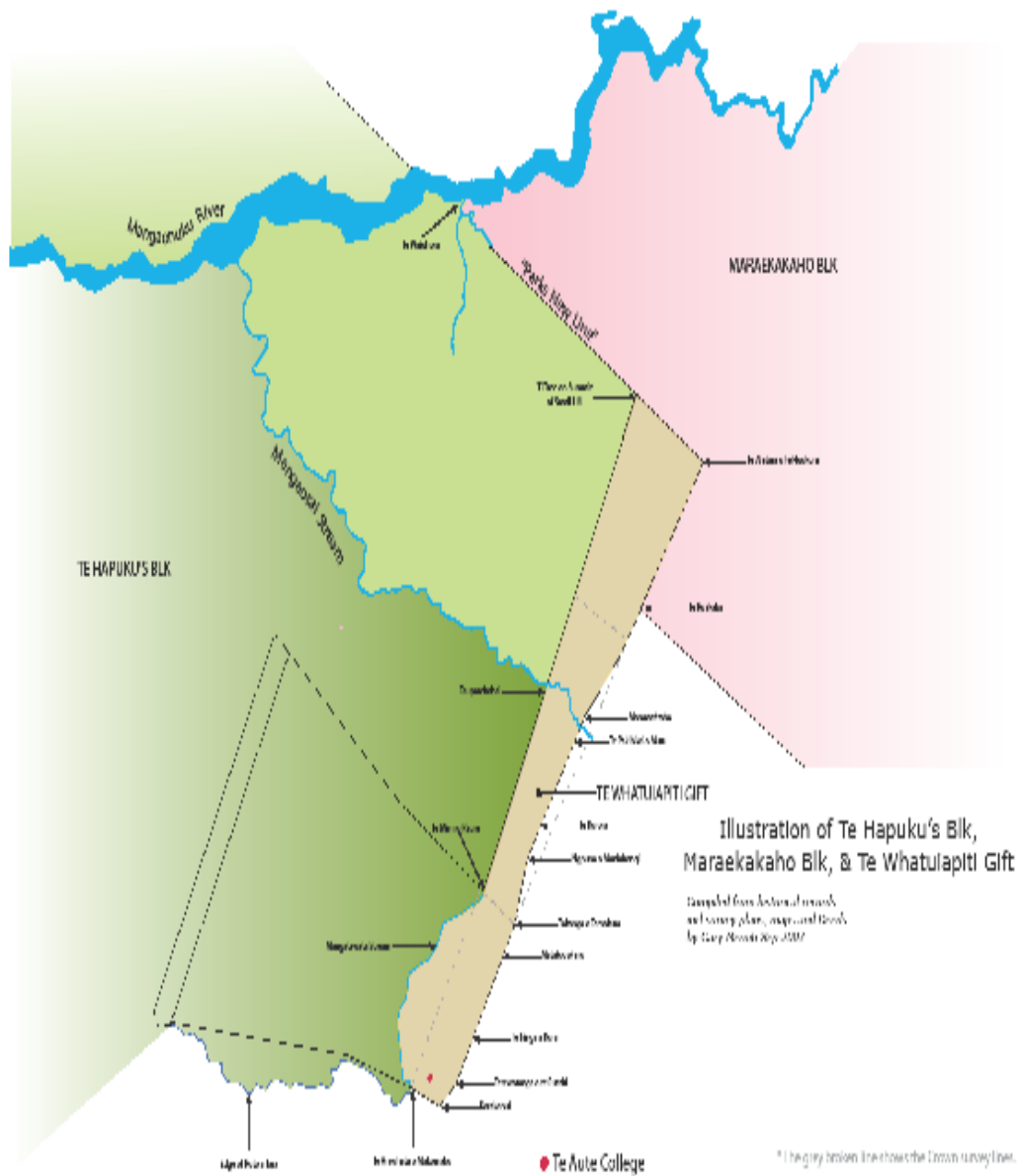


Illustration of Crown Sale of Te Whatuiapiti Gift 1854-1867

Compiled from historical records
and survey plans, maps and deeds
by Gary Hamill Sep 2007

- Blk 11 224 acres
- Blk 12 486 acres
- Blk 13 89 acres
- Blk 140 2,257 acres
- Blk 141 101 acres
- Blk 142 4,363 acres

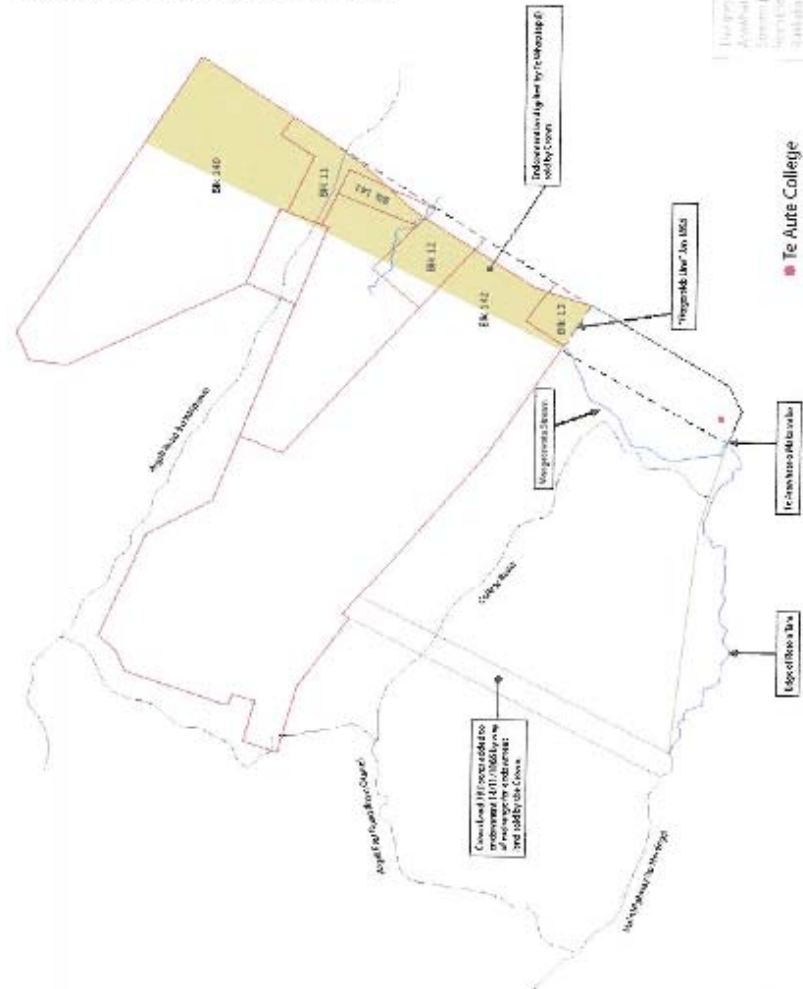
(all blocks 87) sold by the Crown to C. P. Phipps of Wellington, Shearman, Rowlands & Co. Solicitors of Wellington, between 1854 and 1859.

The blocks sold by the Crown included part the eastern portion of the land given by Te Whatuiapiti to the Crown "upon trust" ... for a school to educate children at Te Aute "forever", and land not included in the Te Whatuiapiti gift (131, 30 acres). The boundaries were subsequently adjusted and the balance areas re-conveyed to the Stouas Bros (who bought out C. Phipps) in 1866 and 1867.

The Crown granted an additional area of land (Blk 208, 208 acres) in 1867. In 1867 the area wrongly sold to the Crown, given back to the prior owners in 1866.

For the eastern portion of the land given by Te Whatuiapiti to the Crown "upon trust" ... for a school to educate children at Te Aute "forever", the Crown "exchanged" 282 acres of Crown Lands, which was added to the southern boundary of the Crown's Grant.

The area of land given by Te Whatuiapiti to the Crown in trust for the above purpose was about 1,756 acres +/- . The Crown sold this land for an average of 4d per acre (1860 pence). This land it exchanged was purchased by the Crown for less than 4 pence per acre.



The area of land given by Te Whatuiapiti to the Crown in trust for the above purpose was about 1,756 acres +/- . The Crown sold this land for an average of 4d per acre (1860 pence). This land it exchanged was purchased by the Crown for less than 4 pence per acre.

Appendix Three

Te Aute College Covering Letter (Principal)

03 March 2006

Tēnā koe e te Rangatira!

Ngā mihi o te whanaketanga mai o Poutū-te-rangi ki a koe, ki tō whānau, ā, ki a tātou katoa!

My name is James Graham. I am a Lecturer at Massey University College of Education where I am based at the Ruawharo Campus in Napier. I am in the School of Māori and Multicultural Education - Te Uru Māraurau. I live in Pukehou, I attended Te Aute College where I was the Dux in 1989 and I belong to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. My family has had links with Te Aute College since its establishment in various capacities where these are still maintained today. I would like to use Te Aute College as my research topic for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree that I am currently enrolled in at Massey University.

This letter seeks your approval as well as that of the Board of Trustees and the Te Aute Trust Board for the title of my research topic that comes from the college's whakataukī ***Whakatangata Kia Kaha: - An examination of the role of Te Aute College in contributing to the advancement of Māori.*** The aims of this research are:

- To examine what Te Aute College's contribution has been for the advancement of Māori;
- To examine what role Te Aute College will take in shaping the future for Māori, and;
- How may Te Aute College's contribution be measured?

In order to initiate and undertake this research I am seeking your consent and participation in this research project about Te Aute College. As mentioned, I have also

written to the Chairperson of the Te Aute Trust Board and the Chairperson of the College Board of Trustees seeking their consent of their boards. I am enclosing further information with this letter including the following documents: - information sheet, consent form and self-addressed envelope. Thank-you for your time and consideration of my proposal.

Otirā, e te rangatira tēnei ahau he pekanga o Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, o Te Kāreti o Te Aute hoki e mihi atu ana ki a koe mō ōu mahi kua mahia me oū whakaaro whakahirahira ki te kāreti nei. Nō reira, tēnā anō koe; Whakatangata kia kaha!

Nāku noa

Nā James Graham

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix Four

Information Sheet

Whakatangata Kia Kaha

- An examination of the role of Te Aute College in contributing to the Māori advancement.

Ko Kauhehei te maunga. Ko Te Roto-a-Tara te waiū. Ko Te Whatuiāpiti te tangata.
Tihei Mauriora!

Ka tukuna atu tōku aroha ki te iwi e ngākaunui ana ki te kaupapa nei me kī, te mātauranga Māori. Tēnā koutou e te iwi e whakapau kaha ana ki te whāngai i te mātauranga ki ā tātou nei taitama, kōtiro hoki hei whakamana i a rātou, arā, kia mōhio ai rātou he mana motuhake tō rātou. Ka mihi, ka tangi hoki tēnei ki a rātou kua wehea kētia, ā, ko rātou mā kua para te huarahi nei. Nā rātou i waiho mai te reo nei, nā rātou anō i whakatō kākano hei whāinga mā tātou. Heoi anō, tēnei anō tātou e noho nei, e tū nei e whakapau kaha ana ki tēnei ao hurihuri. Kāti rā, e ngā maunga, e ngā awa, e ngā pekanga me ngā rau o Te Aute, māku e mihi ake ki a koutou katoa. Mauriora koutou, mauriora tātou katoa!

Tēnā koe. My name is James Graham and I am studying for a Doctor of Philosophy Degree. I am a Lecturer in the School of Māori & Multicultural Education - Te Uru Māraurau at Massey University College of Education where I am based at the Ruawharo Campus in Napier. I can be contacted through Te Uru Māraurau, Massey University College of Education, Ruawharo Campus, Tamatea Drive, Private Bag, Napier; ph. (06) 8355202. A message can also be left on e-mail: J.Graham@massey.ac.nz

My supervisors are Professor Arohia Durie and Professor Luanna Meyer. Professor

Durie can be contacted at Te Uru Māraurau, Massey University College of Education, Palmerston North. Ph. (06) 3569099 extn 8963; A.E.Durie@Massey.ac.nz Professor Meyer can be contacted at the Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington. Ph. (04) 4639569; Luanna.Meyer@vuw.ac.nz

What is this Research about?

I am seeking your participation in this research project about Te Aute College where I am particularly interested in Te Aute College's contribution to Māori development through the realisation of Māori potential. The research will explore Te Aute College's contribution thus far as well as the role Te Aute might play in shaping the future for Māori. Te Aute College has a proud heritage that is unique. There are written and unwritten histories on Te Aute College full of stories, memories, momentous events and; joyous and sad occasions. Generations of pupils have entered its portals and gone on to contribute to the unique record of the college. In embarking on this work for my doctorate I hope that the findings will make a contribution to the greater understanding of the nature of Te Aute College and for all our communities of interest.

What will I be asked to do?

Potential research participants are invited to participate in this exploration in the role of Te Aute College. I'm asking for your assistance as a participant in my research either by agreeing to be interviewed or by completing and returning a questionnaire. I hope to interview or question a range of people particularly, key stakeholders of Te Aute College.

What happens next?

My research will need to cover relevant college records, policy documents and recent developments so to this end I need to go through a series of consent processes in order to launch the research. It would also be helpful to be able to speak to a small number

of current senior students of the college, as well as ex-students. Willing research participants will be asked to complete and sign the consent form and mail this back to the researcher in the self addressed and stamped envelope provided. When this has been received by the researcher, the researcher will make contact with the research participants to organise a time and to schedule an interview if you agree to take part in this part of the research. If research participants prefer a questionnaire, this will be mailed in the post. If persons decline to take part in the research, the researcher will acknowledge this response through the post and thank you for your time.

Who else will be taking part in the research?

The researcher has identified a number of potential research participants that have vested but varied interests in the affairs of Te Aute College including the past, the present and the future. These persons have been identified as affiliating to one or more of the following groups: - ex-students of Te Aute College (old boys and girls), current students of Te Aute College, Te Aute College Principals (past and present), Te Aute Trust Board members (past and present), Te Aute College Board of Trustee members (past and present), Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and, members (including clergy) of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Research Methods

The interviews would last for no more than one hour at a location to be decided by the person being interviewed. With permission I would also like to tape record the interviews. Research participants have the right to confidentiality at all stages of the research. In some instances it may not be possible to assure complete confidentiality by virtue of position and or involvement with Te Aute College and I would bring this to the attention of those likely to be identifiable in this way. The interview will be governed by protocols laid down by the Massey University Human Ethics Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving human participants; this includes your right to:

- To decline to participate;

- To refuse to answer any particular questions;
- To withdraw from the study at any time;
- To ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- To provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher to do this;
- To be given access to a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded.
- I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Interviews will be transcribed and material drawn from this for inclusion in the research will be copied for the perusal of research participants. Alternatively, research participants will have the option of completing a research questionnaire as opposed to being interviewed. All research material will be kept in lockable cabinets stored at the Ruawhāro Campus of Massey University. The material and information gained from this research project will be used towards my Doctor of Philosophy Degree and thesis, which has the same working title that heads this information sheet. Thank you for your consideration.

Otirā, nei māua ko mīharo i tēnei wā tonu e mihi atu ana ki a koe mō tō wā me mō ōu whakaaro whakahirahira. Ko te tūmanako ka whai huarahi koe, ā, ka taea e koe te uru mai ki tēnei huarahi rangahau e whakapā atu ana ki te taonga nei mai rā anō, ā mohoa nei hoki; me kī, te Kāreti o Te Aute. Kāti rā, Te Aute mā, ki te hoe!

Nāku noa

Nā James Graham

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix Five

Consent Form

Whakatangata Kia Kaha

- An examination of the role of Te Aute College in contributing to Māori advancement.

I have read or have had read to me the information sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I also understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained at all stages of the research (information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).

- | | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| ➤ I agree to participate in a focus group interview | Yes | No. |
| ➤ I agree to being contacted by telephone if the need arises | Yes | No. |

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

Phone:

Fax:

Email:

Address:

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix Six

Te Aute College Interview Schedule

Whakatangata Kia Kaha

- An examination of the role of Te Aute College in contributing to Māori advancement.

The following interview questions will form the basis of the interview question schedule for past students of Te Aute College. It is also predicted that these questions will provoke further discussion and dialogue as the scope of each interview allows. At the beginning of each individual interview, mihimihi (introductions) and karakia will take place between the interviewer and the interviewee. This will differ with each interview however; the function of this practice is underpinned by tikanga Māori.

- 1) What years were you enrolled at Te Aute College?
- 2) Why did you go to Te Aute, that is, what were the reasons you went or were sent there?
- 3) What did being a Te Aute boy [or girl] mean to you then? What about now?
- 4) How did going to Te Aute make a difference for you?
- 5) What were the strengths of Te Aute in your day? What do you think they are now?
- 6) What about in the future, what do you think Te Aute's strengths will be?
- 7) Has anyone else in your family gone to Te Aute before, with or after you?
- 8) What were their reasons for doing so? Are they similar to your own reasons?

- 9) How should Te Aute be meeting the educational and spiritual needs of its students today?
- 10) What are some of the key contributions that you think that Te Aute College has made throughout its 150-year history for the advancement of Māori?
- 11) In what ways do you think that Te Aute College could contribute to the advancement of Māori?
- 12) How can or should Te Aute College's contribution to the advancement of Māori be measured?
- 13) How would this happen? What would be required of Te Aute College and those involved with the college to achieve and fulfil your views?
- 14) How can Te Aute College old boys (and old girls) be included and involved in the future of Te Aute College?
- 15) What type of relationship(s) should or could exist with the other Māori boarding schools in contributing to the advancement of Māori?
- 16) How do you view the role of the two Te Aute College authorities responsible for governance and management (the Te Aute Trust Board and the Board of Trustees)?
- 17) What is the role of the Anglican Church at Te Aute?
- 18) Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti are the tāngata whenua of the district, what does this mean to you? (Hapū's obligation / rights).
- 19) If there is anything else that you would like to add to this interview please feel free to discuss any other issues associated with Te Aute College and its contribution to Māori advancement and Māori potential.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix Seven

Te Aute College Research Questionnaire

Whakatangata Kia Kaha

- An examination of the role of Te Aute College in contributing to Māori advancement.

Could you please respond to as many of the following questions as you want to by writing your views and responses in the spaces provided? If you run out of space on these sheets, then please feel free to continue writing on the paper attached with this questionnaire. Thank you for your time, consideration and tautoko.

- 1) Kia ora, can you begin by briefly outlining background information about yourself, iwi, hapū and what you have done since leaving Te Aute?
- 2) What years were you enrolled at Te Aute?
- 3) Why did you go to Te Aute, what were the reasons you went or were sent there?
- 4) What is the most positive experience (s) or memory (ies) that Te Aute provided for you?
- 5) What did being a Te Aute boy mean to you then? What about now?
- 6) How did going to Te Aute make a difference for you?
- 7) What were the strengths of Te Aute in your day? What about the areas that needed improvement?

- 8) What are some of the key contributions that you think that Te Aute College has made throughout its 150-year history for the advancement of Māori?
- 9) What would be the things that would tell you that Te Aute College has done a 'good job' in its role as a secondary school? That is, what are the indicators that would tell you about or show Te Aute's contribution to and for Māoridom?
- 10) Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti are the tāngata whenua of the district, what does this mean to you and for Te Aute?
- 11) In what ways or capacity can Te Aute old boys be included and involved in the future of the College?
- 12) What is your vision of the future of Te Aute College and where do you think Te Aute's strengths will lie in the future?
- 13) If there is anything else that you would like to add to your responses please feel free to do so.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix Eight

Te Aute College Focus Group

Whakatangata Kia Kaha:

- An examination of the role of Te Aute College in contributing to Māori advancement.

Preliminaries: (to be answered individually on paper).

1. What year did you enrol and start at Te Aute College?
2. How or when did you first ever hear about Te Aute?
3. How many years have you attended Te Aute?
4. What do you think you will do after finishing school at Te Aute? Is this what you want to do?

Questions: (to be asked to the whole group, individual responses recorded).

1. Why did you come to Te Aute College, how did you decide, who influenced you?
2. What does being a Te Aute boy mean to you?
3. What are Te Aute's strengths and areas for improvement or change?
4. How has Te Aute College made a difference for you, for Māori?

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Wellington Application 05/37. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: WGTN, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix Nine

Maintaining the Anonymity of the Research Participants

The following table represents the research participants by pseudonym. For the purposes of maintaining anonymity and confidentiality during the writing up phase of Section Three of the thesis, The Research Findings, each participant was given the Māori name of a native tree. Each of the columns in the table represents the type of relationship that the participant has with Te Aute College. These groupings included past students (old boys and old girls), past and present board members, past and present staff members, persons formally associated with the Anglican Church and members of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti. For instance, there were some participants who were solely old boys, while there were others who were of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, were on school staff and who were also board members. The number of participants from multiple groupings varied across all of the participants apart from those who were current students and who participated in the focus group.

Pseudonym	Old Boy	Board	Staff	Church	Student	Hapū
Totara	✓	✓				
Ngaio	✓	✓	✓			
Karaka	✓					
Matai	✓					✓
Rimu		✓	✓			
Kauri	✓	✓		✓		
Karamu			✓	✓		
Kareao	✓	✓				✓
Rewarewa		✓	✓			✓
Kahikatea		✓	✓	✓		
Manuka	✓					
Kanuka		✓		✓		
Titoki	✓					
Miro	✓	✓				✓
Tawa	✓					✓
Pohutukawa	✓		✓			
Kowhai	✓	✓				✓
Puriri	✓					
Koromiko	✓			✓		
Tarata	✓					✓
Manatu	✓					
Nikau	✓			✓		
Makomako	✓	✓				
Kohuhu	✓					
Houhere	✓					
Rata						✓
Pukatea						✓
Kawakawa						✓
Horopito						✓
Puka						✓
Tawhai						✓

References

Manuscripts

Māori Land Court Minute Book References

Napier Minute Book 1: (1866). Moturoa Hearing.

Napier Minute Book 2: (1869). Te Ipu-o-Taraia Hearing.

Napier Minute Book 19: (1889). Omahu Hearing.

Napier Minute Book 23: (1891). Rakautatahi Hearing.

Napier Minute Book 27: (1893). Papa-aruhe Hearing.

Official Publications

Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives (1906). Report of Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts.

Journal, Paper, Article and Unpublished Report References

At 4 o'clock in the morning Te Aute (1918). March 6th. The Hawkes Bay Herald

Barnett, S., Gillies, A (2005). Mai a Papa ki a Rangi: Māori research methods, methodology and theory - a ground up approach. First International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA.

Bevan-Brown, J. (1998). By Māori, for Māori, about Māori: is that enough? Te Ohu Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Chetwin, A., Waldegrave, T., Simonsen, K. (2002). Interweaving cultural perspectives: an evaluation within New Zealand's criminal justice system. Australasian Evaluation Society International Conference, Wollongong, Australia.

Colorado, P. (1996). "Indigenous science: Dr Pamela Colorado talks to Jane Carroll". Revision: Journal of Consciousness and Transformation **18**(3): 6-10.

Coyte, G. (2005). From the principal. La Salle news: Auckland.

Cracknell, M. (1982). The significance of the name Te Aute. Te Wero 1982: Te Aute College Magazine.

Cunningham, C., Durie, M.H. (1998). A taxonomy and a framework for outcomes and strategic goals, for Māori research and development: a summary paper prepared for foresight participants. Palmerston North, Te Pumanawa Hauora - School of Māori Studies, Massey University.

Cunningham, C., Stevenson, B., Tassell, N (2005). Analysis of the characteristics of whānau in Aotearoa. Research Centre for Māori Health and Development. Palmerston North, School of Māori Studies, Massey University.

Dale, T. (2001). High stakes down under for Indigenous peoples: learning from Māori education in New Zealand: an outsider's perspective. Annual meeting of the National Association for Multicultural Education, Las Vegas, ERIC.

Diocese of Waiapu (1920). Synod report of the diocese of Waiapu.

Durie, A. E. (1992). Whaia te ara tika: - research methodologies and Māori. Māori

Research Seminar, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Durie, A. E. (1995). “Kia hiwa ra: challenges for Māori academics in changing times”. He Pukenga Korero: A Journal of Māori Studies 1(1): 1 - 9.

Durie, A. E. (1998). Me tipu ake te pono: Māori research, ethicality and development. Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Durie, A. E. (2000). Walking on water: understanding education in Aotearoa New Zealand. American Education Research Association Conference. New Orleans.

Durie, A. E. (2002). Whakamua whakamuri: Māori research. Keynote address presented to the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, Palmerston North.

Durie, M. (1997). Identity, access and Māori advancement. Paper presented at the Edited proceedings of the NZEAS Research Conference. Auckland.

Durie, M. (2001). A framework for considering Māori education. Hui Taumata Matauranga. Turangi.

Durie, M. (2004). Te Rangi Hiroa lecture. Te Aute College 150th Anniversary Lecture Series. Eastern Institute of Technology.

Durie, M. (2004). “Understanding health and illness: research at the interface between science and Indigenous knowledge”. International Journal of Epidemiology 33: 1138 - 1143.

Durie, M. (2005). “Indigenous knowledge within a global knowledge system”. Higher Education Policy 18: 301-312.

Durie, M. (2006). Whanau, education and Māori potential. Hui Taumata Matauranga V. Taupo.

Dwyer, E. (1948). Māori education in Hawkes Bay. Radio Address, In Te Aranga o Te Aute.

Graham, J. P. H. (2007). “Kia u, kia mau ki to Māoritanga: A whakapapa (genealogical) approach to research”. The International Journal of Interdisciplinary

Social Sciences 1.

Hamilton, A. (1888). "Notes on a deposit of moa bones in the Te Aute swamp, Hawkes Bay". Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute **XXI**: 311-318.

Harmsworth, G. (2006). Māori values in the Māori business approach. An interim report investigating the incorporation of tikanga in Māori business' and organisations. Mana Taiao Ltd, Auckland

Hill, H. (1913). "The moa legendary, historical and geological: why and when the moa disappeared". Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute **XLVI**: 330-351.

Hohepa, M. (2001). Maranga e te mahara: memory arise - learning, culture and language regeneration. New Zealand Association of Research in Education, Christchurch.

Honey, M. A. (1987). "The interview as text: hermeneutics considered as a model for analysing the clinically informed research interview". Human Development **30**: 69-82.

Istance, D. (2003). "Schooling and lifelong learning: insights from OECD analyses". European Journal of Education **38**(1).

Jefferies, R. (1998). Māori participation in tertiary education: barriers and strategies to overcome them. Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Kupa, M. (1994). Report for the Te Aute Trust Board (INC) on the establishment of its administrative operations at Te Aute College.

Levine, H. B. (2001). "Can a voluntary organisation be a treaty partner? The case of Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust". Social Policy Journal of New Zealand / Te Puna Whakaaro **17**: 161-170.

Limerick, B., Burgess-Limerick, T., Grace, M. (1996). The politics of interviewing. In, *The University of Waikato Twenty-five years (1964-1989)*. Pp.9-15. Hamilton, University of Waikato.

Malcouronne, P. (2006). Two tribes. North & South. **August**.

Martin, R., McMurchy-Pilkington, C., Tuwharetoa, T.T., Martin, N., Dale, H. (2003). He rangahau ki ta te huarahi Māori rangahau kaupapa Māori: reflections on research methodologies for Māori contexts. New Zealand Association for Research in Education, Auckland.

Matthews, N. (2005). He kura Māori, he kura hahi. World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education. University of Waikato.

McCelland, A., St.John, S. (2006). "Social policy responses to globalisation in Australia and New Zealand, 1980 - 2005". Australian Journal of Political Science **41**(2): 177 - 191.

McNab, R. (1908). Historical records of New Zealand. Wellington, Government Printer. **1**.

New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2006). National qualifications framework statistics 2006 for Te Aute College. Wellington, New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2007). National qualifications framework statistics 2007 for Te Aute College. Wellington, New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

Penetito, W. (1998). He haeata tiaho: strategic planning for whānau, hapū and iwi education. Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference, Massey University. Palmerston North.

Powick, K. (2002). Ngā take matatika mō te mahi rangahau Māori: Māori research ethics - A literature review of the ethical issues and implications of kaupapa Māori research and research involving Māori researchers, supervisors and ethics committees. Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, University of Waikato: Hamilton.

Ratima, M. (2000). "Tipu ora - a Māori-centred approach to health promotion". Health Promotion Forum Newsletter **52**: 2 - 3.

Ratima, M. (2001). Kia uuruuru mai a hauora: being healthy, being Māori, conceptualising Māori health promotion. Department of Public Health. Dunedin, Otago University.

Richards, B. R. (2005). Wearing a new fabric. The cultural components of our national brand. Auckland.

Riddell, A. (1982). Principal's message. Te Wero 1982 - Te Aute College Magazine.

Riddell, A. (1986). Principal's message. Te Wero 1986 - Te Aute College Magazine.

Royal, T. A. K. (1998). Te ao marama: a research paradigm. Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference, Palmerston North, School of Māori Studies, Massey University.

Salter, G. (2002). De-colonizing pedagogical processes in mainstream physical education: fore-grounding culture in teaching and learning. ACHPER Conference, Tasmania.

Scheurich, J. J., Young, M.D. (1997). "Colouring epistemologies: are our research epistemologies racially based?" Educational Researcher 26(v): 4-16.

Smith, G. H. (1990). Research issues related to Māori education. NZARE Special Interest Conference. Massey University, Palmerston North.

Smith, G. H. (1992). Tane-nui-a-rangi's legacy: Propping up the sky. Kaupapa Māori as resistance and intervention. Paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint conference, Deakin University Australia. Published in *Creating space in institutional settings for Māori*. Auckland: International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland.

Smith, G. H. (2003). Kaupapa Māori theory: theorizing Indigenous transformation of education and schooling. New Zealand Association of Research in Education, Auckland.

Smith, L. T. (1995). Re-centering kaupapa Māori research. Te Matawhanui Conference. Massey University, Palmerston North.

Smyth, A. Holian, R. (1999). The credibility of the researcher who does research in their own organisation. Association for Qualitative Research Conference. Issues of Rigor in Qualitative Research. Melbourne.

Snook, I. (1989). "Educational reform in New Zealand - what is going on?" Access 8(2): 9 - 18.

Stephens, C. (2001). Kaupapa Māori: innovation in teacher education. New Zealand Association for Research in Education, Christchurch.

Takuraa, A. (1988). Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai ō ki muri. Te Wero 1988 - Te Aute College Magazine.

Te Aute College, Ed. (2007). Te Aute College prospectus.

Te Aute College and Hukarere Taskforce (2003). Te Aute College and Hukarere Taskforce Report, Te Aute College.

Te Rito, J. S. (2007). “Whakapapa: a framework for understanding identity”. MAI Review, 2, Article 2.

Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (2001). Reclaiming power: the politics of delivering education services to Māori by Māori. American Educational Research Association. New Orleans.

Tuhua, T. (1906). “Incidents in the history of Horehore Pa, Te Takapau, Hawkes Bay district”. Journal of the Polynesian Society XV(2): 69-93.

Tyro, K. F., Scarlett, K.G., Ed. (1979). Te Aute College 125th anniversary 1854 - 1979.

Walker, S., Eketone, A., Gibb, A (2006). “An exploration of kaupapa Māori research, its principles, processes and applications”. International Journal of Social Research Methodology 9(4): 331-344.

Walsh, K. (1996). “Philosophical hermeneutics and the project of Hans Georg Gadamer: implications for nursing research”. Nursing Inquiry 3: 231-237.

Williams, B. (1968). Precis of transactions relating to Te Aute College Endowment Lands from the Royal Commission on Te Aute College 1906, Te Aute College.

Wilson, N. W. (2004). Questions of Indigenous knowledge. Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia (HERDSA) Conference, Curtin University of Technology, Miri, Malaysia.

Winiata, W., Winiata, P. (1994). “Whare wananga development in 1993-1994”. New Zealand Annual Review of Education 4.

Published Works and Thesis References

Alexander, R. R. (1951). The story of Te Aute College. Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Annan, B. (2009). Schooling improvement since Tomorrow's Schools. In, Langley, J. (Ed.). Tomorrow's Schools 20 years on. Cognition Institute, Auckland.

Auckland Museum, Ed. (2001). Pacific pathways: patterns in leaves and cloth - education kit Auckland, Auckland Museum.

Awatere, H., Ed. (2003). A soldier's story. Wellington, Huia Publishers.

Ballara, A. (1991). The origins of Ngati Kahungunu: a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Wellington, Victoria University.

Ballara, A. (1991). Te Pareihe. The people of many peaks - The Māori biographies from the dictionary of New Zealand Biography. C. Orange. Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Ltd. 1.

Barlow, C. (1991). Tikanga whakaaro: key concepts in Māori culture. Auckland, Oxford University Press.

Barrington, J. M., Beaglehole, T.H. (1974). Māori schools in a changing society: an historical overview. Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Barrington, J. M. (1992). The school curriculum, occupations and race. The school curriculum in New Zealand. G. McCulloch. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.

Battiste, M. A., Ed. (2000). Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press.

Bazeley, P., Richards, L. (2002). The NVIVO qualitative project book. London, SAGE Publications Ltd.

Belich, J. (2001). Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders - from Polynesian settlement to the end of the 19th century. Auckland, Penguin.

Best, E. (1923). The Māori school of learning: its objects, methods and ceremonial.

Wellington, Dominion Museum.

Bishop, R. (1996). Collaborative research stories: whakawhanaungatanga. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press Ltd.

Bishop, R., Glynn, T. (1999). Culture counts: changing power relations in education. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press Ltd.

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Powell, A., Teddy, L. (2007). Te kotahitanga - improving the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream education, phase 2: towards a whole school approach. University of Waikato. Wellington, Ministry of Education Research Division.

Buck, P. (1949). The coming of the Māori. Wellington, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd.

Burger, J. (1987). Report from the frontier: the state of the world's Indigenous peoples. London, Zed Books.

Burns, R. B. (2000). Introduction to research methods: 4th edition. Melbourne, Pearson Education Australia.

Butterworth, G. V., Young, H.R. (1990). Māori affairs. Wellington, Government Print Office.

Carter, D. S. G., O'Neill, M.H.O., Ed. (1995). Case studies in educational change: an international perspective. London, The Falmer Press.

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructed grounded theory - a practical guide through qualitative analysis. London, SAGE Publications Ltd.

Chrisp, T. (2002). He korero tuku ino mo Rangitane o Wairarapa: Rangitane o Wairarapa traditional history.

Cleave, P. (1997). Rangahau pae iti kahurangi - research in a small world of light and shade. Palmerston North, Campus Press.

Codd, J., Gordon, E., Ed. (1991). Education policy and the changing role of the state : proceedings of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education seminar on education policy, Massey University. Palmerston North, Delta.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., Morrison, K. (2000). Research methods in education. London, New York, Routledge Falmer.

Collier, J. (1909). Sir George Grey governor, high commissioner and premier, an historical biography. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd.

Cox, L. (1993). Kotahitanga: the search for Māori political unity. Auckland, Oxford University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2005). Educational research - planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research. New Jersey, Pearson Education Inc.

Daspher, M., Dowling, R., Ed. (1993). Te whare o Rangi, Te Aute College.

Davidson, C., Tolich, M., Ed. (2003). Social science research in New Zealand - Many paths to understanding. Auckland, Pearson Education NZ Ltd.

Dei, G. J. S., Hall, B.L., Rosenberg, D.G. (2000). Indigenous knowledges in global contexts: multiple readings of our world. Toronto, University of Toronto Press Incorporated.

Deloria, V. (1994). God is red: a native view of religion. Colorado, Fulcrum Publishing.

Deloria, V. (1995). Red earth, white lies: Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact. New York, Scribner.

Department of Education (1988). Tomorrow's schools: the reform of education administration in New Zealand. D. o. Education, Government Printer.

Department of Statistics (2006). 2006 census of population and dwellings. D. o. Statistics, Government Printer.

Devlin, R. (1974). A history of the teaching of Māori language and studies in New Zealand secondary schools: a partial fulfilment of the requirements for Diploma of Education. Palmerston North, Massey University.

Dreyfuss, H. (1987). Husserl, Heidegger and modern existentialism. The great philosophers: an introduction to Western philosophy. B. Magee. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Durie, A. E. (2002). *Te rerenga o te ra - autonomy and identity: Māori educational aspirations*. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education. Palmerston North, Massey University.

Durie, M. (2003). *Nga pou kahui: launching Māori futures*. Wellington, Huia Publishers.

Education Review Office (2003). *Education review report: - Te Aute College*. Wellington, Education Review Office.

Education Review Office (2003). *Special review report: - Te Aute College*. Wellington, Education Review Office.

Education Review Office (2004). *Supplementary review report: Te Aute College*. Wellington, Education Review Office.

Education Review Office (2005). *Education review report: - Te Aute College*. Wellington, Education Review Office.

Education Review Office (2006). *Supplementary review report: Te Aute College*. Wellington, Education Review Office.

Education Review Office (2007). *Special review report: Te Aute College*. Wellington, Education Review Office.

Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative analysis: practice and innovation*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin.

Freire, P., Faundez, A. (1989). *Learning to question*. New York, Continuum.

Gadamer, H. G. (1975). *Truth and method (Linge, D.E. translation)*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Gardiner, W. (1992). *Te mura o te ahi: the story of the Māori Battalion*. Auckland, Reed Publishers.

Gibson, M. A., Ogbu, J.U., Ed. (1991). *Minority status and schooling*. New York, Garland Publishing.

Grace, J. T. H. (1959). *Tuwharetoa: a history of the Māori people of the Taupo*

district. Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed Ltd.

Graham, J. P. H. (2002). Nau te runanga, naku te runanga, ka piki ake te oranga o te iwi: partnership relationships between schools and Māori communities. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education. Palmerston North, Massey University.

Graham, J. P. H. (2006). In earliest times. Opening the gate: the story of the Te Aute district. M. Moss (Ed.). Napier, Brebner Print.

Graham, J. P. H. (2006). Te Aute College. Opening the gate: the story of the Te Aute district. M. Moss (Ed.). Napier, Brebner Print.

Grey, G. (1853). Ko ngā mōteatea me ngā hakirara o ngā Māori: he mea kohikohi mai nā Sir George Grey. Wellington, Robert Stokes.

Haami, B. (1995). Dr Golan Maaka: Māori doctor. North Shore, Tandem.

Haami, B. (2004). Putea whakairo - Māori and the written word. Wellington, Huia Publishers.

Hakiwai, A., Sword, M., Sigley, D. (1974). Te aranga o Te Aute.

Harrison, B. (2001). Collaborative programs in Indigenous communities: from fieldwork to practice. Walnut Creek, Altamira Press.

Heidigger, M. (1962). Being and time. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

Hekman, S. J. (1986). Hermeneutics and the sociology of knowledge. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Henare, M. (2001). Tapu, mana, mauri, hau, wairua: a Māori philosophy of vitalism and cosmos. Indigenous traditions and ecology. J. A. Grim. Cambridge, MA, Distributed by Harvard Press for the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard Divinity School.

Hohepa, M. (1990). Te Kōhanga Reo: hei tikanga i te reo Māori. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts. Education Department. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Holdaway, M. (2002). A Māori model of primary health care nursing. Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Palmerston North, Massey University.

hooks, b. (1992). Black looks: race and representation. Boston, MA, South End Press.

Howitt, R., Connell, J., Hirsch, P. (1996). Resources, nations and Indigenous peoples. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Huata, C. T. (1983). Ngaati Kahungunu: Te Wairoa - Heretaunga. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Māori Studies. Māori Studies. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Humpage, L. (2002). Closing the gaps? the politics of Māori affairs policy: A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology. Palmerston North, Massey University.

International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first century (1996). Learning: the treasure within. UNESCO. Paris, Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first century.

International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (2002). Iwi and Māori provider success: A research report of interviews with successful Iwi and Māori providers and Government agencies - A report prepared by The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education. Wellington, Ministry of Māori Development.

Irwin, K., Ed. (1990). The politics of Te Kōhanga Reo. Critical perspectives: New Zealand education policy today. Wellington, Allen & Unwin.

Isaac, S., Michael, W.B. (1981). Handbook in research and evaluation. San Diego, EdITS Publishers.

Jane, S. (2001). Māori participation in higher education: Tainui graduates from the University of Waikato, 1992-1997. Unpublished PhD thesis. Hamilton, University of Waikato.

Jenkins, K., Matthews, K.M. (1995). Hukarere and the politics of Māori girls' schooling 1875 - 1995. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press Ltd.

Johnston, P. M. (1992). A fair measure of influence? Māori members on school boards of trustees. Thesis presented in to the University of Auckland fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in Education. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Johnston, P. M. (1997). Māori women and the politics of theorising difference. Feminist thought in Aotearoa New Zealand. R. Du Plessis, Alice, L. Auckland, Oxford University Press.

Johnston, P. M. (1998). He ao rereke: education policy and Māori under-achievement - mechanisms of power and difference. Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Kame'eleihiwa, L. (1992). Native land and foreign desires - pehea la e pono ai? Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press.

Kelsey, J. (1999). Reclaiming the future - New Zealand and the global economy. Wellington, Bridget Williams Books.

Kenrick, P. M. J. (2002). Hei tirohanga mō te oritetanga: Analysis of the gaps. Project presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Education. Palmerston North, Massey University.

King, M. (2003). The Penguin history of New Zealand. Auckland, Penguin Books.

Kolig, E., Muckler, H., Ed. (2002). Politics of indigeneity in the South Pacific: recent problems of identity in Oceania. Piscataway, Transaction Publishers.

Lange, R. T. (1999). May the people live: a history of Māori health development 1900-1920. Auckland, Auckland University Press.

Mason, J. (1996). Qualitative researching: 2nd Edition. London, Sage Publications.

Massey University (2004). Massey University code of ethical conduct for research, teaching and evaluations involving human participants. Massey University.

Mataira, P. (2000). Māori evaluation reserach, theory and practice: lessons for Native Hawaiian evaluation studies. Honolulu, University of Hawaii.

McBain, H. (2006). Mission and settlement. Opening the gate: the story of the Te

Aute district. M. Moss. Napier, Brebner Print.

McCarthy, T. L., Ed. (2003). Dangerous difference: a critical historical analysis of language education policies in the United States. Medium of instruction policies: which agenda? whose agenda? Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.

McEwen, J. (1986). Rangitāne - a tribal history. Auckland, Reed Metheun.

Mead, H. M., Ed. (1984). Te Māori: Māori art from New Zealand collections. Auckland: New York, American Federation of Arts.

Mead, H. M. (2003). Tikanga Māori: living by Māori values. Wellington, Huia Publishers Ltd.

Ministry of Education (1993). The New Zealand curriculum framework. Wellington, Learning Media Ltd.

Ministry of Education (2000). Better relationships for better learning. Wellington, Learning Media Ltd.

Ministry of Education (2005). Ngā haeata mātauranga: annual report on Māori education. Wellington, Learning Media Ltd.,

Ministry of Education (2007). The New Zealand curriculum. Wellington, Learning Media Ltd.

Mitchell, J. H. (1972). Takitimu. Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Nerburn, K., Ed. (1999). The wisdom of the Native Americans. California, New World Library.

Neuman, W. L. (1991). Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative research. Boston, Allyn and Bacon Inc.

Ngata, A. (1943). The price of citizenship: Ngarimu VC. Wellington, Whitcombe and Tombs.

Novitz, D., Willmott, B., Ed. (1992). New Zealand in crisis - a debate about today's critical issues. Wellington, GP Publications Limited.

Oliver, W. H., Ed. (1981). The Oxford history of New Zealand. Wellington; New York, Oxford: Clarandon Press; Oxford University Press.

Orange, C., Ed. (1991). The people of many peaks: the Māori biographies from the dictionary of New Zealand biography 1769 - 1869. Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Paerangi Ltd (2002). Accelerating New Zealand development by realising Māori potential. Wellington, Paerangi Ltd.

Paine, L. (2002). Value shift: Why companies must merge social and financial imperatives to achieve superior performance. New York, McGraw Hill.

Parsons, P., Ed. (2000). Waipukurau: the history of a country town. Waipukurau, CHB Print.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative education and research methods. Newbury Park, California, Sage.

Penniman, T. K., Ed. (1938). Makereti: the old-time Māori. London, Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Pere, R. (1991). Te wheke: a celebration of infinite wisdom. Gisborne, Ao Ake Global Learning New Zealand.

Pihama, L. (1993). Tungia te ururuu, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: a critical analysis of parents as first teachers. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Potter, H. (2003). He manamana mō te ahi: exploring the possibilities for treaty partnerships. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology. Sociology. Albany, Massey University.

Rangihau, J. (1981). Te ao hurihuri: the world moves on - aspects of Māoritanga. In King, M. Auckland, Longman Paul Ltd.

Richards, L. (2005). Handling qualitative data - a practical guide. London, SAGE Publications Ltd.

Rigby (1996). Bullying in schools: and what to do about it. Melbourne, Australian Council for Educational Research.

Roberts, M. B. (1975). King of con men. Auckland, Hodder and Staughton.

Rogers, A., Simpson, M., Ed. (1993). Early stories from founding members of the Māori women's welfare league: te timatanga tātau tātau, te rōpū wāhine Māori toko i te ora - as told to Dame Mira Szaszy. Wellington, Bridget Williams Books Limited.

Royal, T. A. K. (2002). Indigenous worldviews: a comparative study - a report in research in progress. Wellington, Winston Churchill Memorial Trust.

Royal, T. A. K., Ed. (2003). The woven universe - selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden. Otaki, Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Salmond, A. (1997). Between worlds: early exchanges between Māori and Europeans. Auckland, Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd.

Salmond, A. (2004). Hui: a study of Māori ceremonial gatherings. Auckland, Reed.

Semali, L. M., Kincheloe, J.L., Ed. (1999). What is Indigenous knowledge? voices from the academy. New York, Palmer Press.

Simon, J. (1993). Provision for Māori in state secondary schools: an ethnographic study. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Simon, J., Smith, L.T. (1998). The native schools system 1867 - 1969: ngā kura Māori. Auckland, Auckland University Press.

Simon, J., Smith, L.T. (2001). A civilising mission? perceptions and representations of the native schools system. Auckland, Auckland University Press.

Simon, M. (2008). A complete study of the cultural diplomacy of Canada, New Zealand and India. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Simpson, M. Ed. (2003). Ngā taumata: he whakaahua o Ngāti Kahungunu - a portrait of Ngāti Kahungunu 1870 - 1906. Wellington, Huia Publishers.

Smith, G. H. (1991). Tomorrow's schools and the development of Māori education.

Auckland, University of Auckland Research Unit for Māori Education.

Smith, G. H. (1996). The Māori boarding schools: - a study of the barriers and constraints to academic achievement and re-positioning the schools for academic success. Auckland, Education Department, University of Auckland.

Smith, G. H. (1997). The development of kaupapa Māori: theory and praxis. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education. Auckland, Auckland University.

Smith, L. T. (1999). Decolonising methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples. London, Zed Books.

Smith, L. T. (1999). Kaupapa Māori methodology: our power to define ourselves. A seminar presented to the School of Education, University of British Columbia.

Stewart, D. (2000). Tomorrow's principals today. Palmerston North, Kanuka Grove Press.

Stokes, E. (1985). Māori research and development. Wellington, National Research Advisory Council.

Tauroa, P., Tauroa, H. (1993). Te marae: a guide to customs and protocol. Auckland, Heinemann Reed.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). He tikanga whakaaro: research ethics in the Māori community. Wellington, Manatū Māori.

Te Momo, F. (2002). Stories from the field - developing practical research methods in Māori communities. Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network (DevNet), Palmerston North.

Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare (2001). Mauri mahi: does being made unemployed affect health? The closures of Whakatū and Tomoana. Wellington, Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare.

Te Whaiti, P., McCarthy, M., Durie, A.E., Ed. (1997). Mai i Rangiatea: Māori wellbeing and development. Auckland, Auckland University Press.

Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (2005). He huarahi motuhake - the politics of tribal agency in

provider services. Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. School of Māori Studies. Palmerston North, Massey University.

Travers, M. (2001). Qualitative research through case studies. London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Waipara-Panapa, A. L. (1995). Body and soul: a socio-cultural analysis of body image in Aotearoa. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts. Auckland, University of Auckland.

Waitere-Ang, H. (1999). The kete, the briefcase, te tuara: The balancing act - Māori women in the primary sector. Unpublished Masters thesis. Palmerston North, Massey University.

Walker, R. (1990). Struggle without end: ka whawhai tonu mātou. Auckland, Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd.

Wehipeihana, J., Ed. (2005). Te Aute College koiri 1854 - 2004: celebrating 150 years of achievement. Pukehou, Te Aute College.

Wihongi, H. (2002). The process of whakawhanaungatanga in kaupapa Māori research. Australia and New Zealand Third Sector Research, Auckland.

Williams, H. W. (1992). Dictionary of the Māori language. Wellington, GP Print Ltd.

Wilson, D. L. (2004). Ngā kairāanga oranga: the weavers of health and wellbeing - a grounded theory. Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Nursing. Nursing. Palmerston North, Massey University.

Wilson, J. G. (1976). The history of Hawkes Bay. Christchurch, Capper Press.

Woods, S. (1997). Samuel Williams of Te Aute. Christchurch, Pegasus Press.

World Group on Indigenous Populations (1993). Draft declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples: report of the eleventh session of the United Nations working group on Indigenous populations. New York, Palmer Press.

Wright, M. (1994). Hawkes Bay the history of a province. Palmerston North, The

Dunmore Press Ltd.

Websites

www.anglican.org.nz/ACC%20Index%20.htm. (2007).

www.ero.govt.nz/ero/publishing.nsf/Content/ERO%27s+Role. (2007).

www.huitaumata.Māori.nz/index.html. (2001).

www.massey.ac.nz. (2004).

www.mediacentre.minedu.govt.nz/fact-sheets/schools_at_risk.html. (2007).

www.nzedge.com/heroes/buck.html. (2007).

www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/. (2007).

www.statistics.govt.nz. (2007).

www.teara.govt.nz/places/northland/northland/13/en. (2007).

www.tki.org.nz. (2007).