Marakihau – An historical narrative of Māori Kindergarten Teachers from the 1950s to 1989.

Elizabeth Pakai

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Otago
2018
Dedication

To Mum and Dad
Enid Catherine Pakai (nee Hall)
22.01.1927 – 18.12.2006
Frederick William (Bill) Pakai
06.04.1924 – 3.07.2005
Abstract

This thesis identifies, discuss and shares the stories of a group of Māori women during their respective careers in the kindergarten sector from the 1950s to 1989. I explore the research participants’ early learning as part of their whānau, haū, iwi, and their community, and examine how these may have influenced their lives. I identify and discuss the significance of their stories as they share how being Māori affected them as children, as students, as young women, as teachers in the field. and during their professional development journey. I include myself within the thesis as I seek to determine and analyse my position as the researcher with experiences similar to the research participants. By including my own story I create a collaborative, collective process that I refer to as whakawhanaungatanga, the interrelatedness of the research participants, the researcher, and the stories shared. Throughout the research I explore the process of colonisation and its effects on the Māori way of life, in particular the development of an education system that impacted on Māori children and women.

The methodologies chosen for this research are based on Mātauranga Māori - Māori knowledge, Kaupapa Māori, and autoethnography. Combined, these methodologies provide a platform for my investigation into the research participants’ life stories. I identified that sharing the research methodologies with the research participants and encouraging them to be active participants gave them confidence in the process and assured them that their stories would be treated with respect and that the research would be undertaken in culturally appropriate ways to honour their self-determination or Tino Rangatiratanga. Following these methodologies, research participants, Kaumatua, and Kuia approved the title of the research: Marakihau. Marakihau is a Taniwha of Māori mythology, she was chosen because of her uniqueness within the mythologies of Taniwha, often described as aggressive, strong, and yet gentle. She was an apt analogy for the research participants as we traversed the unknown and unpredictable world of education. The mandate from Kaumatua and Kuia and all research participants substantiated the research and allowed me to proceed on behalf of all involved in the research with confidence.

Research participants reflections instigated many positive memories, however among them were also negative ones. Memories of racism, of being marginalised, of being overlooked for leadership positions within the Kindergarten service, or for professional development courses. This
is discussed openly and recorded in their stories with many reflecting that those experiences determined who they became as practitioners. The thesis discusses how the establishment of Te Runanga Māori early childhood education Inc. combined with the Kindergarten Teachers Association were instrumental in strengthening research participants’ resolve to address and challenge the inequalities within the kindergarten sector. The collective determination to include te reo and tikanga Māori and the development of an early childhood curriculum that reflected Māori. Finally, this thesis provides some clarification to the early childhood community about why Māori kindergarten teachers were politically active and chose to challenge the systems in place at that time.
Mihi whakatau

Whakarongo ake au ki Te tangi a Te manu, e rere runga rawa e. Tui, tui, tui, tui a. Tuia I runga, Tuia I raro, Tuia I roto, Tuia I waho. Tui, tui, tui a. Ka runga Te Ao, ka runga Te Po, tui, tui, tui a. Whakarongo ra. Hi aue hi!

As the waiata identifies; listen to the song of the birds, they are weaving, from above, from below, from the inside, from the outside. Into the day and into the night they are weaving, listen.

There is no truer description than the waiata to begin the journey for this thesis. The thesis is about listening and weaving, weaving the stories of many more people than the named research participants. Those who have gone before and those who are to come are woven into the story.

As it is with any major undertaking the journey to preparing this thesis has been challenging it has been with the encouragement and support from many people over the years that has been integral to my decision to progress. I felt that I had a personal and professional responsibility, to find, record, and share the herstories of as many Māori kindergarten teachers as possible before their stories are lost. I therefore acknowledge all research participants for their trust and confidence in me to write their stories and in doing so also acknowledge and thank their whānau for sharing them, the research participants, with me. This and any future writing will be a gift to you all as part of our journey. Nga mihi aroha ki ā koutou katoa!

To my children and their children for their ongoing support and understanding in this, my long journey through education. For the hundreds of hours, I spent as an absent mother and nana when I was learning to be Māori, or, as I was fighting for fair representation, participation, equity, so that hopefully they would benefit.

To the many Kaumatua and Kuia across hapū and iwi throughout Aotearoa who guided me in this journey, in particular in the choosing of the title Marakihau.

To the many friends who helped along the way, providing encouragement, an ear when I needed to “download” and a touch of “reality” when I lost track.

To Otago University who provided me with the financial ability to continue by granting me a scholarship without which this Thesis would not have been completed. To Ngati Kahungunu iwi;
the Māori Education Trust; the NZ Federation of Graduate Women Wellington Branch; Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Rangahau. All who supported me with grants during this study. Nga mihi.

To my supervisors Professor Helen May who I acknowledge as the “guru”, the historian of New Zealand Early Childhood Education. To Dr Alex Gunn and Dr Susan Sandretto for their guidance and perseverance with this sometimes-obstinate student.

To be assured through various PhD publications that as Māori we “see” things through different lenses and I write in a different way to the norm, it was reassuring to read that it was alright to write and to think as I was.

However, of all those that I acknowledge none more so than those who have gone before, those people of all nations who are woven in this thesis, without (you) this would not be.

Significantly:

To my parents who set a hard-core work example and encouraged me not only to embrace education but to believe in myself and in what I was doing and for providing “a place to just be”, a sanctuary.

To my Irish granny who set the mould for reading, that opening a book was akin to opening a new world, that reading provided an opportunity to explore and question what I was learning, what was happening and what was possible.

To all who walked this path before and beside us, those who set the mould. I think of Waimatou Rewiti, Hine Potaka, Amiria Pewhairangi, and Rahira Barrett-Douglas in particular. Moe mai ra koutou.

To Rama McIlwraith and Dawn Matata the two oldest research participants who passed during the writing of this thesis. Aue! Taukiri E! My humble thanks and appreciation, two strong Māori women who set great examples for us to follow.

He Maumahara koutou, you will not be forgotten.
Preface - whakawatea

Setting the scene, the “shaping of who I am and the experiences that made me”.

A Background to the study

Whakapapa.

So, what is my heritage? Where have I come from? My whakapapa:

I am a wāhine of Ngati Kahungunu raua Ko Te Ati Haunui ā Paparangi iwi. Te Whātuiapiti and Ngati Uenuku, Ngati Rangi hapū. I was born within Ngati Rangi and Ngati Uenuku.

Ki Te taha o Te hau kainga. Ko Ruapehu Te Maunga, Mangawhero Te Awa, Nga Mokai, Tirorangi, Mangamingi, Te Puke nga marae.

Ki Te taha o Ngati Kahungunu. Kahuranaki Te Maunga, Poukawa Te waiu, Kahuranaki Te marae, Te Rangikoeanaki raua ko Te Hapuku nga tangata. Engari it is the female line that is significant. Hiromina Te Waewenika Te Waerenga is my paternal kuia and has played a significant role in my Māori development. In my journey to discover who I was as a Māori woman it was, she through stories related to me who was the role model. A strong woman a woman who held great mana in the iwi and hapū and who was often referred to in korero on the marae at Te Hauke. She is also the person that I have been told I am most alike, not in looks perhaps but in the way I present myself and how I maintained my stance when searching, collating and bringing together my father’s land shares.

I am also of Irish and Sikh Indian heritage.

The mixed racial heritage has been both a blessing and a source of confusion: confusion because as a child I wasn’t sure where I belonged.

The following korero is to place myself within this thesis, to give the reader an idea about who I am, who I was, and from whom I stem. It indicates the purpose of my writing, why I undertook this research journey. It acknowledges my “being” as a Māori woman and the tribulations, struggles, challenges, pain, joy and celebration of that.
When I was a child, I did not know that there were differences between people, I guess not many children did. It is only as we grow that we learn to differentiate. I grew up in a time when New Zealand was still discovering who we were as a people, at the end of the Second World War, a generation now called the “baby boomers”. We didn’t know it then, we do now as we are the generation who grew with the country, made the country, and are the country. These may seem like “dream maker” words, however it is my firm belief and as I discussed this with many of my peers, they too believe this. Why do we, can we think this? Is it because we have lived through the years of political struggle, major shifts and changes in how the country has been shaped? Yes, perhaps it is. We have been part of a generation who grew up with no power, metal roads, no cars or transport (that would be our feet), no white lines down the middle of the road, mixed classes, milk in schools, or, if you lived in Ohakune, hot cocoa in the winter, prepared for us by the caretaker. One pair of shoes, hand me down cloths, meat and three veg, a smack on the backside or around the ears if you got smart to your parents, or anyone else for that matter. Hard years, but as I reflect, great years, years where we played outside until it was dark usually at our place playing cricket or tag or scrag (a mix of rugby and netball), ate what was put in front of us because we were so damn hungry you would not do anything else. Grew up calling everyone uncle or aunty because in my case they were, we lived on the same street with market gardens separating us. Celebrated Matariki (yes back then), Chinese New Year, Christmas (the only time we ate chicken) Diwali, went reluctantly to Sunday school, looked after younger siblings prior to turning fourteen, blew up frogs, shot out street lights, (not me, but my cousins did), teased the boys, when it snowed rode down the hills on cardboard sledges and worked in the house, in the market gardens. When I share these stories with my mokopuna they say I had such fun when I was little, and yes, we did and I am glad we did because it has made me who I am today and I look back on them as the “golden” years.

However, at some time the good times stop and reality sets in. When and why does that have to happen? Well it is called growing up and going to school. On my first day at school I bit the teacher!!! I can still feel her hand in my mouth, so it must have been some bite! Why did I bite her? Back then when families had one child after the other mothers were too busy with the latest addition so my big brother and sister, aged seven and six respectively, introduced me to school, what a shock. I was separated from them and put into a class where I did not know anyone and I wanted the familial, my sister! They got her, she was not pleased, still talks about it, however it
settled me and I spent the next few weeks hanging out in the “dolls house”, a safe place to be. How and why do I remember these times so vividly? Well, they were responsible for shaping who I am and probably why I became a teacher. Incidentally, my first teacher also taught my two daughters and vividly remembered our introduction.

As mentioned, we had a range of cultural experience because as a mixed-race person (Māori, Irish, and Sikh Indian) and the addition of two auntsies who married Chinese market gardeners I/we could not have had a better childhood, so rich in cultural heritage and too soon to be shattered. Why? Once I had settled at school the fact that I was categorised as Māori became obvious. It was the day the health nurse visited, and we were asked to go into the cloak rooms to be checked. It was not until I got there that I realised that we were all brown, i.e. Māori. To my horror without any explanation I was told to open my mouth, lift my dress up and I was “inspected” for teeth, kutu (hair lice) and to see if my knickers were clean, in short, a hygiene check. I was personally embarrassed and embarrassed for those who did not have any knickers on, for those who had kutu, for those who had runny noses, for those who had open sores, for all of us. It was a feeling that I have never forgotten, the injustice of it stays with me still. As a result, one very indignant five-year-old told the nurse she could not lift my dress up and that I would not open my mouth, I can not remember all the detail, but I do remember being sent to the Principals office and him just patting me on the back and sending me back to class. This principal features in my study later as I chose my career path and gained a teaching position at Taihape Kindergarten. To return to my five-year-old self. When I got home, I told Mum what had happened, she was mortified, not though I do not think at my humiliation but just that I had clean knickers on. Years later when we talked about it she said “fancy remembering that, it was so long ago”, then added that if I had not told her she would not have known as my older siblings had not said a thing. Suffice to say that I never attended another “health check”. These “health” checks will be discussed later in a chapter dedicated to the development of Māori education. With these experiences as a background it is not surprising that as my journey through education progressed, I took these memories with me and although I did not know it at the time, I called on them as I worked to make a difference for Māori in education. As I collected research participants’ stories, I found that their experiences were similar, there were common threads, threads that linked us as we worked in early childhood education and it is those threads that this research thesis investigates and explores.
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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction Te Timatanga

“They were nothing more than people, by themselves. Even paired, any pairing, they would have been nothing more than people by themselves.

But altogether they have become the heart and muscles and mind of something perilous and new, something strange and growing and great.

Together, all together they are the instruments of change”. (Keri Hulme. The Bone People, as cited Poutney, (2000) p.289).

The verse captures a sense of impact for me, it orientates my thinking toward the focus of this research. There is the collective “we” rather than the single “me” - it describes the group involved in the research as it reflects their collective “being”, the changes that as a group, a team, in particular, Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education (TRMECE discussed in detail in Chapter Six) made changes to Early Childhood Education that were never envisaged before. Changes that influenced and made others re-think what they were doing, how to they were including te reo and tikanga Māori in teaching and if they were not how they could be supported to do so. Research participants’ stories are the whāriki for this thesis, their stories and the inclusion of my story form a collective, collaborative journey that could only be told by this group of Māori women. The aim of the thesis is to give the reader an opportunity to gain an insight into the participants’ stories. The stories are presented in a way that will give mana to their individual and collective voices. To portray the thesis as a whole rather than as individual experiences.

The purpose of the thesis is multiple, specifically it shares the stories of Māori kindergarten teachers from the 1950s to 1989. The period is important as it is during a time particularly the late 1970s to 1989 when major changes took place within the kindergarten, the early childhood care and education sector, the Social Welfare Department, and for Māori as people. It was a period of rapid growth in many areas of Aotearoa, for this thesis the focus is on Māori and early childhood education. The thesis also provides some clarification for the early childhood education community about why Māori kindergarten teachers chose to challenge the systems in place at that time. Why “we” became politically aware and on many

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1 Te Runanga Maori - a committee of Maori women

2 Aotearoa – Māori name for New Zealand.
occasions physically “stand” to defend our rights as we saw them. The thesis is not an in depth foray into the early childhood education sector specifically, while it does include references to the sector throughout, as detailed prior. This thesis is about Māori Kindergarten teachers’ life journeys, their stories as they traversed the territory, and how what had been put in place within the sector was subject to change.

1.2 Whakapapa – Background

During the late 1950s to the 1970s several things were taking place in the education and teaching sector. Early Childhood Education (ECE) was becoming recognised for the possible assistance it could have to pre-schoolers and to Māori. Several reviews were undertaken, the most significant one was the Hunn report of 1960 (Hunn, 1961), which instigated the establishment of the Māori Education Foundation and heralded a change in the provision of pre-school education. The report encouraged the recruitment of Māori into teaching and encouraged Māori mothers to participate in pre-school. (Pewhairangi, 1983) referred to the growth of Māori participation from 1965, when Māori attendance at preschool was first recorded, she identified that there were 660 Māori attending Kindergarten and 1541 attending Playcentre (p. 104). She attributed the difference in numbers to Māori being in rural communities where most play centres were located. The development of the Māori Education Foundation, Māori welfare officers, developing Māori pre-school organisations, and Māori Leadership conferences were catalysts in encouraging Māori to be involved in preschool education. The period from the mid-1960s through to the late 1980s therefore was a significant period of Māori growth in the development of pre-school education. The participants were part of a significant period in Māori Pre-school education.

The thesis identifies, discusses and shares stories from participants that include a variety of experiences, linked to their training, teaching and professional education lives. These will be linked to education practises of the twentieth century and make links into the twenty first century in Aotearoa New Zealand. In my journey through the ECE sector however, I identified a gap in the literature, for while there were numerous research articles that included discourse about Māori involvement, contribution, and participation in ECE, those written by Māori were minimal. This thesis should go some way to filling the gap and recognising the significant contribution that Māori kindergarten teachers made to early childhood education during the

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3 Whakapapa – Gneology.
4 Pewharangi – surname of a person.
period that the research is located and the long-term effects that reach into the twenty first century.

A significant point is that all of the participants in this research are of mixed blood, all of them know their whakapapa, some in more detail than others. All can relate to who they are, are proud of who they are and celebrate that. Two participants, Dawn and Gloria, identified as being “fair” Māori and shared how they “used” this to advantage when implementing te reo and tikanga Māori. Nine participants are fluent speakers of te reo Māori, six grew up speaking Māori, three have learnt through the years, with the remaining five having partial reo Māori. The group therefore reflects the majority of the Māori population as it is in 2017. Table 1 identifies the age and number of people who are able to converse in te reo Māori as at 2013. It is interesting to note that the highest number are those who attended Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori and one assumes that they will continue the regeneration of te reo throughout their lives. I have included (Appendix A) a current Māori population breakdown as a point of interest to show the Māori population as at 2017.

Table 1. People who speak te reo Māori, by age group, data source - 2013 Census

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<th>Category – Age</th>
<th>Number of people who speak te reo Māori</th>
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<td>10,116</td>
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<td>5-9</td>
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<td>45-49</td>
<td>9,309</td>
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5 Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori – Early Childhood and Primary Māori language schools.
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<td>60-64</td>
<td>6,795</td>
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<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>5,361</td>
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<td>70-74</td>
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<td>75-79</td>
<td>2,763</td>
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<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>1,650</td>
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<td>85+</td>
<td>891</td>
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1.2.1 Theoretical Framework.

Generally, research undertaken into or “on” indigenous people in Aotearoa is progressed by a person who is not of the people, that is, they are not Māori. The researcher translates or interprets what the person being researched is saying and then presents them as part of a wider research project. This almost always results in the individuals’ stories being integrated and perhaps being lost in the completed research. In this research I seek to position myself within the framework and whāriki, to be a collaborative, part of the whole story, a process of “mutual story telling”. Thus, creating stories that are interrelated and linked to become a whole, or a new story, one not told before. This is thesis therefore designed to include my story as a kindergarten teacher and educator and in doing so, the process has involved the gathering and presentation of one other participant who began the journey with me in 1966. Participants are from a range of *iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau* and community backgrounds. This is significant for the research as it shows that while there are similarities, there are also differences in how the participants approached and shared their stories. The participants’ stories will be set alongside my own autoethnographic narrative of being a Māori kindergarten teacher. The research records experiences as we travelled through the sector of early childhood education. It is a record of our journey, a record for participants, for their whānau so that they (the whānau)

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6 *Iwi* – Tribal group  
7 *Hapū* – sub tribal group  
8 *Whānau* – family
can learn more about their whaea, their kuia\(^9\) or mokopuna\(^{10}\), whatever the relationship may be and learn about their achievements. The research has been described by colleagues as a taonga\(^{11}\) for the participants and therefore for their whānau, hapū\(^{12}\) and iwi. It was important to me that in order to respect the participants’ willingness to participate and share their stories, their narratives were recorded as direct quotes as their experiences through the decades are varied and unique to that person. Their kōrero\(^{13}\) therefore is included as a substantive chapter and intermittently throughout the thesis as they are the significant “other” in the research. This practise is imbedded in tikanga\(^{14}\) and matauranga\(^{15}\) Māori (explained fully in the Chapter Four Methodology and Methods) and was the process I assured them would be used when I approached them to participate. There may be times too when I include participants kōrero to further clarify an area in the text, and this may be the case particularly when we discussed our training college experiences, participation at several levels within the ECE sector, and our roles within respective whānau, hapū and iwi. The thesis identifies and investigates how the participants were marginalised as young Māori women from their introduction to the education sector at school, to entering training college, to them graduating and practising as neophyte teachers. I explore whānau upbringing and how those influences became a part of our general practise as we grew up, and how we transferred those influences into our adult years as teachers, professional leaders, and managers of change.

The discussion around whānau, hapū, and iwi is a significant part of the thesis and substantiates why the specific group of kindergarten teachers agreed to participate. The thesis includes a reflection of the education sector during the period, but also includes discussion about the ramifications of the historic education practises during the colonisation of Māori. The thesis does not attempt to make comparison to the current educational opportunities for Māori, only in how the historic work undertaken by the participants has influenced current practises.

At the time of writing the participants range in age from late 40s to 86 and are geographically located from Kaikohe in the North Island, to Auckland, west to Taranaki, east to Tikitiki on the east coast, and the Bay of Plenty, Napier, Wellington, and China. Several participants have worked throughout the North Island in particular, and while there is no

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9 Kuia – grandmother – elder.
10 Mokopuna - grandchild
11 Taonga – a treasure.
12 Hapū – Sub tribe.
13 Kōrero – to talk
14 Tikanga – practise – way of doing and being
15 Matauranga – knowledge.
obvious representation from the South Island, there are familial links as some participants identify iwi links and one participant worked in the Southland area for over twenty years. The representation, the individual and collective experiences, therefore, are extensive.

1.2.2 The Significant Question.

“How have Māori Kindergarten Teachers’ aspirations influenced and contributed to the development of pedagogy and practise for Māori in the Early Childhood Education sector?”

What is the research about? The significant question identifies what the purpose of the study aims to work toward, how this is going to be achieved, will unfold as the thesis progresses. Initially the question appeared easily answered, however as I began the research I found that the question provoked investigation into a broader range than anticipated. The study is convoluted, complex, and challenging, and it has forced me to think “outside” the box when considering the methodologies that I would use in the process.

Why are the collective participants’ stories important? During the development of Te Runanga Māori ECE (TRMECE) between 1986 to 1989 we discovered that we had similar experiences in the Kindergarten sector as we were often marginalised and or excluded from making decisions that would impact on how we taught and how we included whānau. This realisation ignited a passion among the group that once identified, grew, and affected and changed the early childhood sector irrevocably. We planned strategically how we could make changes and what we would need to do to ensure our voices were heard. We often had to make a “stand” to be heard; hence the analogy to the taniwha - Marakihau.

It has been my observation that the contribution Māori women have made to mainstream and Māori ECE is significant and needs to be acknowledged, documented, valued, and celebrated. There is an expectation that the research will add to the current dialogue on the early childhood sector, particularly Māori in early childhood, and the Kindergarten “movement” by the addition of a specific and unique perspective using Māori voices of Māori women in the Kindergarten sector and written by a Māori.

Why am I doing this? PhD. Doctorates Downunder: Keys to successful Doctorial Study in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand (Denholm & Evans, 2012) identified that one must have a passion for the area they are studying and to develop ways of maintaining that passion (p. 48). My thinking regarding this research as a PhD grew as a result of the growth in the work
that Māori were contributing to early childhood education through respective positions and development of initial teacher education programmes during the late 1980s into the 1990s; for me that represented some forty plus years. I questioned what had changed from when I did my training, as it was called then, to what I observed neophyte teachers were bringing into the service. I questioned how I could contribute to this and this was partially met in 1989 when I became part of the team to deliver the last two year Kindergarten Diploma at the Auckland College of Education. Working with three lectures who had been my lecturers in 1966-67 was informing and a pleasure as we worked through that year lecturing and being part of developing the new qualification, a three-year Diploma of Teaching Early Childhood Education.

It was also a time for me to reflect on my future and where I could contribute in a positive way to the changing early childhood environment. Choosing to undertake this thesis was a major decision for me especially, as I was nearing retirement. However, with the encouragement and support from several to progress, I did. It was reassuring that one of my supervisors was very keen for me to undertake this PhD and started encouraging me in 2002 after I graduated with a Master of Education. While I knew she was right, I was busy re-writing a three-year Diploma of Teaching ECE at Wairariki Institute of Technology and supporting the lecturing team to continue their study at under- and post-graduate level. My own study was therefore put back to November 2011 when I contacted my supervisor and said, “I’m ready, will you supervise me”? My intention was to enrol in 2012, however in order to “capture” me she encouraged me to go visit the university and to enrol, which I did and the journey began. In finalising the application to Otago University, I felt that while some of the research relates to my story in the sector, it is also a professional responsibility for me to complete as it may inform and support those who are currently undertaking early childhood education qualifications at the beginning of their journey.

Choosing the subject wasn’t hard, I knew what I wanted to do which was to tell the stories of wāhine toa17, wāhine Māori and how their contribution to early childhood education in New Zealand influenced the sector and changed to include Māori. I naively thought that I could write over six decades, however after discussing the research with my supervisor I agreed to take it back to write specifically about Māori kindergarten teachers from the year I began at training college in 1966 to 1989 when the last of the specifically kindergarten teacher students graduated. Interestingly when I began recruiting participants and they identified the years they
trained and graduated, I needed to review that as well. The final time frame is from the 1950s to 1989, (4 decades), a specific period of time with a specific group of women.

1.3 Overview of Each Chapter

1.3.1 Chapter Two: Marakihau – He Taniwha - choosing the title.

Marakihau is a Taniwha a mythological being who is described as an aggressive, dangerous sea creature. However she is also described as being gentle when she wants to be. For this reason, Marakihau is the significant “other” in this thesis, she is the shadow of the stories as we all (research participants and myself) at various times had to act as Marakihau – the Taniwha as we traversed the challenges in early childhood education. Marakihau was our partner, our guide, and at times our pou\(^{18}\). I recognised this as I listened to and prepared research participants stories, I “saw” her as I reflected on my own journey. This chapter will clarify why she is significant, why she is the title for this thesis, and why research participants, kaumatua, and kuia acknowledged and approved her.

1.3.2 Chapter Three: Literature review.

The Literature Review is extensive and has a broad range from political and social engineering, Māori schooling, education, health, and welfare as these are all areas that affected and still affect Māori significantly. It includes national and international research that seeks to clarify, support, and strengthen the study and to ratify why this research is an important addition to the current literature. There is an investigation into historical documentation of education for Māori during the colonisation process. The chapter explores the relationship between Māori and Pākehā during that period and describes how that affected Māori in all areas of life. The chapter includes an investigation into how Māori and Pākehā related during the development of early childhood education over the period of the study. I undertake an overview of what the expectations were for Māori and for their respective communities, what research already existed, what was generated, and how or why this may have influenced how Māori children and their families were integrated into the early childhood education and wider education world. For example, were the participants’ Māori whakapapa, background, heritage, their prior learning, life experiences, expectations accommodated, acknowledged and included? This in turn led to extending the research further into the broader context of considerations around the

\(^{18}\) Pou – a guide or mark.
history of Māori in the full education system and how these impacted on early childhood education.

1.3.3 Chapter Four: Methodology and methods.

The methodologies combined with my own ways of knowing, doing, and being support and inform the process of recording, analysing, and writing the thesis. The methodology/ies identified for this research are a mix of Kaupapa and Mātauranga Māori, autoethnography, reflection, native and or indigenous ethnography, and other western research methods as I investigated and as the study developed and was woven. Mātauranga Māori is a significant part of the methodological process, understanding how this is integrated and what it actually means is widely researched and argued in academic circles. In addition to reading extensively about how to apply mātauranga Māori and the many aspects of what this meant, I also spoke with kaumatua, kuia, and the research participants to gauge their understanding. For me discussing kanohi ki te kanohi19 is an important part of the thesis as it is how Māori pakiwaitara20 are passed on.

1.3.4 Chapter Five: Becoming Marakihau – The participants’ voices.

This chapter identifies the participants, their background, and how they progressed through the kindergarten service. It includes discussion about their experiences, how these may have influenced how they taught, and how their whānau hapū, iwi, and community supported them in their journey. The study investigates initial teacher education or training, teaching experiences, development, and participation in the profession, influencing thinking and inclusion of tikanga and te reo Māori in the sector. The chapter investigates the different yet similar experiences that participants had during their preparation for teaching. This chapter includes direct quotes and lived experience from all participants who have contributed. There is also discussion about race, racism, and ethnicity and how participants worked their way through the challenges presented.

1.3.5 Chapter Six: Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education Inc.

There is detailed description of the development of Te Runanga Māori ECE (TRMECE) as this is the group that strengthened and sustained many of the participants during this period.

19 Kanohi – face to face
20 Pakiwaitara - stories
particularly from 1986 to 1990. The research discusses how the participants developed strength and perseverance in challenging and making changes to how ECE was practised in kindergartens, playcentres, and childcare centres. The chapter includes discussion about the preparation of research participants during initial teacher education. It also identifies the importance of whānau, the importance of belonging, knowing who you are, and how you have been influenced.

A significant inclusion is the development and implementation of *Te Whāriki: He Whāriki Mātauranga mō ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa* - *The Early Childhood Curriculum* in 1993 to it being ratified at the early childhood education convention in 1995. It is well known in the New Zealand ECE community how the document was developed and who assessed and wrote the final versions. Perhaps less well known is the groundwork that many other ECE people participated in, the consultation process, and of those, how many Māori (outside of Te Kōhanga Reo) were part of that.

### 1.3.6 Chapter Seven: Conclusion and findings

This chapter includes final reflections from the participants as I weave the whole together reflecting and substantiating the thesis. Included in the findings are indicators for ongoing research and points of consideration for readers. There is also a postscript that discusses a personal choice that I made to mark the journeys end and as a tohu for all those involved.
They said: “There’s a taniwha in your river”. I said: “Hmm, yes, that may be Marakihau”.

(The korero above indicates the acceptance and recognition of the existence of Taniwha by the researcher and by proxy the participants to this research).

### 2.1 Introduction – Te Timatanga

In this chapter I identify and explore Marakihau the taniwha, I discuss why I chose to relate to the female taniwha as the tohu and explain why as it is the female that best relates to the thesis. The chapter includes an analysis of her as the tohu for the thesis, how she influenced my thinking and often guided me with the stories. I discuss her interrelatedness with other taniwha in Aotearoa and the relationship with other international indigenous taniwha from Canada and the Pacific Islands, for example. Deciding on Marakihau required much thought and lengthy discussions with kaumatua, kuia, colleagues, whānau, friends, and the research participants. This was to ensure that she was “safe” to guide this research with me. Some pākehā colleagues asked, “why Marakihau, isn’t that a fierce taniwha?” The comment, or, assumption, identifies that many of the general public have little knowledge about taniwha in general and Marakihau in particular. This may be based on what they have been told about the assertive taniwha as most references to taniwha are viewed, particularly by modern Māori, as a precursor to danger or aggression. This of course is partly true, however as I investigated and wrote about Marakihau I hope to allay some of those perceptions. It is important to note that not one of the research participants questioned the choice of title, indeed they have said “great, that’s us!” Participants reflect in more detail in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau – Participants’ Voices.

I include a discussion about the colonisation of Māori and the effects that had on tikanga and kawa particularly in relation to the Tohunga Supression Act (1907) and the relatedness to Tikanga, kawa, and taniwha. I discuss how the relationship Māori had and continue to have with taniwha is significant. As part of that process, and for the purpose of this research, I have chosen those that I have identified a “relationship” with or that I am able to link to Marakihau specifically as a way of ratifying her being the kaitiaki or mokai for this thesis. I share whānau whakapapa and links to taniwha and tohu that are significant for me personally. I also identify

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21 Marakihau – Taniwha the title of the research. Taniwha – described as a ‘monster’.
22 Tohu – guide or sign
23 Tikanga and Kawa – practises and or beliefs
taniwha in metaphor that is a “likeness” or similarity to taniwha in act or deed as these too are important ways to explain and ratify taniwha as the title.

2.2 Marakihau – He Taniwha

Marakihau became a significant taniwha to me personally and was chosen as the title of the research for her uniqueness, her “hiddenness”. A carving depicting Marakihau was presented to me and the teaching team of the Waiaiki Institute of Technology Diploma of Teaching programme by the first group of teaching graduates in 1996 (see Figure 1). Students said that she represented us (the teachers): strong, hard working, diligent, determined, passionate, caring, and prepared to challenge the system in order to progress mahi appropriate for Māori in education. Marakihau came to mind as I searched for a title, she was the logical choice.

Marakihau is referred to as either male (matātua waka) or female. For the purpose of this thesis I have chosen the female. Why? The research participants are all female, all have shared similar stories and therefore “she” aptly fits the journey that we (research participants and I) have taken. The journey is historic, it should be informative, and it may encourage others to research and share their life histories, their truth. In accord with kaupapa Māori, the thesis title was ratified by participants throughout the research (see individual participants comments in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau – Participants’ Voices). I have chosen to include personal experiences that relate to Marakihau and taniwha, these may contribute to a better understanding of the reason a taniwha, specifically Marakihau was chosen.

I have come to appreciate the role and influence Marakihau has had on me personally and I acknowledge her as the korowai, the protector, the pou and the mangai for me as I prepared analysed and wrote the research participants herstories. I have been fortunate in my journey through life and education as I have had the privilege of meeting and at times working with many kaumatua and kuia from several different iwi and hapū. These kaumatua and kuia have influenced, informed and supported my thinking about education for Māori and have always made themselves available to me. These contacts or links were important as I identified the title Marakihau I needed their whakāro, there thinking around her and so met with them.

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24 Marakihau – He Taniwha – described since colonisation as ‘aggressive beings’.
25 Mahi – terminology indicating work
26 Matātua is an iwi/tribal area located on in the Eastern Bay of Plenty of the North Island.
27 Korowai – a cloak or garment
28 Pou – a sign post or signal
29 Mangai – protector or acknowledged leader.
30 Whakāro – understanding – knowledge
over time to gain further knowledge about how she can represent the research participants. Within kaupapa Māori, particularly for this thesis title support and approval from Kaumatua and Kuia were absolutely necessary as they needed to know the rationale, the concept and of course the implications that may or, may not arise. It was important to have their approval as it is necessary for the research to be conducted in a safe and transparent way. It was with some relief that after reflection and consideration kaumatua and kuia agreed with my choice and gave me and the research their blessing.

2.3 Taniwha – A General Description

Aotearoa has many Taniwha sometimes referred to as kaitiaki\(^{31}\) or mokai\(^{32}\). It is unfortunate that since colonisation Taniwha are described as aggressive beings, something to be afraid of and therefore avoided. This belief was probably instigated by stories such as those reported about Taniwha stopping or delaying work on land sites, that these sightings were recorded by Pākehā indicate that taniwha existed and that they appeared to Pākehā as well as Māori. For example, Pākehā surveyors in the 1840s described how a taniwha appeared out of a lake and chased them so that they could not complete their work. (Orbell, 2002; Brailford, 1994).

Taniwha are reported to take on a variety of “forms” often referred to as a sea creature, or, a lizard, an eel, a bird, to an area of land a tree or a cave. Areas where Taniwha may reside are land, river, lake, tree or caves, places that people return to, to strengthen whānau ties, participate in karakia or to meditate. Often when visiting these places people place a koha\(^{33}\) to show respect, or to appease the taniwha. The animal variety often appear at times when the iwi, haū, whānau or individual need them perhaps warning of danger or an impending significant event such as birth or death. There are practises and processes that remain in place today that many Māori respect, particularly with regard to events such as birth and death. As Māori regenerate interest in all things Māori a return to some of the “old” practises is happening. I see this as a good thing, however it is an individual choice and one that should not be entered into lightly, that is a person needs to protect themselves at all times. As previously alluded to the colonisation and missionary influences on tikanga Māori were and remain significant. Many practises have been lost, some never to be regained. The following section identifies some of the reasons why and how this happened.

\(^{31}\) Kaitiaki - guardian  
\(^{32}\) Mokai - guardian  
\(^{33}\) Koha – gift
2.4 He Taniwha – Taniwha Relatedness

Orbell (1995), Walker 1990, King (1975) Smith (1999) identified that taniwha are recorded in oral history as being present throughout the Pacific in various forms. This assisted people being able to record and refer to them (taniwha) and their purpose to clarify situations, identify groups and their relatedness to the wider group of people scattered throughout the Pacific Ocean. Orbell (1995) expands the relationships by making links between each significant island group, she describes how the people travelled between the islands and how they often returned to the “mother” land, identified as Hawaiki34. She identifies though that the exception was the discovery of Aotearoa New Zealand as this Island group was a great distance from the smaller Island groups of Rarotonga the Cook Islands for example. On settlement in Aotearoa return voyages to their place of origin were rare as distance prevented this. In time the settlers adapted to their new environment and developed unique living and tribal groups. Memories of their former home were transferred into myth and orally passed through the generations. This is recorded in Song of Waitaha (Brailsford, 1989 pp. 63-96) the story of Māori arrival in Aotearoa in particular the story recorded in “Ride the White Whale” which describes in detail how the journey was made. There is a strong link to the story of Paikea (a North Island/East Coast whale) and how he travelled to Aotearoa, in both instances the waka were guided by a whale.

As I began to unwrap the myths of generations I identified that the links are significant as Taniwha appear throughout the stories often described as aggressive sea monsters for example:

- Great White Shark – Mango Taniwha;
- Whale- Tohora
  or
- Octopus – Wheke.
  And of course
- Marakihau

These Taniwha are reported to have attacked waka – canoe and to eat people, or, kidnap women to take as wives (Dansey, 1974; Orbell, 1995). While tales of Taniwha are depicted as aggressive, perhaps for protection, for example to protect a certain area, or warn tamariki away

34 Hawaiki is referred to as the “mythical” Island that all Pacific peoples originated from. Hawaiki is referred to in particular at tangi where the deceased is told to return to Hawaiki Roa, Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki Pamamo.
from an area such as a river an area in a Lake or beach. They are also described as kaitiaki, mokai – guardians as they travelled with the voyagers across water and land as guides and protectors. It is clear then that the role taniwha have in the Māori world is multiple and dependant on relevant and sometimes related situations or events.

Tamariki\textsuperscript{35} Māori are introduced to the concept of participation and the understanding of taniwha at the earliest opportunity as discussed by (Hemara, 2000) where he identifies that Marsden (a missionary) in 1822 was surprised to see young children attending important Hui\textsuperscript{36} and that their questions were taken seriously and responded to with honesty and respect. In fact the inclusion of children assisted their understanding of kawa and tikanga and was essential knowledge for any Māori child. The concept is recognised and included in many “modern” Māori children’s books, for example Miriam Smith’s “The Boy from the Sea (1988) and Robin Kahukiwa’s “Taniwha” (1986). Both pakiwaitara\textsuperscript{37}/stories describe the role that taniwha have and how they can be used to instil concepts and values of te ao Māori for tamariki and mokopuna\textsuperscript{38}. It is a reality that with modern society, the resulting shift of families away from kaumatua, kuia, papakāinga and the reduced contact with tamariki and mokopuna has necessitated the use of books, waiata, technology (television and computers) as the way in which these stories and memories are going to survive. There are several ways that taniwha are depicted; I have given example of some. However for me, one of the most powerful and perhaps unrecognised ones is of an individual, not necessarily a taniwha of mythology, but a modern day taniwha which is what I am going to discuss next.

2.5 Taniwha in Metaphor

A powerful or much respected rangatira\textsuperscript{39} may be referred to as a taniwha (Walker, 1990; Rangihau, as cited in King 1977). The analogy is made with reference to a strong Māori person, one who stands out, stands for what they believe in, is not afraid to speak out, to speak up, to stand alone if need be. There are many such people who I have had the privilege of knowing, taniwha who have shared their wisdom with me and for whom I will be eternally grateful. Many of these taniwha are included in this research as research participants, as mentors or guides as kaumatua and kuia. It is this analogy that Marakihau is likened to in the title for this thesis. The research participants are strong leaders as individuals, as a collective, as Te Runanga Māori

\textsuperscript{35}Tamariki – children
\textsuperscript{36}Hui – meeting or gathering
\textsuperscript{37}Pakiwaitara – stories
\textsuperscript{38}Mokopuna – grandchild or grandchildren
\textsuperscript{39}Rangatira – person of high rank – male or female
Early Childhood Education (TRMECE)\(^{40}\) for example. Throughout this journey, researching, interviewing and writing this thesis I have identified research participants as strong leaders, as individuals, indeed their stories reflect this. As a collective, in active and sometimes volatile collaboration with respective workers Unions and other teaching or leadership groups, they again showed strength in progressing an argument, making a stand. There are many examples of these situations, they are discussed in Chapter Five – Becoming Marakihau – Participants’ Voices. In the current chapter I share examples to support my discussion to substantiate Marakihau as the taniwha for this thesis.

An example: The late Waimatou [Wai] Rewiti. Wai was the only Māori woman elected to a City Council in the mid-1980s and as a councillor met many aggressive and racist people both within the council and the community. Waimatou stood for council so that she would be a voice for her haū and iwi at a time when Māori Land was being taken for road development. As a young teenager she witnessed her whānau, in particular her mother and aunties, protest strongly, marching and laying on the area to protect the land. This affected her and made her want to understand how this could happen. Through education she strengthened her resolve to question and to make changes to how Māori were treated when it came to matters such as she had witnessed. She determined to do as much as she could to protect what land remained; (verbal conversations with Waimatou 1988- 1991). Waimatou’s reputation preceded her into the kindergarten teaching service and she became a strong union delegate and spokesperson during the ECE renaissance period of the mid-1980s to 1991. Waimatou is the first example. During her tangi\(^{41}\) in 1992 her strength, determination, and love both for her family and for her colleagues in kindergarten and education were remembered and celebrated.

The following is a strong message given to Wai’s younger extended whānau, it is the second example of a taniwha. It is a memory that has remained with me as it shows the strength and mana of wāhine Māori. During Wai’s tangi as we were waiting for her male whānau to lift her from the wharenui\(^{42}\) and take her to the paepae,\(^{43}\) Wai’s mother became impatient as the male whānau were taking too long, she turned to us and said “e tu we will take Waimatou out” which we did. Wai’s mother proceeded us, protecting us by doing a female haka\(^{44}\), firmly letting her whānau know they had upset her with their delay. Wai’s mother explained after that she

\(^{40}\) Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education (TRMECE) is an Incorporated Society developed to support and mentor Māori in ECE.  
\(^{41}\) Tangi – funeral  
\(^{42}\) Wharenui – meeting house  
\(^{43}\) Paepae – area in front of the meeting house  
\(^{44}\) Haka – dance usually as a challenge or statement
had requested that we, Wai’s colleagues and friends, myself and Olive (another participant in this research), carry her onto the paepae and that that request had been denied so she took the situation into her own hands. This is known as mana wāhine a woman who has respect and with whom one does not argue. She acted as our Taniwha and the haka placed her firmly in charge. Examples of mokai, kaitiaki for my immediate whānau are Hine-ruru (an owl or morepork guardian) and the Lizard. These two mokai taniwha appear to us most often as a sign of impending or immediate death, usually of a close family member, but may also appear as a sign of a happy event, it depends solely on when they appear and how. Hine-ruru was the mokai for my paternal great grandmother, Hiromina Te Waerenga. My father learnt a great deal from her and passed on many of her teachings to me. He carved her mokai into a Tokotoko\(^45\) and presented this to me many years ago ceremoniously passing on her strength, wisdom and knowledge. It is a mantel that I acknowledge and wear with pride. Another “tohu” is a Lizard which is carved into our wharenui and appeared to my son while he was working in the bush. On sighting it he knew that his koro\(^46\) would pass and he prepared for the journey to the tangi.

The examples shared relate specifically to my whānau and my experiences. I did not ask similar questions of the research participants as the kōrero around this topic remains tapu for many. However, I have imbedded indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing in this research, they are the key to the deeper and perhaps more complex thread, forming the whāriki, weaving the stories together. Marakihau is the pou, the tool, the anchor, the guide, and ultimately, the korowai, whakarurhau\(^47\) protecting all.

The following section outlines the colonisation process on Māori and how that process effectively changed the way Māori lived and how they interacted whānau to whānau; hapū to hapū, and ultimately iwi to iwi. The effects are long term, they are intergenerational and while there are several individual “acts” I concentrate on those that I identify had the most effect on Māori for this thesis. The numerous education acts and the Tōhunga Suppression Act are particularly identified as the 1907 Tōhunga Suppression Act alienated Māori to many practises that had, in my view, dramatic effects on the way we lived as a people. Marakihau and her significance for this thesis may explain some of that feeling of alienation.

\(^{45}\) Tokotoko – walking stick
\(^{46}\) Koro - grandfather
\(^{47}\) Whakarurhau – overarching
2.6 The Effects of Colonisation on Māori and the Exclusion of Tikanga Māori

Colonisation is a generic term used to identify and describe how indigenous peoples throughout the world were socially manipulated and subjugated by an invading group who thought that they had the right to infiltrate and change a way of life and living, indeed their cultural heritage, that the indigenous group had practised for centuries. As Leonie Pihama identified, “Colonisation is colonisation, whatever new name we may like to give to it” (as cited in Swadener & Mutua, 2008, p. 40). For the purpose of this research I concentrate on the colonisation of Māori and the ongoing effects of the process that remain today. The colonisation process affected many of the traditional practises that Māori had lived by for centuries. Māori relationships to Taniwha is one such area. It is recognised that during the colonisation process many practises were discouraged by missionaries. One, the deliberate introduction of the “Suppression of Tōhunga Act” in 1907 was designed to outlaw the spiritual and educational role the tohunga had in the preservation of traditional Māori society. Sir Maui Pomare believing that the “old” practises, were responsible for Māori child deaths, supported the Tohunga Suppression Act. I am of the belief that he was not aware of the full implications that the Act would have, nor that in supporting the Act he also continued the colonisation process of his people – Māori. The role of the tohunga was seen by the colonisers as a barrier to assimilation and is a clear indication that missionaries and the Government of the day felt threatened and intimidated by the position tohunga had. The Act and its ongoing effect was part of the process of subjugation which has continued to affect Māori tikanga and te reo for generations. Many (Dansey, 1974; Edwards, 2012; Marsden, as cited in King, 1977; Walker, 1990) for example, believe that the act is responsible for the demise of a significant role in Māori society, as many of the practices are no longer known and therefore are not practised, or practised in a modified form. Richie & Richie (1977) identified that in old Māori society there were many practises that made Māori Māori – practises that were uniquely Māori that colonisation changed radically. Marsden (as cited in King 1977) detailed tohunga as having a more in depth role in particular the link between ritual, religion, tapu and noa. There are many examples of how the suppression act affected Māori. Subsequent acts were passed that

48 The Tohunga Suppression Act was actioned in 1907 and not repealed until 1962.
49 A Tohunga is a respected person who hold specific knowledge and practice of Te Ao Māori – the Māori world.
50 Maui Pomare – a member of parliament
51 Tapu, is described as being sacred, has ceremonial restrictions, needing protection or could have implications for social control.
52 Noa, is the opposite of Tapu in that it refers to “normal” or of everyday living.
controlled every day practises such as not allowing birthing to take place at home and stopping breast feeding, thus depriving Māori children of a practise that bonded mother and child and ensured nurturing. These acts and their effects are clear examples of how the implementation of the Tohunga Suppression Act was part of the overall plan to bring about the demise of, and weaken, Māori as a people and definitely effect tikanga and kawa Māori (Dansey, 1974; Mikaere, 2003). Marsden identified that:

Tohunga had a variety of roles in old Māori society, in generating the suppression act, the colonisers thought they were dealing with the spiritual realm as a Tohunga is a person chosen or appointed by the gods (Io53) to be their representative in the natural world to guide and protect the people by reciting karakia and performing ritualistic acts. (as cited in King (1975, pp. 207-208)

As Pākehā had a narrow understanding of the role tohunga had for Māori, assuming that tohunga were akin to “witch” doctors and therefore not a good influence. It allowed Māori to continue certain practises, such as tnagihanga and wānanga. Dansey (1974) and Marsden (as cited in King 1975) detailed the link between rituals, religion, tapu and noa, thus acknowledging that all practises are linked.

While the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 was revoked in 1962 the effects of the act remain, much of the historic terminology has changed in order for “practice” to survive. For example, in today’s society the word tohu has a new connotation generally meaning a “sign” or recognition of achievement. Tohunga also takes on a new connotation. “Tohunga ta moko” for example is a specific role recognising that the person, male or female is an expert in that field.

Edwards (2012) discussed that it is a reality that anything Māori do, write, or say is based on tikanga, practises that have been passed down for generations – as taonga tuku iho54, inheritances of mōhio55, mātua56, and mārama57 ideas of knowledge building, of knowing, of doing, and of being. This is substanitiated by (Freire, 1998) as he identified that “indigenous knowledge is a rich social resource for any justice related attempt to bring about social change” (p. 46). While this research is not directly about social change it is influenced by what other academics such as Dansey (1974), Durie (2001) and (2006), Macfarlane, Macfarlane, &

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53 Io – Gods.
54 Taonga toku iho – referred to as gifts or understandings that have been passed down from our ancestors.
55 Mōhio - understanding
56 Matua – older uncle – male
57 Mārama – understanding in this context.
Webber (2015), Penetito (2001), Pere (1982), Simon (1986), and Walker, (1975), and (1990) have written about the cause and effect of social change on indigenous peoples and their inherited, inherent ways of knowing, ways of doing, ways of being, and their belief in spirituality that is different from that which the missionaries used as part of the colonisation process.

The reclaiming of cultural practises (Freire, 1998) recommend that intellectuals should “soak themselves in this knowledge assimilate the feelings, the sensitivity of epistemologies that move in ways unimagined by most Western academic impulses” (p. 46). A “living” example is that as I progress this research I became more and more aware of the significance of what I was doing and the people that I have deliberately, or, through relatedness included in this journey. The tapu placed around Marakihau and other taniwha, and therefore this writing, is almost tangible. I have no doubt that if there are any transgressions made during this research I will be held accountable.

As previously identified this research is not specifically about social change, however it is influenced and informed by the processes and effects of colonisation, therefore social change needs to be acknowledged. Graham Smith (as cited in Smith, 1999) identified Kaupapa Māori research is related to “being Māori, is connected to Māori philosophy and principles; takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Maori language and culture; and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing” (p. 185).

This thesis may highlight why the inclusion and acceptance of Māori and other indigenous people’s myths, legends, cultural beliefs, and tikanga are necessary as a way of empowerment, of giving mana58 back to the people from whom these beliefs stem. In the Māori world of wairua59, tikanga or kawa there is a belief that sometimes “things” are chosen for us. This is discussed further by Matamua, (as cited in Macfarlane 2015) as they identify that the taonga tuku iho - treasures passed down by elders over generations through waiata - song; pakiwaitara - stories and whakatauaki – proverbs, provide links to the legacies of the past and a pathway to the future. This is particularly the case when kaumatua and kuia identify men and women to undertake or lead specific roles within the whānau, hapū and iwi. This is extended in the modern world to peers and colleagues identifying those who they believe are able to lead in a specific field, such as education, (Mahuika, as cited in King 1977; Penetito 2001; Walker,

58 Mana – status, respect.
59 Wairua – spirituality.
With the regeneration of te reo and tikanga Māori from the 1970s and in detail in the 1980s so too have many of the “old” practices been reinstated albeit in a modified way. A significant one is the recognition that the baby’s whenua\(^{60}\)/placenta is tapu and is often returned to tribal land to be blessed and buried. The belief is that in doing this the child, has a place to belong their turangawaewae\(^{61}\), a place to stand thus strengthening the blood ties. The other is the return of the tupāpaku\(^{62}\)/deceased to the whenua or place of birth for burial. This practice has caused many issues in modern Māori times especially when the relationship is of mixed racial background. Kaumatua will refer to the whakapapa\(^{63}\) and genealogy of the person with sound argument as to why the body must be returned to papakāinga\(^{64}\), often referring to Taniwha as part of the argument (Dansey, 1974; Penetito (1998). The cultural renaissance and revitalization has generated a source of celebration as Māori and tauiwi embrace and celebrate the mana of Te Ao Māori.

As the researcher, I have no doubt that the effects of colonisation is responsible for the demise of Te Ao Māori - the Māori world, indeed, the negative statistics of the 20\(^{th}\) and 21\(^{st}\) centuries are clear evidence of the ramifications from the colonisation process. Low self-esteem, low academic achievement, poor health, poor housing, the breakdown of whānau, haū, and iwi during the urbanisation of Māori have had long-term negative effects on modern day Māori.

2.7 The Title Marakihau – He Tohu Mātauranga

As I searched for a title for this study I felt that my tipuna were guiding me to Marakihau. As discussed approval from kaumatua and kuia were absolutely necessary as they needed to know the rationale, the concept, and of course the implications that may o, may not arise. It was important to have their approval as it is necessary for the research to be conducted in a safe and transparent way. So, after discussion and approval from kaumatua and kuia the title was confirmed “Marakihau Tu atu, Tu mai” (Marakihau stand up, stand tall). The title Marakihau indicates that the research was going to be challenging because it would highlight areas within the kindergarten service and in ECE that have been and remain in deficit when it comes to the inclusion of te reo and tikanga Māori. The research highlights that during the period the research covers (1950s to 1989), participants were at various times the recipients of

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60 Whenua – in this context placenta.
61 Turangawaewae – place of belonging.
62 Tupapaku – deceased, body.
63 Whakapapa – genealogy.
64 Papakāinga – original birth place.
racial prejudice. These prejudices may not have been recognised by the perpetrator at the time, however for the recipient, they were real and in some cases had a life time effect on how they worked with and for their respective communities. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau - Participants Voices. Marakihau was chosen because of her uniqueness, her “hiddenness” and because a carving depicting Marakihau was presented to us (teachers on the Waiairiki Institute of Technology Diploma of Teaching programme) by the first group of Early Childhood Education Diploma graduates in 1996. Students said that she represented us, staunch, strong hard working diligent and determined.

Figure 1. Marakihau. As described throughout this chapter. (Picture from authors private collection depicting the carving presented by students 1996) ©

Marakihau is described as being half fish half man/woman, a descendant of Tangaroa. The carver identifies the half-moon spirals as depicting the ascent of youth, to woman, growth and maturity. The koru represent the generations to come. The tongue depicts the gift of speech, the koru on the head represent those of knowledge learned and taught. On the carving Marakihau holds three symbols; those of birth, life, and death, and the three baskets of knowledge. She represents Papatūānuku/Mother Earth and shows her importance to mankind, she stands as kaitiaki – guardian to all those she sees; protector of all.

The concepts of tapu and noa are daily observances in my life, and this became very important when I began writing this chapter. As discussed, I became increasingly aware of the
significance of what I was doing, the people that I have deliberately, or through relatedness, included in this journey and that there is tapu around Marakihau, other taniwha and the area of investigation. It is necessary then to know and to respect this, to seek permission and approval from those who hold the knowledge whether they are with us or not (those who have passed). I have endeavoured to protect myself and those who I have included in this research through karakia\textsuperscript{65} and meditation.

The relatedness of research participants in this thesis and Marakihau are evident, while some of the women may not see themselves as taniwha the korero\textsuperscript{66} they share certainly identifies this. I believe that Marakihau reflects many of the struggles and challenges that we as Māori kindergarten teachers had to face as we journeyed through the complexities of early childhood education. In order to be heard we often had to make a stand, indeed sometimes we had to stamp, shout, and do a haka/war dance to demonstrate how passionately we felt about something or wanted us (Māori) to be included in all areas of early childhood education and not just ki te taha - to the side, an add on. Many of the participants reflected that they often felt like Marakihau as they had to rise up in order to be seen or heard. This sometimes put them in a precarious position as they were often isolated in the kindergarten sector, as teachers and by location. For some it was easier to “fit in” and not stand out. This was dissipated somewhat with the establishment of Te Runanga Māori ECE to strengthen, support and mentor Māori teaching in kindergarten. The Runanga soon grew to include all Māori involved in the ECE sector. This is elaborated further in Chapter Six, Te Runanga Māori ECE.

2.8 Taniwha Relationships with Whānau, Hapū, and Iwi

The mythologies of Māori migration and the creation story of Ranginui\textsuperscript{67} and Papatuanuku\textsuperscript{68} have relatedness across indigenous people worldwide. The similarities have brought indigenous peoples together to share stories, identify links, and celebrate the uniqueness as people. This is particularly the case in the mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century and into the 21\textsuperscript{st} century as indigenous peoples have been able to communicate and relate sharing stories of similar experiences, learning from each group and building a bond that strengthens indigenous nations across the world. The World Indigenous Peoples Conferences is a good example of this. The conference is celebrated every four years and brings thousands of indigenous practitioners and academics together to share their skills and their research. The conference also serves to

\textsuperscript{65} Karakia – prayer – in my case non - Christian
\textsuperscript{66} Korero – talk – speak
\textsuperscript{67} Ranginui - sky
\textsuperscript{68} Papatuanuku – Earth
develop new and strengthen existing relationships. The following are well known taniwha stories that tamariki and mokopuna are told and relate specifically to iwi and haū.

2.8.1 The story of Paikea.

This story has been immortalized in film and as a result is one of the most well-known and recognised taniwha in Aotearoa and throughout indigenous peoples worldwide. The story of Paikea is often referred to in collaboration with their (other indigenous peoples) respective histories and is being taught at schools and tertiary institutes as an introduction to indigenous studies, for example, at Little Drums on Victoria Island, British Columbia and The Six Nations Polytechnic in the Ontario area (Authors personal notes). Kahutia – Te Rangi is the whale rider’s name his descendants regard Paikea as one of the most important ancestors of Ngati Porou – East Coast iwi, they acknowledge him as the eldest of Uenuku’s sons. His journey is recorded in a patere/chant and is proudly sung by descendants Ihimaera, (1992), Orbell, 1995; Walker, 1990).

2.8.2 Araiteuru.

Araiteuru is recorded as having arrived with early travellers, and she and her eleven sons are credited with creating the various branches of the Hokianga Harbour (Orbell, 1995).

2.8.3 Hine-kōrako – The pale rainbow.

The luminous halo sometimes seen around the moon is regarded as Hine–kōrako who at times took the form of a pale rainbow and at others was identified as the moon itself. She, along with Hine-Te-iwaiwa, assisted women in childbirth. It is recorded that during the voyage from Hawaiki, Hine-kōrako stood at the helm of the Takitimu⁶⁹ waka each night as a lunar rainbow and that another taniwha, Kahukura, guided the Takitimu as a rainbow by day. The two taniwha were often appealed to when embarking on deep sea voyages. Hine-kōrako was also referred to as the female taniwha who after many generations as part of a race of taniwha fell in love with a human man, Tane-Kino. They had a son, however, following ridicule from some of the whānau or Tane-Kino about her ancestry, she left and lived under a waterfall, Te Rēinga, and it is said that she is still there. Many descendants from Te Rēinga, Ngāti Hinehika, and Ngāti Pōhatu whakapapa to Tane-Kino and Hine-kōrako. (Orbell, 1995).

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⁶⁹ Takitimu is identified as the waka that brought the East Coast iwi Aotearoa, landing at various places until settling at Mahia Peninsular.
2.8.4 Matātua – Whakatohea.  

Oral and written whakapapa from the Matātua waka record that their kaitiaki was Marakihau (male form) who guided them from Hawaiki to the Eastern Bay of Plenty (Whakatane). Marakihau returned to Hawaiki and brought another waka to the area; once this was completed he passed on the guardianship to his son. The pakiwaitara/whakapapa clearly describes how once the elder passed the mana, the mauri went to his son to continue the role. This practice remains, albeit in a changed way today, with descendants of many well-known historical Maori leaders’ grandchildren continuing the work that their tipuna did. Often it is kaumatua and kuia who identify one or perhaps two in the whānau who may be capable of continuing the work, or, holding the knowledge, the whakapapa. (Verbal discussion with kaumatua Waka Vercoe at Te Whare Tipuna ā Matātua; November 2015)  

The descendants – iwi and hapū are known as Whakatohea and the Whare Matātua has been re-erected along the waterfront of Whakatane. The name Whakatane has another legendary story of wahine Māori. Wairaka who when the waka began drifting out to sea, called “Me whakatane au I ahau” – “I will be as a man and hold fast to the waka”. The town is therefore named after that event.

As previously discussed, taniwha are recorded as being present in lakes, rivers, land areas, and mountains, and are described as appearing as a floating log behaving in a disconcerting way (Orbell 1995; Reed & Brougham, 1978) creating a specific area such as channels or harbours, for example (see reference to Araiteuru above). This can be observed in Wharekahika/Hicks Bay at a place known as Rua Taniwha (two taniwha) the river is a popular swimming place for locals, however the name suggests a caution to swimmers to be careful as the river changes and the taniwha move as well, meaning that the areas that may be dangerous to swimmers also move.

Mount Ruapehu is said to be a sleeping taniwha, as described by Hone Tūwhare in a poem, “Deep inside the Earth the Taniwha takes deep breathing exercise to keep in good shape for when it has to remind us all that we are not as powerful as he”, as Ruapehu is an active volcano it is wise to take care.

Whakatohea, is a tribal area on the eastern bay of plenty, the local town is called Whakatane, named after a

I presented at the 2015 NZARE conference in Whakatane. The paper was an outline of the Methodology and Marakihau. This paper was well received with Kaumatua commenting on the choice of title and adding their approval. In addition I gained further information about Marakihau and the relationship with Matātua which I believe adds mana to the research.
2.8.5 Summary.

Marakihau he taniwha, there is no doubt in my mind, that she is the right title for this thesis, that kaumatua, kuia, research participants support this, substantiates her. She has been in the background waiting, just as we Māori kindergarten teachers waited for the right time to stand and make changes. Marakihau she is the “pou”, “totem”, “stone” sign post, whāriki, korowai, guardian. Further she has been a “companion” of mine over many years as I travelled through the kindergarten, early childhood education, tertiary, and general education sectors. She had been on my mind when I decided to begin this journey, there could be no other title.

The purpose of this chapter was to explain in some detail why a taniwha, specifically Marakihau, was chosen as the title for this thesis. As the concept of taniwha may be foreign to many, I thought it best to describe the taniwha and Marakihau in detail.
3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction - Te Timatanga

Chapter One introduced the purpose of the research thesis identifying why the life stories of several Māori kindergarten teachers needed to be told. Chapter Two identified the title of the thesis, linking the rationale to Chapter One and explained in some detail why the taniwha Marakihau was chosen as the pou for the thesis. I also investigated and identified the effects of the colonisation process and how that affected tikanga and te reo Māori and why taniwha are viewed with some trepidation in modern society.

This chapter continues by exploring literature that identifies the effect and impact colonisation had on Māori on contact with the British Empire from the late 1700s into the 20th and 21st centuries. The purpose of looking back, reflecting, is to identify why and how we, Māori, met the challenges that colonisation presented. What literature developed to identify “us” as “natives” as a people. It is also important to investigate the effects of generational and intergenerational colonisation on Māori, particularly with regard to education, including early childhood education.

In this chapter I identify literature that discusses the development of education for Māori leading up to and including the period of my research, from the 1950s to 1989. My discussion serves to position myself and the research participants within the context of the general education system and in more specifically early childhood education, especially the kindergarten service in New Zealand. I note the development of the kindergarten movement and its introduction into Māori communities alongside the playcentre movement. This chapter provides a socio-istorical-political account of Māori education and the emergence of pre-school education in the New Zealand education scene. My research investigates how the colonising process, using education, effectively and deliberately changed the way Māori lived. It includes discussion and investigation into areas such as the use of discipline to discourage children speaking te reo Māori in schools. A brief journey into the development of missionary schools, native schools and barding schools as a means of explaining how these contributed to the demise of te reo Māori and how Māori were directed into domestic careers, but also ironically in strengthening and identifying Māori leaders. The literature assisted me as I investigated the effects of urban migration during the 1950s and 1960s, the colonisation of Māori women, the Hunn report, and other related ACTs and policies that have affected Māori since the time
settlers arrived in Aotearoa. Discussion regarding how Māori endeavoured to work with the systems put in place in the education system is included. I sought to clarify why, as Middleton (1988), Penetito (2001), Simon & Smith (2001), Smith (1995), and Walker, (1990) identified, Māori academic achievement and participation in all areas of education including early childhood is not at a level that indicates a future for Māori that was envisaged by leaders, Māori and Pākehā alike, Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Maui Pomare, the Ratana movement for example, over the last 200 years. The Hunn report of 1960 (Hunn, 1961) and the 1967 New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI) Report and Recommendations on Māori Education (NZEI, 1967) identified areas where education for Māori could be improved. These areas are investigated as this chapter progresses, however, while this chapter investigates some of the reasons why the implementation of the strategies were unsuccessful and makes links to the introduction of early childhood education (ECE) in particular to the Kindergarten sector, it is not the aim of the research to identify solutions.

The chapter does, though, make links with the historic influences and how that may have affected and influenced, albeit unknowingly at the time, the research participants. As previously identified, the objective of the research was to record and share the stories of Māori women in the Kindergarten sector between the 1950s and 1989. However as the writer, researcher, and participant it is also a process of reviewing and analysing both the colonisation and the decolonisation process that as a collective the participants worked through. I explore the major influences on education for Māori, Māori women in particular, the effects of a colonial government, and the overall colonisation process. I also reflect on the struggle that our tipuna had and as descendants we continue to have to be accepted as a people, our desire to be treated with respect, and to be part of the country that we “discovered”. This chapter then weaves many strands together as the investigation into what, why, how, who, by whom, when, and what now is unravelled. Weaving, or raranga as it is commonly referred to, is an ideal description for the process that is inherent throughout the thesis. It is a process of ensuring that the strands are joined in a way that binds as I believe researching these life herstories has done. It can also be seen as a process that is continued, that is continually reviewed, and at times renewed.

3.2 Education: A Colonising Tool

The settler colonisation strategy using education as the tool has been effective in the subjugation of a cultural way of life that existed for centuries prior to Pākehā arrival. The process involved the use of religion, denouncing all things Māori from 1851 when an elected
settler’s government pursued a policy of assimilation. What followed was the deliberate undermining of the structure of Māori society, the practise (undermining of all things Māori) became entrenched. This took place with total disregard to the the 1835 Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi signed by Māori and Pākehā in 1840 (Durie, 2003b, Jackson, 1975, 1992; Mikaere, 2003; Orange, 1989; Walker, 1990). If these agreements had been honoured the subjugation of Māori may have not been pursued so aggressively. However, the 1851 settler’s government combined with numerous Acts, policies and government agencies such as the Native Schools Act of 1867 and its amendment in 1871, the formation of Māori Land Court, the Tohunga Suppression Act were seen as strategies to implement the civilising agenda of the nineteenth century, specifically to facilitate the Europeanising of Māori (Simon & Smith, 2001).

It is somewhat disconcerting to know that shortly after the native schools system had been in place, Māori themselves sought, through Acts of parliament, to place greater emphasis on the teaching of English. There are several examples of this as cited in (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 164) explained in their analysis of the schooling process for Māori children. For example, a petition in 1877 by a prominent Māori had several hundred signatures calling for an amendment to the 1867 Native Schools Act which would require the teachers of a native school to be ignorant of the Māori language and not permit Māori language to be spoken at the school. It is understandable then that the confusion among respective government agencies, teachers, and parents regarding the teaching of te reo Māori became protracted and contradictory. The position of Māori in society at the time, the land wars, confiscation of land, and disestablishment as a people would have pushed many to believe that the best option was to learn English in order to survive and trust that te reo Māori would be learned at home. Regardless of the proposals put forward, there developed an unhealthy regime of the colonising process. Members of parliament suggesting that Māori be tricked into thinking that they needed to learn English in order to become citizens of the developing colony. Indicating that Māori needed to assimilate to the ways of the Pākehā, or as Henry Carlton (as cited in Barrington, 2008) noted “that the stage had been reached where it is necessary to either exterminate the natives or civilize them” (p. 20). He continued in a similar vein, identifying that in his belief English was the “perfect language” and that the Pākehā (the colonisers) were the supreme race (Barrington 2008; Simon & Smith 2001; Penetito 2001; Walker, 1990).

Following the 1860 land wars the then Minister of Māori Affairs, James Richmond, proposed that “the government itself should now provide schools for Māori”. He identified that the Native Representation Act, passed in 1867, gave a valid reason why native schools should
be established and that “if Māori were to sit in Parliament and vote they needed to be fluent in English” (Barrington, 2008, p. 19). The act was quickly followed by the 1867 Native Schools Bill which Barrington (2008) identified as “developing a national system of secular village primary schools controlled by the Department of Native Affairs” (p. 19). The emphasis on English was not new; the 1847 Education Ordinance instructed that “only those mission schools for Māori that provided instruction in English would receive crown assistance” (Barrington, 2008, p. 19). The Bill was passed quickly and a national system of “secular” village primary schools were established controlled by the Department of Native Affairs. The debate over how to control the use of te reo Māori in all schools was deliberated as it had been for many years. The only way forward, according to the Crown, was the essential use of English to civilise and assimilate Māori. How this was implemented is an area of contention for many teachers, children, and their parents, as discussed later in this chapter.

Education using the schooling system was seen as the best way to implement change to eventually bring the two cultures together, thus ensuring that assimilation would take place. Indeed, assimilation was government policy for a hundred years (Metge 1990). This was with total disregard to how Māori had lived prior to the arrival of the colonisers. As Te Awekotuku (1991) explained, “Ancient Maori society was essentially tribal, with each iwi being a nation unto itself, with its own distinctive leadership system, particular economy and customary practises” (p. 7). Edwards (2011) elaborated her thinking by explaining that:

the concepts of Mātauranga Māori, Māori knowledge and ways of knowing, for example were foreign concepts to the colonisers, this made it difficult for our Tipuna to explain Mātauranga in English, in modern language the terminology Māori epistemologies is the best synonym. (p. 42)

This concept is important because it emphasises that in the Māori context, mātauranga Māori/ Māori values and value systems, are inextricably linked. Te Awekotuku (1991) wrote about education in Māori Society pre-contact “the original transference of knowledge was described as a definitive process whereby learning was seasonally determined and followed strict disciplinary procedures” (pp. 7-8.). Buck (1950) identified that in traditional Māori society “the education of children commenced at home and the family supplied the training” (p. 36). Family in this sense includes the wider family in Māori terms meaning the “whole village”, Maori children’s education and care was not limited to the Pākehā concept of the parents only, the nuclear family unit. Jenkins (1986, p. 12) elaborates: “in her cultural role the Māori woman was part of a community. Grandmothers, aunts and other female and male elders
were responsible for rearing the children”. It is within this framework that women were able to participate and undertake roles within the hapū and iwi. Indeed, accountability to hapū and iwi was absolute, assessment and examination was rigorously adhered to as the safety and future of the iwi was paramount. Best (1952), Dewes (1975), Hemara (2000), Jackson (1975), King (1977), Mikaere (2003), and Simon & Smith (2001) support this thinking and agree that the arrival of Missionaries followed by missionary schools, then native schools and respective Parliamentary Acts, particularly the 1867 Native Schools Act, effectively disestablished the fabric of Māori life as it was and began an assimilation process that I and others (Hemara 2000; Jackson, 1975; Mikaere, 2003; Schwimmer 1968; Simon, 1994; Smith 1999) believe continues today. The colonising process effectively disestablished a way of, learning and the transmission of Māori/cultural knowledge (te reo and tikanga Māori). Learning such as that undertaken in the Whare Wānanga, Whare Maire, or Whare Kura72, the acknowledgement and acceptance of tapu73 and noa74. The important role that women had in hapū and iwi life pre-colonisation was lost after colonisation as the role of men was implemented as more significant than that of woman. As Barrington (2008), Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall and Massey (1994), Dennan (1968), Hemara, (2000) Mikaere (2003), Simon and Smith (2001), identified, colonisation in conjunction with the loss of land, land wars, and settler illnesses effectively reduced the ability for Māori to maintain their way of life.

When I considered the effect settler education had on children, a significant point made by McLaughlin, Aspen and Snyder, (2016), where they identified that negative childhood experiences such as education, particularly in the way education was taught, the teacher and teaching as perhaps having different outcomes for childhood and later in life experiences. Indeed, cumulative negative early learning experiences can put children, in this case Māori children, at the highest risk of experiencing poor outcomes. This was unfortunately the case as some experiences, in particular those relating to the use of te reo Māori, varied depending on the teacher or teaching, and in some instances, where the schools were located. It seems that isolated rural schools were reliant on a teacher who had very little experience of working and living among Māori (Barrington, 2008; Simon, 1986; Simon & Smith 2001). Teachers entered the community with set ideas about how Māori should be treated, for example, Barrington (2008) wrote that on entering a native school an inspector noted that there:

72 Whare Wānanga, Whare Maire and Whare Kura are all House’s or places of learning.
73 Tapu – considered to be sacred.
74 Noa – No longer sacred or Tapu.
was practically nothing Maori in the schools except the Maori children, no Maori song was sung, there was no sign of Maori crafts nor any interest in Maori history as part of the curriculum. The values in their own culture were ignored. (pp. 17, 19).

Two key aspects were that schooling in the English language was regarded as essential to “civilise” and assimilate Māori. The second was the “self-help” component, by which the onus was put on Māori who wanted a school to not only to request one but also to gift some of their land for the school site and contribute to the cost of the building and the teacher’s salary. Assumptions made about how to teach Māori children over this period (1860s-1950s) was also discussed by Barrington (2008), Goodacre (1971), Hemara, (2000), and Simon and Smith (2001), where they identified that teachers’ assumptions about knowing pupils’ home background and how teaching methods needed to be adjusted to suit. The general opinion about Maori schools being vastly different from European schools in so many respects that pervious teaching is of comparatively small importance so far as a master’s future success is concerned; an experienced teacher of Europeans needs to unlearn a great deal before he can succeed with Māori. Goodacre (1971) described how teachers’ expectations regarding students’ progress and success can be affected and that success for Māori was not necessarily expected. Goodacre’s findings was similar to the thinking to many teachers who entered Māori/native schools. Teachers discussed the “retardation” of Māori, that they are best to be taught basic skills to suit domestic and farming careers (Barrington, 2008; Maxwell, 1962; National Education, 1964; Simon & Smith, 2001). Barrington’s description about how Māori schools were staffed included a report from an Auckland Education Board inspector following an inspection of native schools north of Auckland in 1879. The inspector reported that “staffing of schools was haphazard and that when teachers could be found, they varied from excellent and devoted to being incapable misfits” (p. 30). The report continued, identifying concern about what and how students were being taught and by whom. This should have been of major concern, however, the processes to undertake thorough inspection of schools were still being developed.

This coupled with the isolated location of many schools meant that inspectors’ reports were sometimes delivered several months after a visit as Barrington (2008) identified “physical endurance was required to evaluate possible locations for new schools and inspect existing ones, at a time when roads were primitive or non-existent” (p. 40). Again Barrington described the attributes of a teacher needed for an isolated area in the Hokianga75 as “someone of a tougher

75 Hokianga – is a district located in the far north of New Zealand
mould, half teacher half bushman would be the man, given the hardship of living in an underdeveloped district where access from every side was difficult particularly in winter” (p. 60). The assumption therefore is that “anyone” was capable of teaching Māori.

The confrontation or collision of two different cultures with the intention of the European culture being the dominant one was managed in part by appointing Pākehā teachers to schools, in particular native schools. As Simon & Smith (2001) identified, these Pākehā teachers were “expected to engage with Māori in specific ways designed to systematically undermine their culture and replace it with that of the Pākehā” (p. 3). This may have worked, however, the mixture of personal and professional practise and the development of Māori Pākehā relationships in communities influenced how the strategy progressed. Simon & Smith (2001) explained further:

Pakeha teachers entering a Māori community brought with them a range of attitudes towards Māori as well as different understandings and interpretations of their own professional roles. Māori had their own understandings and expectations about Pākehā teachers (and about Pākehā in general) and of the role of the Native School. (p. 3)

How then was the process going to work? As early as 1884 Pope, the senior inspector of schools, spoke of a schooling system that integrated the teaching of English and te reo Māori. He realised that while it was desired for all teaching to be undertaken in English, he recognised that much of the content of teaching material, imported from England, had no meaning to Māori, so he wrote textbooks himself relating them to everyday experiences that Māori children were familiar with and including words to make links for them such as “pa” “tui” “pig hunting” (Barrington, 2008, p. 61). His book was extended and published in 1894 and a specific “Native School Reader” published in 1886 included the use of common Māori linked mainly to birds and other things that Māori children and their parents could relate to.

While Barrington did not include any further examples of this kind of practise, Pope’s acknowledgment and inclusion of Māori, had it been adopted, may have been a better way of educating Māori to the ways of the Pākehā. Several decades later a teacher Sylvia Ashton-Warner, angry about the way schools were organised, did not agree with how she was required to teach, disregarded the set curriculum “readers”, identifying them as irrelevant to Māori children and too far removed from their culture, and determined to develop a curriculum that would suit Māori and generate lifelong learning. Ashton-Warner (1980) wrote her own books including, as Pope had, words and activities that Māori children and their parents could relate
to. This was some forty years after Pope! While her methods were not adopted on a national scale because she worked in isolated Māori communities, she was able to practise her way of teaching with success. As recorded in her reflections, “yesterday, who should pay me a visit but Mr Lopdell and Mr. Tremaine, senior school inspector for primary schools for New Zealand, to see my Maori primer books” cited in: (Ashton-Warner 1980, p. 161). It is unfortunate that Sylvia Ashton-Warner’s teaching pedagogy was not understood or implemented at the time. I believe that her thinking, teaching style, and recognition of how to teach Māori has been implemented in part in Te Whāriki – the Early Childhood Curriculum.

As previously discussed, until the late 1800s and into the 1930s, colonisation was mainly undertaken by the then imperialistic or colonising Government agencies which had minimal Māori input. This was identified by Coxon et al. (1994), Dennan and Ross (1968) who discussed the various attempts at managing the education system. However, statistics gathered in 1869 showed that children:

even in the most prosperous areas were still not receiving schooling of any kind, that by 1870 New Zealand was beginning to think of itself as a Nation and that there was growing support for the principle that education should be available for all children. (McKenzie, 1970, p. 26)

The Government’s 1877 Education Act was an attempt to begin to rectify and address the overall inequalities that existed in the education system, in particular that school attendance was not available to all, Māori or Pākehā. The 1877 act made schooling compulsory. McKenzie (1975) identified that “parental discretion should be forgone and attendance at school be enforced upon all children of a legislatively defined age”. (p. 93) Schooling had been established as a moral obligation by the crown. McKenzie (1970) interpreted the 1877 Act as a way of “social control”. Harker (1979), in his analysis of the parliamentary debates leading up to the 1877 Act, identified that there were “four major arguments presented in favour of universal education. Of the four, two are related directly to this research they are: Social control and Individual ‘rights’ to education” (pp. 57-60). Both McKenzie and Harker identified that the 1877 Act and its implementation were not without major reorganisation of the education system. However, they recognise that at the centre of the 1877 Act there was a need to centralise and manage the school systems, which is indeed, social control.

The following is a chronological record of the urbanisation of Māori and the demise and then the regeneration of te reo Māori and includes the research period:
• Pre-1840: Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand. It is used extensively in social, religious, commercial and political interactions among Māori and between Māori and Pākehā. Education provided by missionaries is conveyed in Māori.
• 1840: Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand.
• 1842: First Māori language newspaper is published.
• 1850s: Pākehā population surpasses the Māori population. Māori becomes a minority language in New Zealand.
• 1858: First official census to collect data about Māori records a population of 56,049 Māori people.
• 1867: Native Schools Act decrees that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children. The policy is later rigorously enforced.
• 1870s: Following the New Zealand Wars, society divides into two distinct zones, the Māori zone and the Pākehā zone. Māori is the predominant language of the Māori zone.
• 1890s: Many Māori language newspapers publish national and international news. Māori is the predominant language of the Māori zone.
• 1896: Māori population, as recorded by the official census, reaches its lowest point. A Māori population of 42,113 people is recorded.
• 1913: Ninety percent of Māori school children are native Māori speakers. Te Puke ki Hikurangi, Te Mareikura and other Māori newspapers publish national and international news and events in Māori as well extensive coverage of farming activities.
• 1920s: Sir Āpirana Ngata begins lecturing Māori communities about the need to promote Māori language use in homes and communities, while also promoting English language education for Māori in schools.
• 1930s: Māori remains the predominant language in Māori homes and communities. The use of English begins to increase, and there is continued support for English-only education by some Māori leaders.
• 1940s: Māori urban migration begins.
• 1950s: Māori urban migration continues. Māori families are “pepper-potted” in predominantly non-Māori suburbs, preventing the reproduction of Māori community and speech patterns. Māori families choose to speak English, and Māori children are raised as English speakers.
• 1960s: Play centre supporters encourage Māori parents to speak English in order to prepare Māori children for primary school.
• 1970s: Concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatao and Te Reo Māori Society.
• 1972: Māori Language Petition signed by 30,000 signatories sent to Parliament.
• 1973-78: NZCER national survey shows that only about 70,000 Māori, or 18-20 percent of Māori, are fluent Māori speakers, and that most are elderly.
• 1975: Ngāti Raukawa, NgātiToa and Te Āti Awa initiate Whakatipuranga Rua Mano, a tribal development exercise which emphasises Māori language development.
• 1978: Rūātoki School becomes the first bilingual school in New Zealand.
• 1979-80: Te Ātaarangi movement established in an attempt to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults.
• 1980s: Experiments in Māori radio broadcasting lead to the establishment of Te Upoko o Te Ika and Radio Ngāti Porou.
• 1981: Te Wānanga o Raukawa established in Ōtaki.
• 1982: Te Kōhanga Reo established in an attempt to instil Māori language knowledge to Māori infants.
• 1985: First Kura Kaupapa Māori established to cater for the needs of the Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo.
• 1985: Te reo Māori claim WAI 11 brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te reo Māori. The number of Māori speakers is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 or 12 percent of the Māori population.
• 1986: Te reo Māori Report released by Waitangi Tribunal, recommending that legislation be introduced to enable Māori language to be used in Courts of Law, and that a supervising body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language.
• 1987: Māori Language Act passed in Parliament; Māori declared to be an official language and Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori established. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust also established.
Points of significance are those relating to the growth and development of early childhood education and will be included in the overall discussion throughout the thesis.

The following sections discuss the chronological process identifying the different yet significant processes put in place to “school” Māori.

3.3 Discipline

In the early 1900s, Pope, the senior inspector of Māori schools until 1905, wanted to have an inclusive education system that incorporated the use and teaching of te reo Māori to make schooling more interesting and relevant for Māori. Indeed he commented that if “a man (teacher) who could speak Māori were here he would be able to manage the Natives much better” (Barrington, 2008, p. 61). Pope wanted a discipline system that did not involve physical punishment and thought that it would be better to apply a reward and demerit type system, with rewards for good work and behaviour and demerits for what was perceived a negligent or “bad” behaviour. Pope’s work, though, was effectively stopped by William Bird who was appointed to assist Pope in 1889. Bird’s thinking differed from Pope’s in that he thought that “the teacher should cease to use Māori in school when the necessary explanation can be given in English” (Barrington, 2008, p. 61). When Bird took over the role of senior inspector of Māori schools permanently in 1905 (Barrington, 2008; NZEI, 1967), te reo Māori ceased to be a language of instruction in primary schools. Bird wanted to continue the assimilation process of Māori and he believed that taking away access to the ability to speak te reo Māori was the most effective way of managing that.

One of the ways that teachers effectively stopped the use of te reo Māori was through discipline. Children were punished for speaking te reo Māori in school. As discussed by Barrington (2008), Mead (1997), and Simon and Smith (2001), punishment was harsh and school inspectors noted that it was not surprising that the departure from school and the lack of attendance that parents removed their children from school due to the harsh punishment inflicted on their child/ren and that they wrote an objection to it. An inspector reported that as native parents never inflicted chastisement on their children, corporal punish and that perhaps there needed to be some consideration regarding the nature of punishment metered out. ent for speaking te reo Māori would appear excessive, cited in Barrington (2008). It would appear that this advice was never actioned as corporal punishment continued not only for speaking Māori but for many other misdemeanours used to control a class. Records show discipline being
applied, usually with a cane for minor “offences”, the following is included in a school log book:

- 12th October caned for persistent trifling
- 16th October caned (biggest boy in school) 4 cuts over shoulders for persistent trifling. (Barrington, 2008, p. 67)

3.4 Educating Māori - Identifying the “Problem”

The exclusion of te reo Māori from being spoken or taught at primary school, together with the overall negative attitude of most teachers toward the language, had a negative impact on the mana of Māori individually and how Māori felt about themselves and, consequently, how they felt about their language. Many Māori parents, believing that they could maintain their language in the whare (home), accepted the inevitability of school instruction in English only. The reality though was that as children spoke more English, parents were obliged or coerced into learning and speaking more English and ultimately stopped speaking te reo Māori (Macfarlane et al., 2015).

The negative conundrum of educating Māori continued as Maxwell (1962) found. During preparation for a conference, “200 hundred teachers of Māori children were asked to set out the most important ‘problems’ that they found themselves faced with in their schools” (p. 7). The use of the word problem assumes that there would not be any positive information to share. Indeed this proved to be the case as the analysis of the teachers’ reports highlighted scholastic retardation and interrupted or unsatisfactory schooling, in addition to an inadequate command of the English language and difficulties in thinking and learning. The conference participants then set about attempting to resolve the problems. The report is a reflection of the manipulation that took place throughout generations of education colonisation and shows that from the 1850s through to 1962 Māori were still being thought of as unable to be educated to the “ideal” English level. Māori were deemed to be unsuccessful and should therefore be encouraged to undertake domestic and manual education choices rather than an academic pathway. The report identified several strategies that link to this process; however, one outcome was the recognition that access to pre-school teaching may assist in supporting the child into the primary school and therefore assist in social adjustment.

The other was that teachers needed to be educated in ways to better understand how to teach and work with Māori children, their families and the communities. These were two “key” areas for the advancement of education for Māori finally, and recognised that what had been
implemented historically was not working and that new ways needed to be researched, developed, and implemented. The 1960s heralded a new approach to the education for Māori. As Simon (1986) discussed, the focus of Māori as a “problem” was probably influenced by “overseas trends and the concept of cultural deprivation” (p. 13) Simon’s thinking was proposed as a way of explaining the “educational underachievement of low socio-economic and ethnic minorities” (p. 13) and was based on what was happening in America. The 1960 Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961) (discussed in detail later in this chapter) in conjunction with research being undertaken by the New Zealand Council for Education Research (NZARE) and the NZ Education Institute (NZEI) combined to work toward a “collaborative” “education system where Māori culture remained distinct” (Simon, 1986, p. 13). However, a 1960 recommendation sought to develop policies to integrate Māori and Pākehā more, to bring Māori into modern society. This seemed in contrast to the recommendations from the NZARE and NZEI and didn’t appear collaborative at all. An ideology that required changes to the government racial policy in 1960, and therefore a change in the terminology or language used, “assimilation” to “integration”, for example (Simon, 1986).

The thinking was to continue to assimilate Māori by concealing their asymmetrical social status and basically promoted the notion that for Māori to succeed in education they needed to metaphorically shed the cultural factors that defined them as Māori at the school gate (Macfarlane 2015). According to Durie (2003a), the Hunn Report presented a “new class of urban dwellers – poor, unhealthy, housed in sub-standard homes, more likely to offend, less likely to succeed at school” (p. 91). The assumption that all pupils should be treated the same, an egalitarian practise effectively “discriminated against Māori pupils and served to maintain Pākehā dominance” (Simon, 1986, p. 8). As Simon (1986) recorded, some teachers were able to “weave” the two together and manage a form of “unity”. However, as most teachers were predominantly Pākehā, their teaching methods were based on Pākehā values and goals. This served to distance Māori students further from their language and culture.

There are few records, and those that do exist are linked to church boarding schools in the main, where the opposite was practised. Te reo Māori and culture, in the form of action songs, singing, haka, and poi were practised. Some of the research participants recorded that this was available to them as well. My own personal experience during the same period 1961-65 was; I belonged to a culture group and we “performed” often, I negotiated and presented this learning to students at college, and we became a part of all welcome ceremonies and college events. The college that I attended had a high Māori roll although many left at age fifteen, very few of us continued to sit school certificate, sixth form certificate, or University Entrance. I was
the sole Māori in sixth form, a lonely place. Somehow we managed to retain and grow our uniqueness as Māori. This is certainly the case with all the participants involved in this research, all have achieved beyond what some would have expected “in spite of” or, perhaps because of, we wanted to prove “them” wrong. A Department of Education 1971 review described Māori cultural experiences and background as being something that is other than the norm; by inference a deficit and therefore an impediment to Māori achieving educational success. My experience as discussed was the opposite, it generated a pride in being Māori, knowing where I belonged and the ability to share what I had learned with others. My thinking is mirrored by other research participants who also liked to share what they had learnt or inherited. Perhaps this is one of the “links” that made this group of Māori kindergarten teachers unique and able to work collectively for the good of Māori in ECE. As Durie reported at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga in 2003, “there are three goals for Māori education they are:

- To live as Māori
- To actively participate as citizens of the world
- To enjoy good health and a high standard of living. (Durie, 2003a, p. 11).

Durie continued, “While education by itself will not achieve those goals, it is able to make a highly significant contribution to each of them” (p. 11). Durie’s report identifies an intriguing set of challenges experienced by Māori, which sadly have not changed in the last fourteen years. Durie recommended a Māori Education Authority be established as he thought it would play a valuable role in planning and policy. Durie’s thinking is reminiscent of similar agencies set up to deal with the Māori problem. During the 1960s Māori took responsibility for the reported educational underachievement of Māori students, indeed some Māori leaders cooperated with the state to develop ways to rectify it.

One such person was a noted Māori educational leader Hone (John) Waititi (Ngati Porou) who in the early 1960s launched a fundraising campaign and in conjunction with the 1960 Hunn report (Hunn, 1961), established the Māori Education Foundation (now the Māori Education Trust), with the objective to encourage and financially support Māori into tertiary education which I and the other three Māori students in 1966-1967 were beneficiaries of. The Māori Education Foundation was a significant group as it enabled many Māori to enrol in higher education at university and teachers training college. With all the background knowledge regarding how Māori students of the 1950s to the 1980s navigated their way through the coloniser’s education system, I was perplexed and needed to ask, what is the “problem” with Māori learners was? And what were the answers? One was the establishment of a range of
school options which is discussed next. Another was the education of teachers to teach Māori, this was identified as one of the “key” actions. Parents were encouraged to participate in preschool education, kindergarten and playcentre in particular. The period is significant for research participants and myself as it was during this period that we entered higher education. Their experiences are shared in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau - Participants’ Voices.

3.5 Māori Missionary Schools

In this section I discuss the history of, rationale for, and the development and implementation of Missionary schools. Missionary diaries identified that the first mission schools were opened in 1816, however, they failed to generate the anticipated interest amongst Māori and closed after two years (Simon, 1994). Since the mid-1800s, the early days of colonisation, respective clergy and their wives considered Māori to be “neglected but interesting” or “wild out of the bush and require some management”, indeed diaries of the time note that: “today they seemed to be able to be almost weaned from their Kaingas (homes). These are recorded by William Bambridge in his dairy September 18th, and November 13th, 1843 at the opening of the Infant School (as cited in May, 2013. p. 82.) The reference to young Māori children being removed from their kainga – home and therefore whānau – to be colonised into missionary schooling sometimes many miles from their homes is a clear indication of the intention of the missionaries to assimilate and subjugate Māori. I have to wonder why, or, how, parents and indeed haū allowed this to happen, or to wonder if the children were “taken” as many indigenous children throughout the world were, that is uplifted without whānau knowing. It seems incredible that this happened, however, diary records describing the infants at Waimate Mission as “the best soil for cultivation” that “there seemed to be more hope of their transformation than for older children” (Joseph Matthews, 28 June 1832) would support my supposition. While I acknowledge these observations and muse over the language and comparisons of the children to soil, I generously acknowledge that the sentiment is a reflection of the times and does acknowledge, albeit in a colonial sense, that some missionaries and teachers thought that Māori could be “reformed” and or “taught”, like some kind of plant. I can reflect on these happenings and either react in a negative way, or I can rationalise them and realise that these early infant/nursery schools and missionary schools set a precedence for the colonial education system to come. I acknowledge too that the missionary schools preceded other school systems such as native schools, boarding schools, and later native high schools. These were created as a result of the colonisers’ respective governments of the day and their observation of how Māori were being educated (colonised).
In the 1820s and 1830s Māori began showing more interest in education. This interest arose from their curiosity of European technology. They wanted to have access not only to the technology, but also to the knowledge and thinking that produced it (Jackson, 1975). Missionaries, quick to see an opportunity, linked their teaching of European skills and technology to Christianity, cleverly linking the wealth and prosperity of the Pākehā to religion (Jackson, 1975). During this period all the mission schools used te reo Māori for their teaching.

It is reported by Jackson (1975) that “Māori were quick to learn, and within a short period trade with Europeans which had previously concentrated on clothing became concentrated on books, printed matter, slates and pencils Indeed Māori were prepared to receive books as wages or in exchange for other goods”. Simon (1994) identified that state involvement in schooling in New Zealand had begun in 1847 with the Education Ordinance and continued through to the Native Schools Act of 1858. Simon identified that from 1847 schools run by the missionaries for Māori children received subsidies. However subsidies were providing only if English was the only language. As identified previously, schooling was clearly the most effective way of assimilation as Simon and Smith (2001) discussed, “schooling was perceived as the most effective means of this ‘civilising’ or ‘assimilation’ agenda” (p. 8). The funding of missionary schools for Māori and “ordinary” schools (for settlers’ children) created some disputes between the two as they both needed resources and teachers which were not always available. It was also during this time - 1840-1850 - that settlers wanted more land and the reluctance of Māori to sell eventually lead to the land wars and therefore a halt in the education process.

3.6 Native Schools

Following the 1860s land wars, the state, seeking a new vehicle for its assimilation policy, set up the native schools systems using an Act of Parliament, the Native Schools Act of 1867. Under the Act, the establishment of native schools was identified as the significant key to any change process for the colonisers. For a colonising Government that meant that along with the later 1877 Education Act there had to be control over how changes were introduced and woven into the fabric of Māori life. Māori participated in the establishment of the Act indicating that they (Māori) wanted their children educated. This is also when Māori were becoming more aware, or perhaps accepted the fact, that Pākehā were here to stay.

In establishing native schools the government stated that they could only be established after a formal request from Māori. The conditions attached were that Māori had to provide the land, half the cost of the buildings, and a quarter of the teacher’s salary. While this could be seen as a deterrent it was not as many rural Māori communities applied and met the conditions.
It is to the credit of many Māori communities that they challenged some of the delays in the provision of schools and started their own, this also gave them the opportunity to evaluate the benefits of school before committing land, labour, or money to the venture. Barrington (2008) identified that “In 1880 Pope helped compile the Native Schools Code which made significant organisational changes and was to guide the native schools for many years” (pp. 41, 43). The code identified who could be appointed as teachers, what they needed to know about how to teach Māori children. The code included regulated school hours, set standards of attainment, set a teacher’s salary, and suggested the establishment of a “committee of management”. As the requirements changed within four years it seems that perhaps they were too prohibitive, in particular the financial requirements, which were relaxed. Instead the department allowed Māori to provide extra land instead of money. Cunning tactics by the colonisers to a) gain more land and b) get tamariki into a school system that would ultimately assimilate them therefore perpetuated the colonising process. This tactic is referred to throughout the establishment of all types of schooling for Māori. The native schools continued to be viewed as “a way to teach Māori children English as a pre-requisite to their assimilation and Europeanisation” (Barrington, 2008, p. 44).

I have discussed previously some of the negative aspects of establishing the Native schools including; lack of qualified or enthusiastic teachers, discipline and lack of resources and assumptions of who Māori were as a people and how Māori learnt. The lack of understanding did make teaching and learning difficult for all involved, Māori as learners and Pākehā as “teachers”. Within all of this though there are heartening records of how some teachers counteracted the effects of colonisation and adapted their teaching styles to suit Māori. As previously mentioned, Pope, a senior school inspector until 1903, wanted to integrate the use of te reo Māori in teaching and observed that many teachers often wrote their own readers that were more appropriate for Māori children, indeed Sylvia Ashton-Warner wrote to the education department saying that she could not possibly use the books sent to her for reading. The response was that the “department has piles of them and she just had to use them” (Ashton-Warner 1980, p. 27). In reaction, Ashton-Warner burnt them, wrote her own books, and made her own resources. She called her method “Creative Teaching” and reportedly had great success with her students, particularly on the East Coast. Both Pope and Ashton-Warner’s resources, had they been developed and integrated into the teaching methods, would, I believe, have made a significant difference to the advancement of Māori children’s learning and experience of school. Notably similar comments and actions to how Ashton-Warner taught were still being
made 20 years later with another teacher in a native school writing her own readers based on local topics that were relevant to the children.

### 3.7 Boarding Schools

The 1880 review of Māori education undertaken by Haben and Pope included a consideration to extend schooling to a higher level. Their research looked at several options including: to remove Māori children from their homes and educate them in boarding schools or to develop the existing primary system. They decided to focus on the development of the native primary school system (Barrington, 2008). Pope and Haben also thought that “most able Māori pupils should be given the opportunity to continue their studies beyond the fourth standard” (as cited in Barrington, 2008, p. 141) The Crown indicated in the 1880 Native Schools Code that they were thinking of introducing scholarship opportunities for “clever” Māori children. The existing denominational boarding schools would modify the existing financial arrangement of grants for Māori pupils. The outcome was that in 1880 there were 101 boys and 98 girls supported. Enrolments were primarily for those who had passed the Native Schools Code with credit. Pope’s thinking was that pupils would attend for a maximum of 2 years and then return to their villages as “educated Maoris able to work among their own people” (Barrington, 2008, p. 142). He did not want Māori children to become too far removed from their families and their culture. Pope’s thinking had good intent, however, many Māori pupils stayed for longer periods and in cases such as Maui Pomare and Apirana Ngata, went on to gain higher qualifications at University and later became Members of Parliament. There is acknowledgement of the Government subsidy system, which were given mainly to boarding schools of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan missionaries on condition “that schools taught English, provided ‘industrial training’ such as housewifery, farming as well as religious training and were subject to inspection annually” (Simon and Smith 2001, p. 160).

These church schools, for example Te Aute College in Te Hauke, Hawkes Bay, St Stephens College in Bombay, Pupekohe (all boys’ schools), Queen Victoria in Auckland, Hukerere Girls in Hastings, and Turakina Girls in Marton (all girls’ schools), were geographically scattered mainly across the north island and, as with native schools, located on gifted Māori land. These schools were viewed as places where generations of Māori leaders would stem from. This proved to be true, as many Māori leaders are products of Māori boarding schools. Although these boarding schools were seen as elite, the curriculum provided was not different from a state school in that subjects offered to students were generally around trade training for boys and domestic or secretarial training for girls (Barrington, 2008; Jahnke, 1997).
Ngahui Te Awekotuku (1991) identified: “it was thanks to Māori scholars in several fields, Political, Academic and Spiritual from 1867 on who, using the ‘tools’ of the Pākehā, literacy, that leaders evolved to link both races and cultures but emphatically, assertively Māori” (p. 9). She made particular mention of Makareti Papakura, the first Māori woman to enter University in England and Timi Kara and the Te Aute paragons Maui Pomare, Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa, all who became leaders and eventually politicians. The last two were prolific writers and researchers; thankfully their scholastic work remains largely accessible in their brilliance and continues to challenge researchers.

3.8 The Effects of Colonisation and the Subjugation of Māori Women

In Chapter Two Marakihau I identified why the taniwha Marakihau was chosen as the title for this thesis. I discussed the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 and how that effectively took the mana of the Tohunga away and attempted to replace the role with Christianity and Pākehā colonial practises. In the process, taniwha were relegated to superstition and nonsense along with many practises that iwi, hapū, and whānau based their practises and their lore on (Dansey, 1974; Jackson, 1992; Jahnke, 1997; Mikaere, 2003; Pere, 1991; Walker, 1990). To strengthen and perhaps ratify my decision to identify a taniwha as a metaphor for the research it is important that this chapter include discussion about the role Māori women had prior to the arrival of the colonisers and the effect colonisation had on Māori women. Discussion in relation to Māori girls’ education as identified in by Yahnke (1997) is also included as part of the process of clarifying what it was and is to be a Māori woman in a Pākehā world. The concentration on Māori women is because as identified in Chapter One and Chapter Two, the research is about women, the challenges they met as they progressed through a monocultural education system. The need therefore to investigate how women, and therefore the participants of the research, were affected and how they managed this period of time is important as I link their journeys. In addition, an investigation into the period may explain why research participants made the decisions they did and how they met challenges as they journeyed through education.

Mikaere (2003) identifies the devastating effect colonisation had on all Māori, in particular Māori women, as the missionary influence integrated the status of men over women. This was referred to by Missionaries as “the civilising influence of Christianity” (Mikaere, 2003, p. 69). Conversion to Christianity was regarded as a co-requisite to colonisation. Mikaere discussed the confusion and mixed messages she got from her grandmother and other Māori women about the role they had in Māori society. She was also aware of the vital leadership role
that her grandmother and others within the whānau, hapū and iwi had and that the role had been inherited. Binney (2010), Edwards (2011), Kahukiwa and Grace (1984), Macfarlane et al. (2015), Mahuika and Marsden (as cited in King (1975), and Pere (1991) all supported and expanded on her thinking. For example, Marsden (1975) explained the difference between male and female mana saying that “the mana of a high born female was regarded as particularly important in negating or neutralising tapu” (p. 199). Hence the practise when opening a new whare/meeting house that the puhi/pure female opened the whare and was followed by the tohunga and the senior women/kuia of the hapū or iwi, thus making the whare noa. This practise is referred to as whakanoa – to lift the restrictions of tapu, identifying that woman have a spiritual power that allows them to undertake these roles, and indicates the mana that women held within the whānau, hapū, and iwi. This is one of many roles that women have that remain today, how this particular kawa/practise was sustained is not identified; perhaps it was an inherent role that Māori did not allow to be taken away.

The role that Māori women had as leaders within the whānau hapū and iwi was also challenged during colonisation. The colonisers practised the subservience of their women and expected the same of Māori women. The colonisation of Māori women was therefore seen as a necessary way to undermine the structure of the whānau, hapu, and iwi (Dansey, 1974; Hemara, 2001; Irwin, 1989; Jackson, 1975; Jahnke, 1997, 1998; Kahukiwa and Grace, 1984; Mead, 1997, 2003; Mikaere, 2003; Pere, 1994). Education was recognised as the best and probably the only way to undertake this. The numerous accounts of how Māori (male and female) were to be educated for domesticity is recorded by Vaughan (1993), Fry, (1985), Hall (1931), and King (1977), who refer to the training of Māori for manual work through, in particular, Māori church-run boarding schools, with King (1977) identifying that “the policy of inferior education for Māori generally and Māori women in particular during this period was to set the pattern for the educational underachievement and life chances of most Māori children and Māori girls for generations to come” cited in Jahnke 1997, p 103). This is discussed further in a New Zealand Herald newspaper article (22/05/1964) (Appendix B) “Education ‘Key to Maori Role’” where the paper reports that Dr W. B. Sutch identified that “in order for the Maori to become a functioning part of the growing New Zealand economy, one of the ways to do this was through education”. Sutch’s thinking was that if you concentrated on educating Māori girls in English and domestication that as they became mothers they will have the stronger influence on the child and will be able to help more quickly with the literacy and language background of their children. Indeed, as identified by (Fitzgerald, 1995), the church and the state were intent on an agenda aimed at the domestication of Māori women and girls. This is ratified with the
curriculum choices presented to Māori from the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. Māori girls were “trained” at boarding school in particular to domesticity, cooking and housewifery, so that they could be domestic workers in Pākehā missionary homes, and therefore subservient to Pākehā women and in the process, their subordination to men, including Māori men.

As Fitzgerald (as cited in Jahnke 1997) discussed “the work of missionary wives as educators in the church mission schools attests to their active involvement in an agenda aimed at social control of Māori women and girls” (p. 100). The actions showed no respect or acknowledgement of Māori women’s role within whānau, hapu, and iwi, or that Māori women were acknowledged as rangatira/of chieftain status, equal or superior to men by virtue of their birth or having had the role endowed to them by kaumatua and kuia. The role of a Māngai, for example, which is when a woman in the whānau, not necessarily the oldest, is recognised as the holder of the whakapapa; the one to whom whānau and others go to for advice, support, and leadership. Mahuika, (1975) identified that

the practise of referring to both male and female as tuakana, teina and matamua76 is common among Ngati Porou77 and that many hapū and iwi bear female names Te Whanau–a–Hinerupe located in the Waiapu Valley – Te Araroa for example. (pp. 92-93).

Mahuika continued by acknowledging that, “in Ngati Porou women have the right to speak on the Marae, thus identifying them as leaders in the fullest sense” (p. 93). Indeed as Kahukiwa and Grace (1984) depicted in her art and pakiwaitara the “Whare Tangata”78 – the house of the people is the most sacred part of a women’s anatomy, the only place where the people can be born. This is referred to in tauparapara-korero, waiata/song and pakiwaitara/stories. The reference to Papatuanuku/Mother Earth is that she is the giver of life, holds the tarahere/umbilical cord, and links the past to the present and into the future. Let us not forget that in Aotearoa we are unique in many cultural practises – tikanga for example, the first call is that of a woman as she opens hui/gatherings with an appropriate karanga/call that welcomes manuhiri/visitors onto the marae or other related sites. The last call at a tangi/death is that of a woman as she farewells the deceased to Hine Nui Te Po, the goddess of death. The significance

76 Tuakana – eldest; Teina – younger – matamua – refers to both eldest in birth and in mana.
77 Ngati Porou – iwi located on the East Coast of the North Island.
78 Whare Tangata – the woman’s womb.
of the role wahine Māori had in the past continues into the future and therefore cannot be taken away. As Linda Smith (1990) identified in the early 1990s:

> the challenge for Māori women is to assume control over how we are perceived in society. To strengthen that perception, to build on it so that we are able to make sense of the realities of our situation while providing a framework for understanding those situations.” (p. 33)

As Jahnke (1997) identified and this research participants’ stories share:

> “Māori women’s experiences are about survival in two often contradictory worlds of te Ao Māori and te Ao Pākehā which render multiple realities in two separate spheres. As a result Māori women are in constant transition from one reality to another.” (p. 110)

In all cases, whether it was as school leavers or later in careers, participants in this research determined that they would not follow what “they” (the general Pākehā population of the time) expected of them.

Significantly, research participants repeatedly identified a decision to “just walk the line, do the work, get on with the process until I graduate”. While we may not have realised it at the time, we were in fact generating a “resistance movement” a resistance to what was expected, or not, of us and how we would, or should, as Māori women progress from the initial teacher preparation and beyond as instigators of change, as leaders as mentors as role models. This is discussed further in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau – Participants Voices.

### 3.9 Māori Participation in Changing Education for Māori

By the 1870s most Māori had embraced the ways of the colonisers realising that there was no alternative (Barrington, 2008; Edwards, 2007; Te Awekotuku (1991). As Māori became more active and aware of process for them they too were able to participate in a growing colony. As recorded in a report on Māori Education by the 1967 New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI. p. 11) “The process of change, of educational and social advancement for the Maoris must be nurtured and fostered from within. If their potential, their energies and their creativity are to be released, policy must be framed in terms of the problems of Maori education.” The report is gaged specifically to improve the educational opportunities for Māori from pre school to Tertiary and also into the home. (p. 15) of the report reports that “Research suggests strongly that the quantity and quality of verbal interaction bears a direct relation with subsequent language scors at school.” The report recommends (p. 16) “That a preschool education service
be available for all Māori families who seek it”. The report has several strong recommendations for the establishment and progress of positive educational outcomes for Māori going forward. It is therefore rather depressing to witness that while some things have changed, some things have remained the same and we are still looking for solutions to Māori underachievement. An interesting observation in the report is the following. “The policy of rapid Europeanisation with its attendant policy of deliberately setting out to deprive the Maori child if his right to use his mother tongue, at least in the prescincts of the school and the not always implicit denigration of most things Māori. However such a policy would not have been considered feasible had not the native intelligence of the Māori been considered high enough to fit him for ‘rapid’ civilisation”.

 indeed He Reta Ki Te Maunga (Letters to the Mountain) under the title “Te Puke ki Hikurangi” (Orbell, 2002) is an example of the writing capability of Maori during the colonisation period. These publications were developed to strengthen and provide a place for Māori to share information relating to political matters, social events, and under kotahitanga, a bringing together of iwi and hapū throughout New Zealand. The newspaper served to notify and to bring together leaders with a purpose of developing and strengthening the existing Māori members of Parliament and to identify and mentor new leaders. The young Māori party developed during 1886, comprised of men who were recognised leaders in their respective whānau, hapū, and iwi and some such as Maui Pomare were educated to degree level. The formation of the Young Māori Party gave many Māori some confidence in how Māori could actively participate in the development of the country. The introduction in 1867 of four Māori seats in Parliament should have been a significant milestone for Māori. However, the rationale behind it was to prevent Māori men, who at that time outnumbered Pākehā men in many areas, from voting in too many Māori MPs Women’s Suffrage Centenial Trust (1993). This is a clear case of social engineering (manipulation) and control by politically controlling how Māori participated in the development of the country. Limiting Māori political participation even though, as Dewes (1975), Simon (1994), and Simon & Smith (2001) identified, Māori were making significant contributions to the economy prior to the 1860 Land Wars.

It must be stressed separately that there exists in New Zealand a type of Pākehā imperialism which means the hidden feeling that English are superior to things non-English. So long as this sort of cultural arrogance persists, New Zealand race relations are best summed up as being a shark and kahawai relationship. The shark being the supposed stronger of the two. It would seem that while Māori thought they would be able to contribute to the development of Aotearoa, there was always underlying manipulation of “others” within government agencies who stalled or voted against what Māori proposed. The deliberate manipulation of the education
system, identifying Māori learners as “disadvantaged”, “low”, or at “risk” (Barrington, 2008; Edwards, 2007; Maxwell 1962; Mead, 1997) made it clear that at that time and throughout the intervening years, Māori were never going to progress under a colonising government.

That is until the 1960s and 1970s, when more Māori entered universities and training colleges, effectively moving out from the prescribed “domestic” occupations. This may have been as a result of the strategic move in post-World War Two to move Māori systematically and deliberately away from their papakāinga and into cities where they became distanced from the wider whānau, hapu, and ultimately from their whakapapa, their marae and papakāinga. The effects of this process are discussed by the participants in this research. While many research participants, myself included, moved to training college areas to become kindergarten teachers, many returned to their home towns to teach. Those who stayed in respective cities, particularly those who trained in the 1950s and 1960s, became (unofficially) part of the “urban migration”. Participants discussed why they made the choices they did, how this affected them as women and teachers and the long-term effects on their respective whānau. They also discussed how during their professional development growth they returned to their hau kainga some to teach, others to learn from kaumatua and kuia, or, to play a role in the trusteeship of whānau land trusts, thus reconnecting with marae. Two of the participants trained and worked in the cities where they lived. One participant grew up on her papakāinga in South Auckland and returned to teach in the area for forty plus years. The other, as a direct result of the urban migration period, is a member of the first generation of urban migration. Her korero includes describing how her mother moved from Torere, a small village, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, to South Auckland during the 1950s. She talks about how that distanced the family from their marae, their kaumatua and kuia, and that it was only recently that she has returned to learn her whakapapa and rekindle the relationship with hapū and iwi.

The struggle over the inclusion of te reo Māori in teaching continued to be debated for generations. The ongoing discussion regarding oral history and its significance for Māori is also a point for debate, Māori educators, for example Dewes (1975), a respected te reo Māori oral historian described why oral history is important to Māori and identified four things that are constant: “political, economic, social and cultural development” (pp. 56-66). Dewes was clearly frustrated by the effects of colonisation on Māori and he described in some detail the imperialistic practises that existed at the time (the period mid-1860s to the 1970s). He uses whakatauaki/proverbs and waiata/songs to give notice and to warn the younger generation of

79 Hau Kainga, home place
the “hidden agenda” (p. 61) that Pākehā have toward Māori, particularly to education. Dewes believed that the vast difference in cultural beliefs and practices created confusion and separation and caused many practices (te reo and tikanga) to effectively go underground, that is only practised in the home or on the marae. In an earlier paper (Dewes, 1975) described the prejudice against Māori language as “linguistic imperialism” and to be the “basis of under – achievement of Maoris in New Zealand schools” (p. 63). He completes his paper with “This sabbatical leave and the hours I have spent trying to refine this essay will have been a waste if time and money if we do not accept the challenge and evolve a sound educational approach to the broad field of Maori oral arts so our nation as a whole will inherit a richer culture” (p. 80). This thinking was substantiated by several Māori academics in particular; Linda Smith, Te Ururoa Flavell, Aroha Mead, Irirangi Tawhiwhirangi, and Wally Penetito in (“Visions for Māori Education” NZARE, 1997). Some of these readings date from 1989 when Māori were meeting to determine a pathway specifically for Māori. A Hui Rangatiratanga held in Rotorua in 1989 identified that Māori needed to run and manage their own education system. This was stalled somewhat with the education reforms of 1989 and 1990, with the amalgamation or development of new government agencies to lead education into the 1990s. Agencies such as the Ministry of Education (MOE), the Early Childhood Development Unit (ECDU), the Education Review Office (ERO), and the Tertiary Education Commission led the education sector and Māori, into a new way of thinking because the work undertaken by academics, both Māori and Pākehā during the 1970s and 1980s, would ensure changes to how education was presented in pre-schools, primary schools, and secondary schools. This can be interpreted as a form of cultural change, the change of educational culture. The development of curriculum, the advancement of pre-school education both in the way services were managed but also in how te reo, tikanga Māori, and the Treaty of Waitangi were infused into the curriculum, beginning with A Statement of Intent, “Taha Māori in Early Childhood Education” (Department of Education,1988) (see Appendix F) as an introduction. Changes within tertiary education encouraged the recruitment of more Māori into the profession and the development of teaching standards for teacher registration, the inclusion of kindergarten teachers in the registration process, and the development of specific codes of Ethics all contributed to the positive enhancement of education for all. Whether this was sustainable or realistic given the continual changes in governments was another matter.

An effective area was the development of groups within Māori units of the new education systems. For instance, in line with the 1989 Hui Rangatira, similar Hui Taumata
organised by Tuwharetoa in collaboration with Government agencies during the late 1990s to 2003 brought Māori from all areas of education, health and Social Welfare together to identify and sustain a way forward. Professor Mason Durie (2003a), in his keynote address, identified several ways that Māori needs could be met. In his paper; “Educational Advancement at the Interface between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Whānui” he identified that the essential challenge is to understand the reality within which Māori live, as children, students, and whānau, he argued (pp. 5-6) that; “the essential difference (between Māori and other New Zealanders) is that Māori live at the interface between te ao Māori (the Māori world) and the wider global society (Te Ao Whānui)”. That all Māori and he was particularly talking about children and young adults had a right to: “live as Māori, actively participate as citizens of the world, and enjoy a high standard of living and good health” (p11). He closed his address stating that “if the imagery we hold of Māori child/ren (or indeed of any child/ren), or of interactions patterns, is one of deficits, then our principles and practices will reflect this, and we will perpetuate the educational crisis for Māori children”.

In fact Durie (2003) identified the same areas that had been referred to by the 1960 Hunn Report, (Hunn, 1961), the 1967 New Zealand Education Institute Report and the Special Committee on Māori Education, (1955). It would seem then that the intervening years (40 plus) where Māori educational needs were reportedly being addressed, that very little was done. This is disappointing as Te Kohanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura, and Whare Wānanga had been integrating or basing their teaching on te reo and tikanga Māori. How then had Māori children remained disadvantaged? This was also discussed by Penehira (2011) who observed almost 47 years later that “Māori underachievement in education is systematic educational underachievement” (p. 83), which places much of the problem and responsibility for resolution with the education system that continues to fail Māori. This was also identified by a research participant when undertaking a research project in 2012. She identified that a) Māori were not achieving at a high standard and b) that not enough Māori teachers were actually in ECE and other education services to encourage whānau Māori to participate at an early stage in ECE or to be actively involved at other levels of education. So while it would appear that Māori educational needs have been met in the intervening years since colonisation, current research shows otherwise. The following discussion is significant as race and ethnicity are

80 Tuwharetoa, is an iwi located in the central plateau of the North Island.
81 Te Kohanga Reo, Māori pre-school language ‘nests’
82 Kura Kaupapa Māori – Māori primary schools based on Māori values
83 Whare Kura, Māori secondary schools
84 Whare Wānanga, Māori Universities.
threads throughout this thesis, whether we choose to discuss it or not, racism was a major challenge for the research participants and is discussed in some detail in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau – Participants” Voices.

3.10 Racism

What is racism? Who does it affect? Why is it significant for the thesis? Racism, generally, is when an individual or group of people see another group as inferior because of skin colour or ethnic origin and they have the power to enforce this superiority.

As discussed in Chapter One Introduction, “racism has many faces. Some of them are veiled, others frankly overt – unmasked” (Te Rangi- Aniwaniwa Rangihau, 1986, p. 25). Puao-Te- Ata-Tu is a review of the Department of Social Welfare, undertaken by an esteemed group of Māori to identify and ameliorate what was taking place for and with Māori at the time. As the review team reported; “racism may be grouped into three main forms personal or individual racism; cultural racism; and institutional racism” (Te Rangi-Aniwaniwa Rangihau, 1986, p. 25).

The history of racism in New Zealand is about the right of one group, the colonisers, to impose their own beliefs and practises on another, in this case Māori. Often this resulted in all groups of people conforming to one group’s culture and the expectations inherent in it, in this case English. Biological characteristics of ethnicity such as skin colour or facial features are identified as “race” or belonging to a particular “group”, Māori for example. This thinking was supported by McLennan & Spoonley (2000) who examined how questions of race, racism, and ethnicity manifest themselves in terms of our personal identities and as we interact with others in creating inequalities. Canella (1997) identified that “lives have been embedded in a political, social and historical context constructed around notions of universal truth, progress and hierarchy” (p. 61).

According to Canella, these beliefs and desires are part of culture and human constructions that deserve some form of respect. However, when these constructions are imposed on all human beings, power relations are produced that foster injustice, oppression, and regulation (King, 1977; Walker, 1990). The colonial history of New Zealand is “a mixture of patronising benevolence and beliefs about the superiority of the coloniser and the inferiority of the Māori. With an underlying opinion that Māori were suitable for domestic and manual work only”. (Barrington, 2008). The Treaty of Waitangi (TOW) signed by iwi Māori and the Crown (colonial representatives) in 1840 recognised the rights of Māori, however it does not necessarily mean that those rights were understood or recognised in the true sense. It certainly

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does not mean that the colonisers would honour and respect the document. Mead (1997), in the title of her research describes this as “the Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education”. These multiple layers are discussed further by participants as they recall specific incidents that occurred during their respective careers. The following breakdown of three identified forms of racism discuss in brief what they are and how they may be perpetuated. They are identified below by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare in Puao-Te-Ata-Tu (Day Break) June 1986 as:

Personal or Individual Racism: is when an individual or group of people see another group as inferior because of skin colour or ethnic origin.

Cultural Racism: is less obvious. In NZ it is the ideology that the culture, lifestyle values and practises of Pākehā are superior to Māori.

Institutional Racism: is where policies, processes, laws, and culture rules in public and private institutions discriminate against a group of people who are deemed to be inferior because of their racial or ethnic background. It is where individual and group racism is reinforced often seen as being the “norm”. Institutionalised racism is seen as the manifestation of an entire “organizations racist practice and culture”. (Institute of Race Relations, 2003). Often this resulted in groups of people conforming to one group’s culture and the expectations inherent in it. (Te Rangi-Aniwaniwa Rangihau, 1986)

A good example is prior to colonisation the terminology Māori was not used (Mead, 1997; Mikaere, 2003). The word Māori was introduced by the colonising group, the English, to identify any and all people within whānau, hapu, and iwi. Prior to colonisation Māori were known as separate and distinct “tribal” groups, with separate tino rangatiratanga, dialects and practices. The colonial use of Māori was implemented to subjugate and “subsume all other forms of Māori identity” (Mead, 1997, p. 27). The implementation of the word Māori and the connotations and implications that sat alongside it were powerful because it meant that Māori were to be seen by the colonisers as “normal” or “unseen” (Mead, 1997; Mikaere, 2003; Penetito 2001; Simon and Smith, 2001). I take it for granted that being Māori is normal. What I have learned, how I have been educated, my socialisation, and my cultural heritage I take for granted, it is, I am, normal.

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85 Tino Rangatiratanga, individual sovereignty
I mentioned the 1960/61 Hunn report in this section as the report had long term effects on how Māori were “integrated into the second stage of the colonising process”. The next section discusses the Hunn report and related strategies for its development.

3.11 The Hunn report

A proposal for an officer for Māori Education was accepted in 1955 with the development of a National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (Butterworth 1965 cited in Barrington 2008). The 1955 proposal preceded or may have instigated the Hunn Report of 24 August 1960 (Hunn, 1961). The forward to the Hunn Report by the Minister of Māori Affairs the Hon. J. R. Hana identified that the “report and many of the recommendations are of a far reaching nature and all have a bearing on the Maori people, the wellbeing of New Zealanders as a whole and on race relations in New Zealand”. The report identified significant areas across all aspects of Māori life, but significantly to the education of Māori. The report and related developments as a result of the report, in particular the development of the Māori Education Foundation, paved the way for positive, albeit slow, development of an education system that may have made significant changes if it had been implemented in full. The report aimed to increase Māori participation at all levels of education and suggests that the lack of academic progress by Māori was “probably due to the fact that the tests related to English not Maori language and thought and that a special set of tests would have to be devised to give a true I.Q. rating for Maori children” (Hunn, 1961 p. 23). The Hunn report not only identified significant changes for Māori education; it also identified the process of urbanisation and what could be seen as a new process of assimilation (Barrington, 2008; Coxon et al., 1994; Mead, 1997). The Hunn report included a review of every aspect of Māori life and place in the growing New Zealand landscape. Changes during the 1930s and 1940s implemented under Sir Apirana Ngata for land reformation and extended by the Ratana movement for housing, welfare, and political structure had reached an hiatus in the late 1940s, as Butterworth, (1965) identified “these combined with a Labour Government made real progress toward improving Māori standards of living” (pp. 36-40).

However, for young Māori, urban migration generated more problems. Urban Māori wanted the opportunities that the cities offered, but also wanted to retain their Māori culture. The reforms that Ngata and the Ratana movement put in place were targeted at and beneficial to rural Māori; there was no obvious inclusion of urban Māori. I have already included my thoughts about the effects urbanisation had on the research participants, and also identified that perhaps urbanisation encouraged more Māori to seek higher school qualifications and pursue
university education. I reiterate that perhaps this is so as research undertaken by the Department of Māori Affairs (Hunn, 1961; NZEI, 1967) to investigate why Māori children were under achieving and why they were not continuing to higher education is a significant milestone in the development of education for Māori. Encouraging Māori to gain higher qualifications such as School Certificate or University Entrance may have led to them continuing on to University or other skilled work. The Hunn report (Hunn, 1961, p. 22), identified that the state of Māori education, not its quality, “left much to be desired” as not enough Māori were staying at school long enough to achieve higher qualifications.

The following tables are included as many of the research participants attended secondary school during this period (1961-1969). Those who entered training college pre 1965 did not need school certificate. Those who entered post 1965 needed school certificate or higher qualifications to enter. While the table indicates improvement in Māori achievement for the period 1961 to 1969, an 8 year period, it does not show that Māori were still leaving school with inadequate qualifications (3748 in 1965; 5823 in 1969, cited in Harker 1979). See also table 2.
Table 2. School leavers with School Certificate (SC) or better 1961–1969

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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non Maori</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The “gap”</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Before 1968 SC was awarded on an aggregate pass over four subjects; from 1968 credit was given for passes in single subjects. Source: Department of Education, 1971, p. 26 in Harker (1979).

The table shows clearly that the change from aggregate to single passes saw an increase in Māori success. It does not show the numbers of Māori students leaving with no qualifications as indicated above.

Table 3. Number of Māori pupils in sixth and seventh forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Māori students in 6th &amp; 7th form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Again, while figures show an increase in Māori staying at school longer, Māori remained under-represented in the sixth and seventh forms. This period covers the time that a number of research participants were either at secondary school, or, in training as kindergarten teachers, the 1950s-1969.

Hunn directed blame at parent apathy saying, “there is still more parental apathy than is good for the future of the race” (1961, p. 22). Although he did acknowledge those parents who wanted their children to take advantage of the education system, he remained concerned about the dwindling number of Māori seeking higher education. However, it was more likely that as assessment of all students at the time was based on a Pākehā system that Māori were disadvantaged. It is not surprising then that a recommendation was to develop research to “devise an intellectual test suitable for Maoris” (p. 22). The report also includes the first reference to pre-school education and the possible advantages of pre-school education to all children, but to Māori in particular. Indeed, “probably the main and certainly the most publicised recommendations from the Hunn report concerned the establishment of the Māori
Education Foundation, and pre-school education” (p. 23). However, both had establishment challenges. It was identified that the Māori Education Foundation (MEF) was underfunded, supported too few Māori, and that most of the money came from Māori sources.

I argue that there are many anomalies and contradictions in the information around the education processes for Māori and that Māori were probably more adept at managing the changes than they are given credit for. For example, the discussions regarding the ongoing relevance of specific Māori (native) schools and what they were delivering to Māori children includes discussion about the importance of teachers in the Board schools with large Māori rolls being able to deliver the same curriculum as teachers’ in Māori service schools. (The Office of the Senior Inspector of Schools Napier, E.J. Watts, 10 May 1963. Watts indicated that the school service could extend to include pre-school children and he thought that while the area was concentrating on establishing play-centres, he did not believe that they (play-centres) were an adequate answer to the Māori problem. The “problem”, one assumes, is lack of a level of education expected using Pākehā assessment and education standards. Watts advocated that a kindergarten room added to predominately Māori schools and staffed by trained kindergarten teachers would have an immediate and positive effect at getting pre-schoolers prepared for school. A precursor to what eventually developed into a process of kindergartens being built within proximity of schools and where indeed some schools allocated a room for pre-schoolers instigated in the main by the newly formed Māori Education Foundation. National Education (1962) also reported similar concerns about the “state” of Māori students’ learning. Part of this period too reviewed the impact of Māori schools to determine if they were still relevant. The National Education (1962) highlighted the need for more research and support being put into investigating why the underachievement of Māori children continued and identified that “Equal opportunity is Unequal” (p. 275). The ongoing concern around the underachievement of Māori children remains an area of debate. Researchers over several decades have investigated this dilemma yet no one has resolved the situation. Māori children’s underachievement at school remains. I have some confidence in the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori86 and Whare Kura87 as a means of addressing this issue as they are based on tikanga and te reo Māori. Hopefully these schools will prove to be the “tool” in Māori regaining their tino rangatiratanga.

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86 Kura Kaupapa Māori – Māori immersion primary schools
87 Whare Kura – Māori immersion schools at secondary school level
The Hunn report also instigated one of the most significant actions that remains today, the formation of the Māori Education Foundation (now known as the Māori Education Trust) mentioned previously in this chapter. The report identified that the establishment of the Foundation would transfer the scene, (lack of Māori participation in higher education and participation in pre-school education), within ten years, and that funds could be pooled for the concentrated use in aid of higher education for the elite of Māori scholars. This would produce a crop of educated leaders success would be to emulate and whose example would have more influence than Pākehā precept on the outlook of their people (Hunn, 1961, p. 26). This 1960s period is recalled by this research project’s participants, who were part of this era, even though we did not realise it at the time. We (Māori students) received a grant from the Māori Education Foundation and although this was a small amount, none the less it contributed to our studies and generated mentoring visits from Miria Pewhairangi. The determined efforts Māori have made over several generations to reclaim te reo and tikanga Māori as an integral part of the education system and various curriculum met and continue to meet negative responses from the general public and the Ministry of Education. In particular, the period of 1967 to 1989, and more specifically from 1985/6 to 1989, where the participants made significant contribution to the changes in how te reo and tikanga Māori were included across the kindergarten teaching profession. During this period, these participants, among others, also effected change in the awareness of and an adherence to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and promoted anti-racists projects alongside in particular the New Zealand Council of Churches. These combined to form a strength and commitment among kindergarten teachers and effectively involved Kindergarten Associations who were responsible for the efficient management of the kindergartens. There was a certain amount of resistance; however, this was dissipated as the then Education Department was undergoing review and as early childhood education was becoming more significant to the overall education planning, thinking had to change.

3.12 The Development of Early Childhood Education

The specific identification of education relating to early childhood did not eventuate until the 1880s and it took place in Dunedin. As an attempt to assist families during a depression, Church groups, mainly women, wanted “something” done about the children in the streets. They identified significant “social” problems such as lack of work, alcohol, prostitution, family desertion by men leaving to find work, and low paid work for women. While the 1877 Education Act provided “day time care” for children to attend primary school, there was nothing available for pre-schoolers and they were left in the main without adult care (May, 1997). The Dunedin city “mothers” felt that they had a “moral” obligation to care for these children,
believing that this would guide them and perhaps their older siblings to a better way of life. The first kindergarten was established under these auspices, and what developed was a connection between the kindergarten movement and social reform (May 1997). The establishment of the Dunedin Kindergarten in 1889 opened with fourteen children. May (1997) records that “by the end of the first year there were sixty children on the roll” (p. 68). May (1997) identified that one of the daily tasks for the early teachers was to gather children off the streets which supports the social, moral obligation. As McDonald (1993) discussed:

this prompted the kindergarten movement to areas identified as ‘needy’ in other cities. The growth of kindergartens across New Zealand extended to include areas outside of the ‘needy’ areas as other parents wanted their children to benefit from early education. (p. 323).

Māori in ECE were slower undertaking research into the sector, primarily because there were not many who were qualified to do so and also perhaps because ECE is not part of the compulsory education sector. From the late 1960s however, there were several who prepared the way. I think particularly of Dr Anne Mead; Lex Grey and Hine Potaka. Their research and preparedness to develop programmes and curriculum to suit Māori have been a base for continued growth in the pre-school sector.

In the 1950s and 1960s there was a general push to include Māori, both male and female, into more academic studies and so began a time of recruitment for Māori to enter teachers’ training colleges and universities. At the same time there was a general push for Māori children to be part of the kindergarten movement. The newspaper articles (Appendix B) may be one of the reasons why younger Māori woman entered the kindergarten profession as the paper articles report, the kindergarten movement wanted to increase Māori participation, however, as kindergartens were seen as Pākehā organisations, this met with a number of challenges. If Māori children and their families were to engage with kindergarten, then kindergarten associations needed to recruit those suitable to enter training college. On graduation the need to employ and retain them once they began teaching was another area for consideration. May (2001) refered to Miria Pewhairangi and her belief that the early Māori centres were successful because they were organised around Māori values and often used Māori language. This is reinforced by several research participants who referred to the need to have Māori teachers who could teach Māori children, who had the same values, and could include te reo and tikanga Māori. May (2001, p. 86) identified that by the 1960s three distinct groups for Māori in ECE had developed; Playcentre, Kindergarten and Māori Family pre-schools. The only addition is the development
of Te Kohanga Reo in 1982 and the change in whānau practises where children are enrolled in full time family daycare, these changes are influenced as they have been for the last one hundred and thirty years, by society, and the need for parents to work.

3.13 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the process of using education as the colonising tool, to subjugate and marginalise Māori through the education process. I identified a “messiness” around the colonisation and education process, the assumption of one group, the colonisers, that what they had was superior to what was already in existence. This caused confusion, not only for me but for a range of people from the Education Act of 1867 to the time frame for this research and into the twenty-first century. I believe that the confusion, the debate, and of course the research will never end and nor should it. Education is a taniwha, (Marakihau) it is subject to change, it should change but it should change in a way that benefits all those who are part of it because there is continual confusion for all involved, Māori and Pākehā alike. However, within all of this confusion, the arguments around assimilation, colonisation, separation, integration, and how to approach the education of all peoples in the new colony is argued. The discussion contained in this chapter acknowledges that respective governments have attempted to address some of the ramifications of the colonising process. This has been undertaken through the use of continuous review of policies, procedures, pre-service training programmes, and the allocation of funds to all areas within the education system.

Recent Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal settlements have allowed Māori to regain a semblance of mana, tino rangatiratanga, however, the fact remains that Māori children were disadvantaged from the time they entered school and were forced to learn the ways of the Pākehā. Given that the very whāriki/fabric of the Māori way of life was based on oral translation for transmission, the inability for Māori to communicate is their language meant that they, Māori soon succumbed to the colonising group. As a result, Māori have been in “catch up” mode ever since. It is testament to those who preceded this generation that Māori have been able to retain, and at times reclaim, not only te reo but the tikanga and kawa that sits beside it. I have referred to many of these people in order to explain why the colonisation process was undertaken and what the Māori response was. It may have taken several decades, several generations, and many struggles along the way, however I believe that the achievements Māori have made as a result are a cause for celebration. I will close this chapter with a “whakatauaki” from Dr. Ranginui Walker (1990) the title of his book, “Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou – Struggle Without End”. I take this whakatauaki to mean that Māori will continue to struggle, as a
colonised ethnic minority in the land where Māori should have tino rangatiratanga as the first people of the land.
4 Methodology and Methods

Ma Pango, ma whero, ka oti Te mahi
By black and red the work is done

4.1 Introduction - Te Timatanga

The whakatauaki describes the process, a process of weaving the different threads together. The “method” to explain why the methods and methodologies I have chosen to weave the stories together. This chapter serves to present the processes I used to conduct the research, to identify a methodology that aligned with and supported the story I was telling. This point was enhanced by participants as I implemented the research outline and as research participants responded to the research questions. (Smith 2008, pp. 11-16) identified that thesis writing is a way of “writing back” whilst at the same time writing to ourselves, a reflective practise. She identified that the different audiences to whom we speak make the process difficult, that the scope of literature we use contributes to a different framing of the issues. She continued by identifying that “our understanding of the academic disciplines within which we have been trained also frame our approaches” (p. 13). Her korero resonates with me, clarifying my thinking identifying the methodology for the thesis while adhering to the kawa, the tikanga of being Māori, that is, that one should not be whakahihi/bold or showing off, but neither should one be whakama/shy or too reserved. Identifying a methodology or methodologies for this research was challenging because there is more than one set of “rules” when it comes to Māori writing for, about, and by Māori. I therefore needed to identify a culturally safe yet academically acceptable methodology. Irwin (as cited in Mead, 1997) identified Kaupapa Māori as a “culturally safe” research method, because it involves the “mentorship of kaumatua, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori” (p. 199).

One of the initial “steps” for this research was the consultation, guidance, and approval from kaumatua and kuia in relation to the title for the thesis, and also as a “mandate” to proceed. Bishop (1994 cited in Mead 1997) said that “kaupapa Māori addresses the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority which pervade our social, economic and political institutions” (p. 14). Mead (1997) identified that Bishop’s model is “framed by the discourses related to the

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88 Whakatauaki, o ūngā Mātua Tipuna kua ngaro l Te po a proverb or saying that describes the process for this chapter.
89 Kaumatua, Kuia – elders.
Treaty of Waitangi and by the development within education of Māori initiatives which are ‘controlled’ by Māori” (p. 125).

All views allow me to be “in control”, to be in a position of power or to be empowered, by the research participants, to decide how I would proceed with the research. Kaupapa Māori, as Bishop identified, is “located within an alternative conception of the world” (Bishop, 1994, as cited in Mead, 1997, p. 200). Both Bishop and Irwin acknowledged the importance of kaupapa Māori research and that the research should be based on whānau concepts of consultation and mutual respect.

This research, then, is based on kaupapa Māori, it is the whāriki for any discussion that includes the research participants. It is a culturally safe method, includes the concept of whānau and therefore positions this research in a safe environment based on Māori ways of knowing, ways of thinking, and includes the values and tikanga of being Māori. The “stories” of the three kete of knowledge has implications for this research as it may be a base for Māori epistemology. The knowledge contained in the baskets has two functions; the first is to undertake ordinary tasks, and the second is specialised, based on whakapapa and available to a few who were chosen by kaumatua and kuia as having the ability to undertake the tasks. In today’s context one would acknowledge that there is specific Māori knowledge that is not shared hapū to hapū or iwi to iwi. That there is specific hapū and iwi knowledge or tikanga that remains within the hapū and iwi, and is not open for public comment, nor is it displayed in the public arena Bevan-Brown (1998).

4.2 Research Methodology

This research is one of collaboration and reflection, using a methodology of aromarau self review and evaluation. Aromarau respects indigenous epistemology and the values of being Māori. The research is a narrative journey over three and a half decades, from the 1950s to 1989. It involves many people, some who have passed on, it is their story – our story, a Taonga to be respected and gifted back to these people, to their whānau and to the sector as a record of our work, our journey as Māori women within the kindergarten movement and early childhood education. The research journey is a process to claim identity/ira tangata, to have our

90 Kete - baskets
91 Aromarau – remembering, reflecting
92 Taonga – a treasure
wairuatanga/holistic spirituality, tikanga and pakiwaitara/our stories, celebrated recorded and recognised in a safe and respectful environment. Mātauranga Māori is identified as recognising and including past practises of tikanga Māori and including them into today’s practices, for example (Mead, 2012 p. 11, as cited in Edwards, 2012) identifies that “the philosophical underpinnings” of traditional Mātauranga Māori was provided by the religious system and was the basis of ethical rules based on tapu and noa. Some of these rules still hold today and are regarded as being part of mātauranga Māori in today’s world. Mātauranga Māori is an embracing and inclusive term. It includes all aspects of Māori culture, te reo Māori, kapa haka, ta moko, tikanga Māori, ōhuatanga Māori, kaupapa Māori, waiata, manakitanga, whanaungatanga, whakawhanaungatanga”. Mātauranga Māori, then, is a cultural system of knowledge about everything that is important to the lives of people.

The research methodology is therefore a mixture of mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori and includes autoethnography as this works to hold self and culture together. Kaupapa Māori as described by Smith (2002) sits well with this research study as he describes a form of research resistance. Smith (2002) noted that:

This particular shape of indigenous theorising has been labelled ‘Kaupapa Māori’ it is important to understand the evolution of Kaupapa Māori as a ‘praxis’. Kaupapa Māori as an educational resistance strategy has grown out of an ongoing struggle that occurred both within the Māori communities and with Pākehā dominant institutional contexts. (p. 3)

Smith’s reference to struggle is a base for this research as I discuss the struggles that research participants experienced during their education journeys. Autoethnography as identified by Tomaselli, Dyll, and Francis (2008) as:

a balancing act, Autoethnography works to hold self and culture together, it writes a world in a state of flux and movement – between story and context, writer and reader. Autoethnography involves the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and understanding the nature of the encounter. (pp. 347-348)

Tomaselli et al, (2008) explained, “Autoethnography - It looks to extract meaning from experience rather than to depict experience exactly as it was lived, it puts the “autobiographical and personal” in conversation with the “cultural and social” (pp. 374-75).
4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Consultation and Influences – Whānau, hapū and iwi.

The substantive discussion regarding the title or “name” for the thesis is identified in Chapter Two Marakihau. It is important to remember this whakāro\(^{94}\) because it helps to clarify why the title was chosen and how she informed and “monitored” the research. I thought that gaining approval for the title and therefore the thesis from kaumatua and kuia would be a challenge as taniwha are a highly respected “tohu”\(^{95}\) for Māori. I was therefore entering an area that may cause kaumatua kuia and perhaps participants to feel matakite\(^{96}\)/to have reservations or bring an element into the research that could be viewed as dangerous, tapu\(^{97}\). I regard myself as teina to many kaumatua and kuia, this, even though many visit me to seek support and or clarification around what I am doing in my role as an educator. Therefore, approval and support from kaumatua and kuia was imperative as I would not feel comfortable about proceeding. If approval had not been given I would have had to revisit the title, something that I was loath to do. Much of the initial preparation for this research was undertaken outside of my iwi and hapū area and with kaumatua and kuia who knew me well but who were also outside my immediate iwi and hapū. I therefore needed to communicate with several iwi, including my own, to gain their collective blessing. The process for Māori researchers can be protracted and therefore takes much longer than anticipated. The process I used was to send identified kaumatua and kuia the outline of the research proposal and then meet with them face-to-face to discuss in detail. We did not meet as a full collective because it would have been difficult to gather them all together in one place as kaumatua and kuia are extremely active in their respective communities and are often called on to give advice and guidance for a range of activities.

I organised meetings with elders from across iwi and hapū usually in tandem with where I would be working at the time. My role as a national manager meant that I travelled throughout the North Island which provided the opportunities for me to meet and discuss my research with kaumatua, kuia, research participants, and other interested people. At the beginning of this research I lived among Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa\(^{98}\), and had done for 20 years. Meeting with identified kaumatua and kuia in Rotorua was therefore made relatively easy as I had worked with several of them, we knew each other, and they knew me better perhaps than others who I

\(^{94}\) Whakāro, thinking
\(^{95}\) Tohu, a sign
\(^{96}\) Matakite, to be weary
\(^{97}\) Tapu, sacred.
\(^{98}\) Ngati Whakaue is a hapū within the iwi of Te Arawa
had not had the time to build a relationship with. It is fair to say though that whānau connections and whānaungatanga are a significant methodological “tool” for Māori researchers. The most recent face to face discussion about the title took place in 2015 and was with kaumatua from Whakatohea, the iwi based around the Whakatane/ Bay of Plenty area. The discussion is included in Chapter Two Marakihau and was a significant one for me because of the historical relationship I have had with the iwi and with those particular Kaumatua. They were thrilled that their tupuna was being recognised in this way, albeit in the female form and wished me well in my pursuit. As Marakihau had been chosen by us, that is all participants, and approved by kaumatua and kuia, I could then progress the research with confidence knowing that whatever methodological pathway taken would reflect current and historic circumstances and be imbedded in mātauranga Māori. The significant approval though came from kaumatua and kuia and this, along with the support of the participants, has guided me in this research. This then identifies both groups as whānau, whānau as a whāriki to begin the raranga/the weaving, the research. In the next section I introduce the research participants.

4.3.2 Nga tangata wāhine Māori-participants.

There was no “initial contact” as such, indeed there was no need for one as I had maintained a relationship and ongoing dialogue with many of the group over several years as different participants asked if I was going to write our history, meaning the Māori ECE story. There was an expectation among many of the ECE sector that I would write the history so the kakano had been sown, not by me but rather from other Māori in the sector. Fourteen personal, professional life herstories with my own alongside to work with is a large number and could have been cumbersome. However the relatedness and whakawhānaungatanga of the participants and their stories assisted in the writing. Whakawhānaungatanga is an important aspect of this research, without a relatedness a “common” link among the participants the research would have no whāriki, no base from which to grow (Souter, 1996).

To undertake this research I invited 21 Māori kindergarten teachers to participate. Participants were identified from Te Runanga Māori ECE (TRMECE) membership list who met the criteria for the research. The criteria was that they trained, taught, and participated actively as Māori kindergarten teachers during the research period. The initial period was from 1960, however, as two told me they “trained” in the 1950s I needed to change the research dates to the 1950s to 1989. Of the 21 contacted, 14 agreed to take part. The composition of the group

99 Kakano, refers to a seed or a beginning.  
100 Te Runanga Māori ECE Inc. Is a group of Māori women formed in the 1980s
was a deliberate choice on my part; the research was based on the teaching life stories and lived experiences of 14 confirmed participants and me as the participant, researcher. I am included in this research as it is part of my lived experience. The TRMECE was a point of discussion once the interviews began as participants supported the thinking that the rūnanga was a catalyst in strengthening the resolve of many of them to contribute during that period and is a strong theme for this thesis. An in-depth discussion about TRMECE is included in Chapter Five, Becoming Marakihau – Participants’ Voices. The exception is one participant who, because of her major contribution to the Māori ECE sector, her long-term association with identified participants, and as a member of TRMECE, was included. I discussed her inclusion with research participants and with one of my supervisors, and all agreed that because of her status and her mana, she should be included.

The following list identifies the participants and locates them within the “era” of their initial training. The range includes a good representation of the years indicated in the research period – 1950s to 1989.
Table 4. Research Participants - Wahine Māori – Introducing the participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Iwi</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Years of Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rama – Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa</td>
<td>Myers Park – Auckland</td>
<td>1953 – 1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn – Ngati Kawerau, Ihumataoe</td>
<td>Myers Park – Auckland</td>
<td>1955-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terehia – Ngati Porou</td>
<td>Arney Road – Auckland</td>
<td>1963 – 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret – Ngati Hine, Nga Puhi</td>
<td>Arney Road – Auckland</td>
<td>1963 – 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria – Te Ati Awa</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1963 -1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgina – Ngati Porou</td>
<td>Arney Road – Auckland</td>
<td>1966 – 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive – Te Ati Haunui a Paparangi, Ngati Rangi</td>
<td>Arney Road – Auckland</td>
<td>1967 – 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huingangutu – Te Ati Awa</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1972 – 1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moira – Te Whakatohia</td>
<td>Wellington Teachers College</td>
<td>1982 – 1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Pseudo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Maureen* – Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue.

4.3.3 Co-construction.

Life histories, as Penetito, 2001 identified are important for future generations in whānau, or, professional groups “If only we knew contextualising Māori Knowledge that kaumatua within whānau, hapū, iwi hold the ‘local’ knowledge, it resides in their memories and in their practises” (p. 22). Memories are a strong link for us as people, perhaps not appreciated until we have time to contemplate and reflect on what our kuia
and kaumatua have shared. Indeed not until we are of an age to recall and appreciate their teaching and ready to share ours. This is the case with this research, many if not all stories shared by the participants may have been lost, if there had not been a “need” to write them. As a result, future generations, should they wish, have written documentation of the journey that their whaea\textsuperscript{101}, their kuia took in order to have a voice in ECE and in the broader education field. The participant’s story becomes part of whānau histories, their whakapapa. Bishop (1995) justified this thinking when he identified research as stories and how it addresses kaupapa Māori concerns about legitimating the story. He identified that “story telling allows the participants to select, reflect on stories within their own cultural context and language rather than the language chosen by the researcher” (p. 78). Edwards (2007) explained this further when he identified that, prior to the arrival of the colonisers storying was an educational process for strengthening understandings. “Story provided rationales for the application of ritual, symbols and practises within context” (p. 4). The sharing of an individual’s life journey requires a great deal of trust in the researcher, in this case myself. That I knew all the participants as colleagues and friends and had done so for many years made the process easier although I didn’t want that familial relationship to influence their sharing. The research had to be their reflections, their stories of their journey and while during the interviews they welcomed, indeed encouraged, my input the story remained theirs (Bishop 1995, Penetito, 1998, 2001). The interviews therefore, while having a structure, were described as being very relaxing, like having a good old catch up, which is exactly how I wanted them to be. I did not want participants to feel pressured.

When planning the research I determined that participants needed to be involved in formulating the questions (Appendix C) and be able to “shape” the research. I believe that this contributed to the participants retaining their mana\textsuperscript{102}, their ownership of the process, indeed, this is kaupapa Māori in “action”, a process of weaving the stories together. The collaborative process proved an important aspect for all involved as the participants were in control of what was being shaped in the research and therefore what they wanted to share, thus affording participants agency in research. This is identified by (Dansey 1974) Macfarlane et al. (2015), Penetito (2001) and Simon, 1986 as a significant process when undertaking research within Māori communities or people; that is whānau, hapū and iwi.

\textsuperscript{101} Whaea, refers to a mother or aunty.
\textsuperscript{102} Mana, honour.
The relationship between the narratives, the actual life stories, the theories, and the researcher is important as the process should be more than gathering information. Indeed what happened in the research is that it became a shared experience where participants were able to actively reflect on their life journeys in the telling and for some, remember events from several decades ago. The reflective process is an important aspect of this research as through reflection memories are generated and participants reported that as they remembered events they wrote them down so they could send those memories to me. Edward’s (2007) called this the “humanising of people places and events” and continued this thinking by saying that “people places and events come alive through the individuals who recall them, events that happened in the distant past are felt as though it were yesterday” (p. 5). This is certainly the case for this group of participants who reported how they recalled events that they had not thought of for a long time.

For me this meant that the process was open and reciprocal (Bishop 1995; Penetitio 2001) and was congruent with kaupapa Māori. The interview method was described by Hamill (2014) and supported by Bishop (1995), Smith (1999), and Te Awekotuku (1991) as perhaps the oldest of the social science methodologies. Asking research participants a series of questions to quantify or qualify a research project such as this is a safe means of gaining the information I required in order to complete the work.

I developed a draft set of questions and sent them out for comment and additions and the participants’ feedback was included in the final question set. Included in the question pack were the outline of the research thesis, an explanation about why I was undertaking it, how they could be involved not only in formulating and then speaking to the questions put forward as the research was being developed and written up. This process ensured that the questions were developed collaboratively as participants reviewed them and then either elaborated on them or accepted them as they were. This did not prevent participants from asking for clarification as the research progressed. Research participants identified that the questions regarding their aspirations and their contribution were the significant ones, these therefore became a focus.

The original significant questions were then expanded to specific questions, for example Fig 2, as participants “brainstormed” the how, where, when, what, and who of each question. Aspirations developed into whānau, hapū, iwi, whakapapa, and community expectations and influences and why these were important for the research (see Fig 2 a, and b) contribution developed into governance and management influences; policies and practices (see Fig 2.c). Pedagogy and practice developed into curriculum and initial teacher education ECE. The
inclusion of the history of ECE, particularly of the participants and the development of a support network such as Te Runanga Māori ECE, was identified as a significant area for inclusion. What happened then was the development of these areas into the overall question format.

Figure 2. Concept.

The questions were used as a base, an initial point of discussion, an information gathering tool. Knowing all participants as colleagues and friends gave the interview process a “familial” whānau aspect as previously discussed, one where the participants were comfortable and relaxed about sharing their stories and they were also prompted them to ask the researcher questions or areas for clarification. The “relaxed” process does not mean that the interviews were unstructured; indeed the interviews, using the questions as the point of initial contact, were the anchor as they refocused the participant and the researcher.

While at times I struggled to come to terms with the enormous journey I had set for the research participants and myself, I also knew that the time was right to undertake this as a thesis. Some would say perhaps a little late, however, all of those involved in this process realised that the time was “now or never” and who better to tell these life stories but another Māori who had shared the journey. The question, why now? has never been asked by any of the participants,
although I have asked myself that question many times. The answer is imbedded throughout the thesis, identifying repeatedly the interrelatedness the, whakawhānaungatanga of the participants. This relatedness is particularly evident in this chapter as participants’ life journeys have similarities, which as I analysed the recordings at times resembled a “mirror” image. Indeed an “outside” reader may assume that some of the interviews were undertaken as a group. This is not the case, however, it would be interesting to have all participants together as a group and could be planned for any ongoing research.

The framework (matrix - see Table 5) provides a guide for the researcher and the participants, and it identifies a process whereby participants can be clear about what they are able to do in regard to answering the questions and undertaking the interviews. It gave the participants mana, they made the decisions about how the interviews would progress, and they identified how they would be involved, where that involvement was to take place, and when.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Values – Kaupapa Māori</th>
<th>Researcher guideline</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respect and love for the research participants (aroha and manāki)</td>
<td>Showing respect for the participants, allowing them to identify their own time and place to undertake the interview/s.</td>
<td>Establishing and maintaining contact with the participants; using a range of communication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Letting participants know that the interviews will be recorded.</td>
<td>Undertaking research participant interviews as identified by participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acknowledging their mana, their rangatiratanga.</td>
<td>Having regular supervisor Hui: kanohi kītea, Skype, and teleconference.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Setting up the interviews as the participant chooses, that the researcher is aware of the environment, listens and is receptive of the participants’ decision with regard to the information shared.</td>
<td>Re-visit, or, making regular communication as the research progresses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews are undertaken face-to-face, where the researcher is aware of the environment, listens and is receptive of the participants’ decision with regard to the information shared.</td>
<td>Keep the participants informed with regard to progress of the research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanohi kītea</td>
<td>Sharing, hosting or being hosted. Developing a collaborative relationship.</td>
<td>Setting up the interviews as the participant chooses, that the participant is in control of the process, where and when the interviews will take place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking participants after the participants</td>
<td>Manāki, hosting or showing the participant/s that you appreciate their time and contribution and reciprocating their hospitality.</td>
<td>Maintaining contact using communication resources that suit the participant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping safe</td>
<td>Kia tupato. Ensuring that the participant and you the researcher are kept safe pre, during, and post interviews.</td>
<td>Beginning each interview with protocol that suits the participant; mihi, karakia prior to and post interview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ensuring that participants are comfortable with the process.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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In this way, following the framework, the research methodology became a collaboration and interweaving of mātauranga and kaupapa Māori, it recognises and encapsulates the inherent thinking of “our” (Māori) unique ways of knowing and doing a knowledge belief system referred to and recognised by many Māori and indigenous researchers (Martin, 2008; Meyer, 2003; Walker, 1990) as epistemology and ontology and that they complement each other. I have an intimate relationship with the research, a collegial and familial relationship with the participants, and a desire to complete and portray the thesis in a respectful and honourable way. Indeed I am writing our own herstory, the terminology I have chosen to emphasise that this thesis is about women and acknowledges that the act of recording and sharing these stories is a feminist act from a Māori woman’s, my, perspective. It is important to acknowledge this because as I grew into my role as a teacher, a mother, a grandmother, and a researcher I drew on my early schooling experiences and realised that feminism and feminist theories and female teachers influenced my understanding of education. I had good female role models and also an unspoken understanding from my immediate and extended whānau that I would include them in my thinking, and at the same time acknowledge my mixed Māori, Irish, and Indian heritage. The identification of herstory can be translated to mean “all my female relations” be they blood or through the journeys we have taken. Bevan-Brown (2008) substantiates my thinking when she identified that:

Māori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required, they must also possess a commitment to things Māori, the trust of the Māori community being researched and an understanding of and commitment to the obligations, liabilities and responsibilities that are an integral part of Māori research. (p. 233)

In all areas I believe I have met the criteria, and gaining the approval of kaumatua, kuia, and the research participants was integral to the progress of the research. This chapter, having discussed the methodologies/s, outlines the methods used to identify, recruit, interview, review, and analyse participants’ life histories.

I chose to write using storying as the medium as this best suits the methodology that I want to use to share the participants’ narratives. The mix of academic requirement and cultural acknowledgement became “messy” at times and it was hard to separate the two without making one less significant than the other. I realised that this dilemma, this situation must often be faced by indigenous researchers. I do have a responsibility to the research participants and to their whānau, hapū, and the ECE community to present this thesis in an organic context so that it is
acceptable to the participants and their respective communities. The process also made me think about reflexive examination of myself and consequently of the research project. It represents who I am, it is part of how I managed the theoretical epistemological “self”, my whakapapa, my heritage, indeed myself as a Māori woman. My thinking is supported by Russell Bishop when he suggests that “storytelling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the “diversities of truth” within which the story teller rather than the researcher retains control” (as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 145). Smith (1999, p.145) continues the dialogue, “intrintrinsic in story telling is a focus on dialogue and conversations amongst ourselves as indigenous peoples, to ourselves and for ourselves”.

4.3.4 Kanohi Kitea 103—The interviews.

Kanohi kitea interviews, telephone and teleconference, email, text messaging, and written correspondence were all mediums that suited individual participants and were agreed to. As the research progressed participants continued communicating with me and this added to the overall “ownership” or authenticity of the stories. Continued communication between the researcher and participants allowed either party to add to, review, clarify, or elaborate on the questions and to revisit their story over time. The “openness” of the interview process added to the “mana” of the quality of the information data collected.

In essence, interviewing is a method of eliciting information as a conversation between people, where one is the researcher. The process is enhanced when interviews are undertaken kanohi kitea, over the telephone and internet which are the mediums used in this research (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Bishop 1995; Smith, 1998) and support this process as it provides transparency. In addition, kanohi kitea sit comfortably with Māori, it is how Māori expect to be interviewed (Edwards, 2007, 2011). In saying this, however, two of the interviews were unable to be undertaken kanohi kitea due to circumstances at the time as one participant was teaching in China and another was not able to travel. These interviews were undertaken by teleconference with one emailing her response to the interview questions, the other by teleconference and following up with written dialogue. Both telephone interviews were recorded, written up, and sent back for comment. Another two interviews were completed post kanohi kitea as the participants wanted to reflect further and add additional information.

103 Kanohi kitea – face to face
Participants are a good representation of iwi and hapū throughout Aotearoa and live or work in rural and urban communities. This could have been challenging as each tribal area has their unique way of living, their own tikanga, and participants may not have been able to identify or relate to another tribal group. However, it proved to be a vibrant mix as all had different views and experiences based on their early lives and working into their career choices. It was particularly important, therefore, to include questions around whānau, hapū and iwi. Indeed it was an expectation as this research is about Māori women, written by a Māori woman. Penetito (2001) argued that “Māori knowledge has always been ‘managed’ in the sense of being selected, interpreted, translated, co-opted and distributed by those who have the power to make these decisions; they have rarely, if ever been Māori themselves” (p. 24). In this case, for this research the process and the person are under the korowai of kaupapa Māori. As Māori there are clear expectations for all entering a career where they are representing whānau, hapū, and iwi and indeed the respective wider community. For example, there was an unspoken expectation, although at times this can be verbalized, that one would do well; any misdemeanors therefore would reflect back on that community. As previously mentioned, equally important was the need to have participants’ involvement in formulating the questions.

I undertook to complete all interviews kanohi kitea (face-to-face or in person) which involved a lot of organisation and travel, however, it was necessary for me to do this as I wanted the interviews to be as “organic” (Bishop, 1995; Smith, 1998; Warner, 1980) as possible. As each interview was transcribed a first draft was sent out, with some questions from me seeking clarification of a point or determining a date and place for a particular event. I also took the opportunity to ask for photos or other pictorial information to support the research. This process took place over the 4-5-year period because as previously identified, interviews were not undertaken within a specific timeframe.

While this may seem protracted given the number of participants and their respective locations, it was the only way to progress and in this case, with these participants, it worked. Of the 14 participants only two added additional information to the initial analysis. As mentioned previously, there was ongoing communication with several participants as they re-read the transcript over time and added further information. This too may seem protracted, however considering that kaupapa Māori is the base overall methodology for the research this was not a deterrent.

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104 Iwi is the main tribal group and hapū is a smaller group.
105 Tikanga, practises.
As previously discussed participants were generous in their feedback and sharing additional information. It was no surprise to me that participants wanted to hear, and later read my thoughts during the process. This was evident when I listened to the recordings as several of them asked for my opinion or, if I had had the same or similar experiences. My initial thinking that I would have minimal input during the interviews was not only unacceptable to the participants but my “tandem story” was expected. This is an aspect of kaupapa Māori research that adds mana to the thesis and to the research participants korero. One participant validated this saying that the interview had been great it had reminded her of people and things that she had not thought about for a long time. The participants’ individual, and as I listened to the recordings, their collective korero assisted me in the organisation and administration of the data that they generated.

Each interview varied in length from three hours to several hours, into the night and spread over weekends. It was important to me and also to several participants that communication be ongoing, that they and I could make contact to share additional information, give encouragement, or to clarify an area of discussion. The significant initial interviews were undertaken between 2012 and 2016 (4 years). Regular contact remained important for the duration of the research. However in stating this, two participants have passed away and one moved to Sydney, Australia. Their respective stories are included, not to do so would be to lessen the mana of the thesis as their stories are rich in detail and reflective of the time.

Interviews took place after an initial mihi whakatau\(^\text{106}\) and in some cases karakia\(^\text{107}\). The formal process was important to participants as it set the whāriki for the interview. Interviews were undertaken in the participants’ homes, or, if it suited a participant, due to work, travel or time constraints, my home. Participants reported that the interviews were relaxed, conversation at times was spontaneous, especially if they remembered a good point to include. The interviews, while semi structured, followed the questions sent to each participant who had the opportunity once again to clarify and add if they so wished.

\[4.3.5\] **Timeline and ethics.**

The initial descriptive process required by Otago University Ethics Approval Committee and the Kai Tahu\(^\text{108}\) Ethics Committee were completed prior to interviews taking place. The University of Otago Ethics Committee has the responsibility of ensuring that where

\(^{106}\) Mihi, whakatau. Greeting and welcome.

\(^{107}\) Karakia, prayers.

\(^{108}\) Kai Tahu – name of South Island iwi.
necessary ethics approval is completed. Approval is mainly concerned with ensuring that research participants are protected, in this case, that their stories have informed consent, that they agree to share their stories in an honest open way, and that those stories are treated with respect and dignity. The addition of an iwi, Kai Tahu Ethics approval was sought to ensure that kaupapa Māori would be adhered to. In effect that mana tangata\textsuperscript{109} would be adhered to. For example, that people’s cultural identity and ways of knowing are treated with respect, and that their physical, mental, personal, and social wellbeing as individuals and as a group are respected and that they have a right to have their intellectual property acknowledged, and that there is a mutual respect and collaboration between the participants and the researcher. On verbal or written confirmation to be part of the research, participants were sent the proposed questions, a synopsis, and rationale for the research project and additional information such as the university website so they could review the PhD process. Research participants were also sent the Otago University and Kai Tahu (Appendix D) consent forms to sign and send back. With the exception of one participant who chose to use a pseudonym, all were happy to be identified. This in itself is a significant point, being identified is a link back to the whānau, hapū, and ultimately reflects individual whakapapa\textsuperscript{110}.

4.3.6 Analysing the interviews.

A typed draft of the participants’ interview transcripts were sent to participants, seeking comments, changes, additions, and clarification on any areas. Copies of all typed interview transcripts were kept for future review. As interviews were undertaken over a period of four years, drafts of each interview transcripts were chronologically managed, that is, interviews were sent out as they were completed. As the interview transcripts were returned I added these and any additional comments to the respective story. As previously discussed, I am in regular contact with several of the participants and met with four of them at a whanau celebration recently where we spoke about and added points to two of the participant’s interviews. They also shared their thoughts on the research with whanau present explaining how they were involved and how they were looking forward to reading the final thesis. This is kaupapa Māori in “action” and certainly sits with the other identified research methodologies; Matauranga Māori and Autoethnography.

My initial analysis identified several links with individual participants’ stories, this then indicated that I needed to develop a coding system that would link the narratives between

\textsuperscript{109} Mana Tangata, the tino rangatiratanga of a person.
\textsuperscript{110} Whakapapa, genealogy, family links/history.
research participants. The life stories tell of the struggles many of the participants had in their journey through education and finding “their place” in a monocultural education system. Listening to the interviews, reviewing the transcripts, and undertaking analysis to identify key points was a time consuming process, one that took much longer than I anticipated. During the analysis I identified key themes that research participants spoke of individually, collectively, they became “key” points for me to consider.

1. Making positive changes for Māori women, tamariki and mokopuna
2. Influences, role models, leaders and mentors – becoming politically aware
3. Race color and ethnicity
4. Initial qualifications and career development
5. Isolation, being alone
6. Contribution – Te Runanga Māori ECE Inc.

It became apparent that aspirations and contribution were the significant areas. Research participants’ stories about race, color and ethnicity came as no “real” surprise because I was aware that all had experienced racism during their lives. The extent of racism though was a surprise and a disappointment. This is discussed further in Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau – Participants Voices.

As each interview was completed I listened to the recording again, wrote down points of significance and gave each point a number. The interviews were then transcribed. As I read the transcripts I began to identify patterns, common threads, these added to the points and allowed me to work in a semi organized way.
The stories that the research participants were sharing was a process of “framing” the story, or “framing the world” as Edwards (2007) put it and it positions participants stories as personal, whānau and cultural stories. The methodology of using story as the “tool” for this research is linked to the thinking that storying is a “methodology for examining and analysing sets of ideas and ways of knowing” (p. 7). Archibald (2001 as cited in, Martin 2008) called this process “storywork”. She said that “storywork, because of the engagement of story, storyteller and listener created a synergy for making meaning through the story and making one work to obtain meaning and understanding” (p. 20). Martin (2008) elaborateed further when she identifies that “the first stories and visual stories meet her own cultural conventions for demonstrating knowledge, understandings and experiences, to acknowledge academic conventions and expectations” (p. 21).
I then re-read all transcripts identifying links that related to each point. Once this was completed, I color coded each point, (Figure 3) which made it easier for me to “track” and link each participants korero. It is at this point that my analysis moved from “simply” listening to the recordings and reading the transcripts to identifying where and how they fit into the overall story.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological framework that described how the research was completed. It identifies Mātauranga and Kaupapa Māori integrated in a small way with Autoethnography as the Whāriki for this research as the research is for and with Māori. This thesis is based on storytelling, interviewing, recording, writing up the data, communication, and relationships - collegial and familial, historic and current. The methodology then was going to be one where Kaupapa Māori, Mātauranga Māori, Whakapapa, whānau, hapū and iwi were inextricably linked. Inherent “ways of knowing” such as those experienced when I contacted possible research participants, knowing that there would be some who would welcome the research, some who would be reticent and some who would think that they had nothing to offer. The process of including participants in the development of the research questions and involving them at every stage of the research encouraged participation and generated memories, the methods of looking back in order to “look” forward. While this chapter has identified the research methodologies and methods used to frame and substantiate the research. It has also substantiated Kaupapa Māori and a recognition that there is a resurgence of Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori and that the “core” elements of “being” Māori are now seen as a recognised research methodology. The connections between Kaupapa Māori, Māori cultural practises, whakapapa, reflective practise and the recognition of storying as a process is not unique to Māori, however, it is important for this research that storying, reflective practise combined with a “messiness” of the methodology is acknowledged. The recording and sharing of a select group of participants stories over a specific period of time is a significant contribution to the research “pool” of the early childhood community. That the participants are all Māori women is also significant, their stories, the “hidden” stories will now be shared.
5  Becoming Marakihau – Participants’ Voices

*Ehara Taku toa I Te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini.*

(I come not with my own strengths but bring with me the strengths of Tipuna, whānau, hapū and iwi).

5.1  Introduction - Te Timatanga

During the process of writing it became evident that we, indeed I, was becoming Marakihau almost as if I had had to grow with her as the stories were told. This was an interesting concept and I wondered if any of the participants had felt the same. When I sent participants’ stories out for final comment, I asked them for their thoughts on the chapter title and the response was positive.

In Chapter One I identified why this research needed to be undertaken and why I thought it would add a new voice, a new perspective, a Māori perspective, to the body of research that has been written about teachers and teaching in the ECE sector. Chapter Two put the research into a tohu, a pou that signalled how the research would be shaped by tikanga and kaupapa Māori. Chapter Three identified and discussed relevant literature that would support and “argue” the research. Chapter Four described the methodology and methods used to shape, investigate and support the research, in particular the colonisation process and its effect on Māori. I also identified why matauranga and kaupapa Māori as methodology are integral to this research indeed I could not conceive of any other method that would suit.

This chapter identifies the participants as experienced teachers and professional practitioners in the early childhood sector as kindergarten teachers, lecturers, managers, union representatives, and public service employees. Many are known for their work across decades and are role models for those in or entering the profession. The latter is an important point as there were very few Māori women in the kindergarten sector during the period of the research, the 1950s to 1989. Indeed, in the late 1980s there were only 40 Māori kindergarten teachers nationally (researcher’s notes from the establishment of Te Runanga Māori ECE 1987). It is therefore from a minority position that the participants were active and vocal teachers in the sector during this period.

111 Whakatauaki. Mo ngā Matua Tipuna kua ngaro I Te po. (Treasure from our ancestors who have gone before).

112 Tohu and pou indicate a symbol of something that is significant and needs to be highlighted.
The period during the early to late 1980s and into the early 1990s was a one of rapid change within the education sector, and the kindergarten and ECE sectors were a major part of this. The period provided an ideal opportunity for Māori to be actively involved in the reforms and this research shares the kindergarten – ECE perspective of those changes. Research participants became politically aware, met regularly to identify areas where they could be actively involved, such as initial teacher training, recruitment and retention of Māori teachers, the development of an inclusive curriculum, a process to review and set standards within the ECE sector such as a code of ethical practise and standards for teacher registration. While many of these were not introduced until the mid-1990s, the whāriki was set by Māori teachers in kindergarten and change progressed as a result.

The key research title questions about what participants’ aspirations were for their teaching career and how they thought they were able to contribute to that while keeping the links to their respective whānau, hapū, and iwi are integral to the research. Indeed the question “were there expectations from whānau, hapū and iwi for the participants to achieve and to contribute? The key words “aspirations”\(^{113}\) and “contribution”\(^{114}\) instigated korero that I had not anticipated, although as I analysed participants’ narratives I realised that perhaps they had been waiting for a chance to “voice” their experiences and I was providing them with the opportunity. As a result, the information and experiences shared required me to rethink how I was going to analyse and frame their stories. How I was going to present the findings so that it kept the ihi\(^{115}\) of their stories intact and true.

Participants shared stories that they had very rarely or never voiced before. This was perhaps because they had not thought of them in the context of a research process or that anyone would be interested in them or would understand them. In my view this makes their stories taonga, something to be treasured and appreciated. It also makes their stories political in their sharing and reflects the title of this thesis; Marakihau, (discussed in detail in Chapter Two) as we all had to be “taniwha” in our careers as students, as teachers, as parents, and as professional practitioners.

Throughout this chapter are excerpts from participants’ narratives regarding being Māori in ECE. Some of them are lengthy as it would have taken the “ihi” away from what they

\(^{113}\) Aspirations – is a key word used to open discussion with research participants’ about what they aspired wanted to aspire to as kindergarten teachers.

\(^{114}\) Contribution – is the word chosen to gain research participants stories about how they felt they had contributed to the kindergarten and later the ECE sector.

\(^{115}\) Ihi – meaning the spirit or truth.
were saying to reduce them. This is supported by Bishop (1995, 1996), Bishop and Berryman (2006), Penetito (2001), and Smith, 1999. Penetito (2001) in particular referred to Māori knowledge as “always being managed in the sense of being selected, interpreted, translated, co-opted and distributed by those who have the power to make these decisions; they have rarely if ever actually been Māori themselves” (p. 24). He continued identifying that the outcome has been a “watering-down” of Māori knowledge (p. 24). That the researcher is Māori is therefore identified and accepted by the participants, that I write from a point of lived experience and can therefore understand and represent the participants is also recognised and accepted. Indeed it is with this in mind that I determined that the participants’ voices would be told in a way that truly represents them and their experiences. Their “telling” also allowed me to reflect on my own experiences and to begin the writing process.

The following themes identify the various stages participants moved through in their journey toward effecting changes within the kindergarten service so that the inclusion of te reo and tikanga Māori would become normal practise and not merely an “add on” or something that had to be “seen” to be done. Participants individually and at a later stage collectively contributed in a significant and demonstrative way over a very short 5 year period. The first of the “themes” for this chapter is kaupapa and whakapapa. To support and perhaps strengthen participants korero I have included a brief analysis this is identified with my name.

5.2 Kaupapa and Whakapapa - Weaving the Threads

The identification of kaupapa and whakapapa as the first and main threads to weave research participants’ stories is integral to how Māori identify and manage the pathways within a colonised Aotearoa. The theme weaves together the participants’ narratives and their voices as I examine and report in detail the findings to the research questions. It gives substance to, and acknowledges, the participants’ lived experiences, experiences as Māori women in a period when the Māori world was changing, the 1950s to the 1990s. Mead (1997) placed this thinking firmly “in” the Māori world when she discusses the concept of “the Pākehā world of Theory and the Māori world of ‘experience only’ over any form of theory” (p. 113). My analysis of the participants stories, the theoretical research that I have considered are woven into, beside and between their memories, I refer to this process continually as weaving, weaving the whariki that these narratives are placed within. This chapter, sharing the lived experiences of research participants, demonstrates how participants managed to walk duel pathways as qualified Māori kindergarten teachers in a Pākehā system within the paradigms and structures of Pākehā policies and procedures. During the period the research was undertaken, Māori were often a minority,
frequently working in isolation with very little support in respect to tikanga or te reo Māori. Management structures were already in place, Māori teachers were rarely consulted regarding any changes that would make a difference to how they could be involved. This had an isolating effect on many of the participants, myself included. How we managed through this was simply to do the best we could, within the constraints of the management structure. In other words, just get on with the job. Participants discussed this individually and my analysis shows the effect that had on them as individuals and later as a collective, TRMECE.

It is also important to identify that research participants come from a number of different hapū and iwi, therefore what they share with regard to their respective hapū and iwi is respected and quoted directly, while this has been discussed previously, it is an important reminder to myself and perhaps to others as it is not the right nor the role of the researcher to interpret or comment on anything that the participant shares regarding their whānau, hapū, and iwi (Penetito 2001; Pere, 1982; Roa, 1987). It should be noted however, that many of the participants no longer live in their respective hapū or iwi areas and many, including myself, have multiple hapū and iwi links. In addition, many of the participants have lived, worked and at times married into other hapū, iwi, and tauiwi, thus adopting their practises while retaining their own (Dansey, 1974; Mead, 1997). There are then multiple roles that many of the participants have during their lifetimes in regard to whānau, hapū, and iwi. Indeed the role that Māori women have within their respective whānau, hapū, and iwi cannot be viewed as a role that “other” women may have. If, as many of these participants are, leaders within their whānau they have multiple roles and responsibilities in addition to being a wife, mother, grandmother, or daughter. For example, they may be the representative on their whānau land trust, the spokesperson for the whānau, the one who guides and supports the younger generation toward scholarship, the kai karanga or many other roles that sit alongside “being” a Māori woman. The role or roles are directly linked to whakapapa and familial relationships. “Our identity as Māori is irrefutably tied to our whakapapa” (Mead, 1997, p. 291). I have taken these relationships into consideration when analysing and presenting korero that participants have shared as I want to tell their stories in their own words. Participants strove to include te reo and tikanga Māori across several layers of the Kindergarten and later the ECE sector using TRMECE and their own mana wahine as “tools”. They actively participated in “reshaping” teaching and management structures, for example, writing policy, procedure, and processes that would recognise, include, respect, and

116 Kai karanga, the woman who will ‘call’ visitors’ on to the Marae or to meetings.
117 Whakapapa, linking whānau hapū and iwi, a matter of who one is and where one comes from, relates to.
celebrate Māori as unique to New Zealand. It was their desire to ensure that te reo and tikanga Māori would become the norm rather than an addition commonly referred to as taha\textsuperscript{118} Māori. These concepts were included in the 1988 Statement of Intent (researcher's private collection) which, although not adopted by the then Education Department, formed the base of curriculum development into the 1990s. Definitive questions relating to whānau, hapū, and iwi expectations, links between practise and upbringing, whakapapa, and the enduring strength emerged in all areas of participants’ lives. Participants responded by linking the questions to their respective whānau, hapū, and iwi as a guide and as a process to reflect on who they are, how their early years influenced and informed their lives and subsequently their careers. I found that while stories were unique to the individual, they had common threads such as experiencing racial comments or expectations, individual identity, being “alone”, or being accepted in a kindergarten or educational setting as a qualified teacher rather than for the colour of one’s skin. The latter comment can be seen as an indication that qualified Māori teachers were slowly being accepted as part of the “norm” rather than needing to prove oneself. Although I have to say that several of the participants, including myself, continued to “prove our worth”.

The question about race and ethnicity and the colour of one’s skin, leads into the next theme which is a discussion about ethnicity and racism. Colour and ethnicity were identified as significant to participants as they reported that it was their colour that identified them as students or teachers throughout their respective careers in line with varying degrees of racial and ethnic prejudice. Indeed participants’ reflections include a range of comments made by “professional practitioners” and the wider community, which cannot be called anything but racist at worst or at best culturally insensitive. First, however, a discussion regarding areas that participants identified as being particularly challenging for them needs addressing. The first of these is about racism and were generated directly from participants’ stories. This theme is a significant one for this research as it outlines what the practise of racism was and how it affected the participants.

Research participants reported being the recipients of racism or cultural prejudice throughout their lives, as children, students, adults, teachers, parents, and grandparents. It seems that the practise and labels of racism remain and it does not matter what we as teachers do to ameliorate the situation, prejudice remains. Some research participants reported that it made them want to work to correct what was happening. For others it made them angry and they wanted to educate themselves more about the situation in order for them to understand and

\textsuperscript{118} Taha - beside
make amends. It was during the analysis and writing of this section that I realised I continually returned to Marakihau to “ground” me, to reassure me and to encourage me forward. I identified that research participants also used the notion of a touch stone as they talked about their teaching and learning experiences. Their touchstones were their whānau and how they related and or influenced them as they progressed.

The following reflection, from Amanda while at training College in 1977-78, shows that although there was a perception that cultural acceptance was developing, there was confusion about how this could be put into practise. The choice to learn te reo Māori challenged her whānau probably because they didn’t understand her desire to learn and perhaps a “hang over” from their own education experiences speaking te reo Māori. Amanda indicated that her family were assimilated.

**Amanda: Taranaki, Karawaenuku Marae.** (Initial kanohi kitea interview at her residence in Te Awanga, 14.07.2014). Then email and text communication.

My Great Grandfather settled in Kahungunu and worked for the Māori Land Court, he was a prolific writer in te reo about the land and many of his writings are housed in the Hastings Library and the National Library. Nga hiwi Tumoana used a lot of his work to learn how to write in Māori and also to base current land court matters on. They make the links to Kahungunu as the waka Kurahoupo called in at Haumoana and discussion has been around the links from the past to the present with me wanting to settle in Kahungunu again. I want to make the links back to the korero around that some of them may have got off the waka and settled which may be why my great grandfather came back.

Amanda remembered: “We had options for study and I chose to do te reo Māori which the whānau weren’t that happy about as assimilation was alive and well at that stage and I had aunties asking why I was doing that. Being Māori I was type cast at training college and I was sent to South Auckland for section. I was the only Māori in the kindergarten intake. However, the links with the other Māori students in primary and secondary were strong and both Ranginui Walker and Toby Curtis were influential people in my growth in Māori, taking us to tangi.

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119 South Auckland is an area that has a high Māori and Pacific Island population.
120 Ranginui Walker and Toby Curtis are respected Māori academics who instigated many changes to the education at the time for Māori. Ranginui Walker was a prolific writer and respected kaumatua in the Māori world.
121 Tangi – simply put – to cry. In the fuller context a Tangi is the ritual of respecting and acknowledging a death.
to Bastion Point and of course when something was happening at TC [training college] being called into do the powhiri\(^{122}\) – dial a powhiri”.

**Elizabeth: Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga. Ngati Uenuku, Ngati Rangi. Grew up in Ohakune and Raetihi area.**

Elizabeth: During the period of Māori renaissance, 1970s-1980s, those who could speak Māori, or who had the skills to uphold tikanga Māori such as powhiri and karakia\(^{123}\) were often called in to undertake the role. Many Māori saw this as tokenism, which it probably was at the time, however, it showed a commitment of sorts to acknowledging and beginning to include tikanga into organisational practise. With this in mind many Māori supported the practise until it became “normal” in all institutions. Amanda’s reference to “dial a powhiri” was common terminology recognising that a function or event had not been organised with a “powhiri” in mind. During this period many writers emerged to provide an understanding and support the practises for example (King, 1977; Roa, 1987; Walker, 1990).

There are several examples of individual and collective experiences of racism experienced by research participants. These are shared throughout their interviews and are included in this thesis.

**Olive: Te Atihaunui a Paparangi, Ngati Rangi hoki I a Karioi. Has links to the Whangaui River at Taweka. Brought up around Taihape, Moawhango and Karioi.** (Kanohi kitea interview in Palmerston North, 11.10.2012 then Ohakune 2017). Then email and telephone communication).

Olive described a deliberate racist comment made to her when she applied for a head teacher position at a kindergarten where she was the teacher. Her application was not successful and when she asked why, was told that “as long as I am president of this association you will never be appointed as a head teacher”. Olive believes that it was said to remind her of her “place” i.e., as a Māori, it was thought that she would not be good enough to undertake the role. Whatever the reason, the person never qualified his comment and has never apologised. To add further insult for Olive, the position was offered to a teacher who had not applied for it and who had not taught for several years. Olive was expected to work “under” her and to comply with “outdated” teaching methods.

\(^{122}\) Powhiri is a ceremonial process that welcomes people onto a Marae or other places of significance. It is a cultural practise that is significant in introducing visitors to a ‘place’ usually for a specific purpose.

\(^{123}\) Karakia, praying, not necessarily a Christian process.
Elizabeth: The comment alone is a racist and deeply derogatory one to make to a young fully qualified teacher. However, the experience was probably a catalyst in Olive determining that she would challenge what was happening to Māori kindergarten teachers at the time and lead her to a very successful teaching and professional career.

**Rama: Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa and Scottish. Brought up in Rotorua and Maketu.** (Kanohi kitea interview at her home in Maketu, 21.10.2014) Then email communication 2015.
Rama: “I remember when I was still visiting kindergartens and their resources puzzles in particular, I was really offended there was one showing a little Māori boy and a Pākehā girl; she was all dressed up nicely and the little boy had ragged clothes on and bare feet. Another one had a meeting house and the amo, you know the amo that came down two central ones and they were over the top of those instead of them coming down and the teachers (one Māori) never noticed it, the whare was wrong. Another puzzle with parents and children and the Māori woman had a scarf around her head and her slippers on. The others (Pākehā) were dressed beautifully. The little Māori boy was bare-footed but the Pākehā girl had shoes and socks everything. But the lips on the Māori boy were black. I pointed these out but they had never noticed it. It’s stereotyping, it’s racist, and they’ve got it all wrong”.

Lynette: “Kaikohe was a racist town in those days, the 1960s. In some instances I felt it was a racist town because when I walked down the street some people would cross over to the other side. Some of the Pākehā parents coming to enrol their child would often go to the Pākehā parent only to be told that the two teachers are us and one of us would take enrolments. Sometimes we felt that we must be the first time they’ve come across or dealt with Māori teachers. Sometimes, y’know. Anyway, we formed a Māori support group, myself and a few parents, a social parents club. Also the primary school Principal was Māori and the local doctor was too so we had a strong Māori voice at a ‘top’ level. When we included te reo Māori in our teaching some parents got so incensed that some would say ‘don’t teach my child that culture’. But I think it was the director124 of the kindergarten who again set the model she just said, “Okay, well take the child away.” She stuck to her guns that what she was doing was right and I think that was probably my first instance, model, that I thought oh well, I’ll just follow that. I just thought when I’m the head teacher I would use that model”.

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124 The title – Director was the “head teacher” of a kindergarten until the 1970s when the title was changed and teaching positions were renamed Head Teacher and Teacher.
Elizabeth: Olive’s experience is mirrored by other participants’ stories, for example, Lynnette’s point about Kaitaia being a racist town when she was teaching there in the mid-1960s and how many Pākehā parents did not want their children to learn to speak Māori. Rama’s reflection identified an ignorance of tikanga Māori on several levels, that of the designer and maker of the puzzles, the purchaser who did not recognise the mistakes, and the teachers who used the puzzles with children as a learning tool. I could be generous as I am sure many people were and say “well at least there are Māori resources”, however, I am not going to be because I am familiar with the puzzles Rama spoke of and refused to have them in the kindergarten. I informed the seller why, giving him specific detail as to the aspects of his work. His reaction was not a good one; I did not think it would be, however, if we as teachers did not speak out then the mistakes would continue. My experience was in 1989 and I have seen Māori resources since which are much improved.

My own experience being overlooked by Pākehā parents as they wanted to talk to the Head Teacher or of being called the cleaner. Then there is the comment “oh you’re a Māori but you’re not like the others”, which was a comment many participants received. One is left puzzled thinking, “well what does that mean”? Does it mean that I was perhaps “better” than or different to “other” Māori? How was I supposed to react to a comment such as that when the comment itself is derogatory and the person saying it does not realise that what they have said is questionable. The examples are similar to many of the participants, comments that we all put up with over the years. It took some time to learn how to respond to these comments because they seemed so unnecessary. For all participants, including myself, the comments brought a sense of confusion, sadness, and anger. Confusion because all participants have mixed racial heritage, sad to think that one group could see themselves as superior to another, and angry because it meant that we needed to become activists’ to rectify the situation.

Questions raised were:

- What does one do?
- How does one react when you are of mixed racial heritage?
- Do you deny a part of yourself?

For many there was not a choice, if you were brown enough you were Māori, it did not matter what other heritage you had. What message then did that give to participants when they were children? Clearly it was that one was Māori, and as such you were not expected to achieve in life, especially academically. The following personal experience that affected me for many years, in fact I still think about it almost 60 years later which shows the effect derogatory
comments can have on a young person. When I was in Form Three, aged twelve, I recall a teacher asking the class what our hopes were for the future. When I tried to respond he said “Oh it’s no good asking you, you’ll just end up pregnant in the carrot patch with all the others”, meaning my Māori friends. The derogatory remark and thinking of that teacher is identified by Rhedding-Jones (2001) when discussing stereotyping and terminology, “the notion of ‘native’ is negative and asks, what is the relationship between the ‘native’ and the ethnic minorities ‘we’ are allowed to talk and write about?” (p.135). She continued with: “recognising the complexity of the issues involved in racism and the cultural norm of whiteness is a starting point” further, “a racist white identity can thus be seen to exploit and dominate, native then, becomes all persons forced into subjugation by national pasts”. (Rhedding- Jones, 2001, p. 150). According to Spivak (1999 as cited in Rhedding-Jones) “in the case of racism, whites dominate people of colour, this racist domination happens not because people of colour are rationally argued into positions of lesser importance, racism happens casually, by gestures, omissions and the giving of limited access” (p. 150). This is exactly how that teacher in that period 1961 behaved, he humiliated me, deliberately putting me in the place where he identified I should be. It didn’t matter to him that I was in the “A” stream and therefore already acknowledged as a “possible” academic achiever.

The following reflections from research participants identify cultural and institutional racism.

**Dawn: Ngati Kawerau ki Ihumatoe. Grew up in Mangere.** (Kanohi kitea interview at her home in Mangere, 26.05.2012). Then email and messenger communication.

Dawn: “I can remember putting Māori words around the kindergarten and was told to take them down by the visiting teacher, however I never took any notice, in fact I put more up until it became a part of the teaching environment. I found it difficult to express myself in English because I came from a Māori speaking background, my grandmother only spoke Māori and lived in a Māori world. I learnt from life, so when I was at teachers college the transition between the worlds was hard, I needed to turn what I was learning around into the Māori version and then I was able to do it”.

Elizabeth: Dawn had to make a stand, she didn’t make a response merely ignored the directive and extended the resources. Being told to remove Māori resources is an act of subjugation. The visiting teacher asserting dominance over another, the message portrayed therefore had negative connotations for Māori in the kindergarten and reinforced what many Pākehā thought at the time.
My own experiences were similar, the last one took place in 1989 when a visiting Department of Education person asked me, “Where are all of your Māori resources”? She was referring to pictures on the wall and the like, she had not noticed that we were in the process of reorganising the environment. My response was, “you’re looking at it”. It is this kind of attitude, or lack of understanding, that participant’s have had to contend with throughout teaching careers and personal lives.

Elizabeth: Rama, Dawn, and Lynnette trained at a time when education was undergoing a change in government policy for the education of Māori. The period from 1947 saw an increase in the recognition of pre-school education and from the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s pre-school education, play centre, or kindergarten were thought to be an area where the education of Māori children would benefit. The 1960 Hunn Report125 (Hunn, 1961) was a major instigator for change across the Māori population and included the establishment of the Māori Education Foundation (MEF) which supported funding for higher education for Māori; it also signalled a need for Māori to train as teachers, in particular, kindergarten teachers. The move towards including Māori children in kindergartens and playcentres grew in impetus during this period (the 1950s to the 1970s), instigated by MEF and fully supported by the Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL)126. Multiple newspaper reports (Appendices B) include wording such as “Nursery school idea to teach Maori child English” (Auckland Star, 8th March 1961)127. The Wanganui Herald (19th March, 1962) reported that “Pre-school systems are absolutely vital in attacking Maori education problems”, “Maori children need Kindergarten” (Southland Times, 1969). The Kindergarten Union ertr told there was “A need for larger Maori element” followed by “one of the greatest things you can do is to bring Maori mothers into your movement to help them understand the needs of their children” (The Marlborough Express, September 1968).

Walker (1990) identified how the Hunn report with Lex Grey, the MWWL and the MEF, established play centres in remote Māori areas often utilising marae and public halls. The Playcentre movement suited Māori as it was based on parent involvement and did not have the restrictions that many Māori parents thought kindergartens had.

Research participants spoke about teaching practice and how, as Dawn, Rama, and Lynette recalled, they did not have any choice about where they were going. Preparation was

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125 The Hunn Report was written as a report on the Department of Maori Affairs and included suggestion for the inclusion of kindergartens and play centres to be established.
126 The Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) was established in the early 1950s to support Māori in their transition from papakāinga to city.
127 The newspaper articles were downloaded from NZ Archives in October and November 2015
minimal and one had to find their own way to the kindergarten and just work it out from there. Several years later Amanda, who trained at Auckland College of Education in 1977-78 remembered, “A strong ECE leader, asked me to do a section at Orakei Kindergarten to help the racist actions that were happening there. As a student a big ask, however, I did what is now known as a process/poster approach and worked with the pakiwaitara Hatu Patu and involved all the children – the process worked and Pākehā parents began to ask questions around what was really happening at Bastion Point”129.

This was a major responsibility put onto a young student, however, as Amanda described, she used an approach, probably developed it, as a tool to gain understanding of a particularly historic event in the history of New Zealand. Bastion Point130 was a catalyst in making significant changes to how Māori were viewed and to how Māori were prepared to stand for their right as citizens.

In all examples, research participants were marginalised and put in a position where they had to explain their position. Rama identified that the puzzles portrayed Māori as somehow being “poorer” or “dirtier” and therefore of less “value” or of less importance. Resources such as these were prevalent in the 1970-1990 period when teachers attempted to include what they thought were appropriate resources for children. Unfortunately they gave an entirely different message. This was discussed by Walker, (1990) when he identified a group ACORD “who were dedicated to combatting racial discrimination” (p. 278). The group included Mitzi Nairn from the National Council of Churches who worked alongside TRMECE and KTA and the Department of Education in 1988-89 as we developed strategies to include te reo and tikanga Māori across the kindergarten sector. One particular workshop, “Awareness of Racism and Anti-Racist Strategies for Early Childhood Education” (Lopdell 7-10 February 1989), was a catalyst for me in identifying strategies to manage racism in the workplace and in the wider community. I was able to work with parents and other kindergarten staff to transfer what I had learnt. I found this very satisfying and use the strategies still. A key result of the workshop was the inclusion of two Māori women, Kahu Katene to the ECE implementation team, and Maureen Locke (Jehly) to the Runanga Matua131 and the Kohanga Reo Task Force. The

128 Orakei is a suburb in Auckland close to Bastion Point.
129 Bastion Point is located on a prominent site in Auckland city. The Land overlooks the harbour and was valuable. The government of the day wanted to take the land and develop elitist housing effectively alienating the iwi from it. The iwi Ngāti Whātau objected and staged an 18 month occupation eventually regaining ownership.
131 Runanga Matua was a group of senior Kuia and Kaumatua formed to monitor the development of Māori in education.
workshop also instigated the position of a Pākehā monitor within KTA. The monitor’s role was to observe and report on all behaviour during KTA meetings and conferences. The position was valuable, especially during negotiating amalgamation of two ECE unions in 1989-1990.

Another experience that research participants spoke of was that of being “isolated”, being alone at several stages in their lives. As students, Olive, Lynnette, and others recalled being the only Māori in their year, for example. This leads me into another “theme” where isolation in terms of being the “only one” or separated by distance is discussed.

5.3 Being Alone – The “only” One

This “theme” is not about being alone in the sense of being lonely; it is about being the only Māori person (woman) in a group of predominantly Pākehā or “other” people. This feeling of being alone, or worse, being seen as the “token” Māori, is reflected in participants’ stories. As wāhine Māori we are familiar with the feeling of aloneness or loneliness when we are often the only Māori in a group, be it as a student as many participants reflected, or, as a teacher, mother, or a committee member. This meant that we were often looked upon as the token Māori and were therefore responsible for “all things” Māori that may be discussed during a conversation (Jahnke, 1998). This reflects a form of racism, that is, the assumption that all Māori “think” and “behave” the same. With this social norm, Pākehā have continued the assimilation the subjugation of Māori well into the 21st century as the practise remains today. We, Māori women, needed to find ways of coping with these situations and learning to articulate to the overall group the position as an individual Māori is one of these.

In my experience this took several years and at times put me in a position of being the “outspoken” one, the “stirrer”, or the “black sheep” as I was often called. The other was a collective “oh there she goes again, rocking the boat” while verbalised, the “looks” relayed the same message clearly and I became a very good reader of body language as a result. Not many people understood the position they had placed me in and I do not know if they actually cared or even thought about it. Indeed, being the only Māori or indigenous person in a meeting, a teaching team, or a working party became “normal” for me as I grew into my teaching and professional role. As a person of mixed race I tended to take umbrage at being expected to speak for all Māori, however, I soon learnt that if I did not speak for Māori then our voice would not be heard.

During conversations with participants, several spoke about how they became active in their stand as a Māori woman in their lives and in their professional capacity as teachers. Some
of the research participants identified the experiences of being the “only” Māori as the whāriki for determining who they were and therefore how they needed to act. This was certainly identified in the stories that research participants shared. Dawn’s “stand”, for example, when she ignored the visiting teachers directive and added more resources that reflected the community, Māori and Pacifica. The individual and collective determination to include te reo and tikanga Māori into all areas of the early childhood sector became a good example of how “we” as a group of strong Māori women challenged the “normal” and shifted thinking when the “only one” became a rōpu, a group of likeminded Māori women prepared to stand together.

The following sections are participants’ narratives, their stories in response to the research questions. They link the korero referred to and identify why the journey to the development of a collective voice Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education was developed and instigated significant changes to the sector.

Rama: “You were supposed to know all the Māori stuff, right. Yeah. Just like you could play the guitar. Yeah they took things for granted. There was nothing like that [Māori] in my day. It just never came up. Nothing ever came up about being part Māori, nothing. And there were only two of us [Māori] who had been to a state school. Every other girl was from private schools. We wondered how on earth we got in”. Rama continued her discussion by saying that as she was Māori there was the expectation that she would know all the Māori “stuff”. “Yet there was nothing spoken about it”.

Elizabeth: These are interesting points and they link back to the discussion regarding Māori women and their “place” in society. The inclusion of te reo Māori in teaching, for example, as Rama identified was not a point of discussion when she was teaching. When I asked her if she was expected to teach te reo Māori after she graduated her response was:

Rama: “No. I wasn’t allowed. It just didn’t come up. In those days there was nothing. There was no language like that. You couldn’t say “haere mai ki te kai” or anything like that. But you were a person, you were just one of the crowd, behind your back you were part Māori. Nothing ever, ever came up about Māori language, Māori anything. Now when I look back I think gosh, we were like little puppets. No mind of our own, told what to do, told where to go. When I finished [retired from] teaching they were just managing to bring a few words in. The parents were saying, “Oh I don’t want my children to learn that.” Some would ring up and say

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Whāriki is a woven mat, the analogy in this case it to be the base of.
my child came home swearing. He’s saying the “f” word, I don’t want him to learn that language”.

Elizabeth: Rama’s final comment shows that the parents obviously had no knowledge of te reo Māori equating the pronunciation of a word to something quite different, thinking the child was “swearing”. This often happened within early childhood education as te reo Māori was not a normal part of everyday conversation. The general public were not used to hearing it spoken.

Although there had been several attempts to include the teaching of Māori culture and language throughout the 1950s and 1960s, it was not progressed with any commitment until more Māori enrolled in academic studies at universities (Simon & Smith, 2001; Walker, 1990). The drive to include the teaching of te reo Māori began in earnest in the 1970s when after years of petitioning, a group of young Māori academics known as Ngā Tamatoa133 (Simon, 1986; Walker, 1990) became the catalysts in gaining support throughout the country, challenging the education system and Māori themselves to move toward a fairer education system that included the teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori in primary and secondary schools. Ngā Tamatoa called for the training of native speakers to teach te reo Māori and introduced a Māori language day, which was later extended to a week. These were not the only changes instigated by Ngā Tamatoa; they were active in monitoring and questioning a range of educational and social practices (Simon, 1986; Walker, 1990). While the research participants were not directly involved with Ngā Tamatoa, their work and their “stand” as a group of Māori did have an effect on how we as “isolated” Māori teachers responded. The work that Ngā Tamatoa did, how they highlighted what was happening to Māori at the time, and what they wanted done about it set another whāriki for us to follow. It gave me strength to continue within the kindergarten sector.

The following narrative include reflections from a fluent speaker, a women who grew up among her whānau whānui134 with the marae in close proximity. This participant was fair skinned and was often mistaken for a Pākehā; her story however reflects a woman who is passionate about her heritage and willing to share with all who want to learn.

Dawn: “When I think about my teaching practice sections and who were involved in them, some parents were very racist and I was told to call a certain person Lady not Mrs. With

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133 Ngā Tamatoa a politically active group of mainly young Māori who worked strategically to change the way Te Reo me Ngā Tikanga Māori were included in Aotearoa.
134 Whānau - Whānui extended family
no explanation as to why, I had to guess that she was a ‘lady’. My placement at the kindergarten was not a pleasant experience, a real culture shock. I was always being told that I was doing the wrong thing. I didn’t have a choice about where I was placed. I felt that I was put there to learn how to work with Pākehā. They probably thought ‘oh my god she is white but she is Māori’ and when reference was made to the ‘darker’ race they said that I was different. I was not allowed to speak Māori or sing waiata and was told that didn’t happen in this kindergarten. I felt totally ostracised, nothing about me seemed to fit into that environment. I felt I got away with ‘it’ because I was white and had blue eyes. Once I changed my name to Matata things changed, there was prejudice and teachers couldn’t pronounce my name properly, they didn’t think I was Māori, they thought I was an Islander. I recall my retirement dinner in 2004 and realised that my work over the years was recognised, I thought “my god do these white people finally recognise me”? 

Elizabeth: Dawn’s story is an interesting and somewhat disturbing one, given that Dawn had taught for 47 years in the kindergarten and ECE sector, making a significant contribution not only to the ECE sector but within the Mangere135 community. It is disturbing because it took 47 years for the organisation to realise that what Dawn was doing and how she taught should have been a model for all teachers in the area. Dawn showed an enormous commitment to te ao Māori136, she spoke about being “white” when she was clearly a Māori in all her practices. She showed her commitment in where she wanted to teach, to be in her community, what she wanted, and how she wanted to teach, to include te reo and tikanga Māori regardless of what impositions may be put on her. Dawn, “just did it”. Dawn spoke about being a “token” Māori in the environment which substantiates the theme, being alone, the only one. Dawn’s teaching practice experience would have been no different to any other Māori students because there were so few of us at training college. We went into “alien” Pākehā environments alone. She shares her thoughts on how she was treated because she was white and had blue eyes so therefore was not Māori, until she got married and changed her name. What Dawn experienced was institutional and personal racism, having to hear comments about the darker race during her teaching practise experience must have made her feel inferior and possibly angry. That there was an expectation by the qualified teachers that it was alright to discuss sensitive matters in front of her shows the lack of understanding or compassion for a young trainee. 

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135 Mangere is a suburb in South Auckland which has a high Māori and Pacific population
136 Te Ao Māori – the Māori world
The following reflection of Lynette’s regarding tangihanga is another example of an organisation’s lack of understanding about tikanga Māori and shows cultural insensitivity toward a young vulnerable student.

Lynette: “I was at training college for about a week, when my grandfather died. So I went to the principal and said, ‘Miss Corkwell I need to go home. My grandfather’s died this morning so I need to catch the railcar home at 3 o’clock’. She said, ‘No you can’t go home ‘til the funeral day. Do you know when the funeral day is?’ I said ‘Yes it’ll be in three days’ time. ‘Well you can go home on that day.’ And I said, ‘No. I can’t.’ So I had to explain to her about the tangi and what was involved and what my role in that tangi was. I suppose that was my first experience of being a Māori in a monocultural situation. So they (the training college staff) were all there and none of them knew anything about tikanga but after I explained it they said to go. So I said, ‘Thank you, I’ll be back on Monday’. And I just towed the line until two years when I graduated”.

Elizabeth: Was Lynette’s experience racism? Perhaps, racist in the way she was spoken to with regard to an emotional event. Uninformed? Yes. It is obvious in the way that Lynette recalls the event, which after 40 plus years is still very clear in her mind, that the principal and her staff knew nothing about tikanga Māori or the significance of and process of tangi. Lynette showed a maturity and courage to stand by her tikanga in explaining her situation. The significance of tangihanga to Māori is explained in great detail by Dansey (1974), Pere (1991), and Roa (1987). The principal’s response to Lynette, her refusal to allow her to attend the tangi would have been a foreign concept to Lynette and she responded in the only way she could by explaining in detail why she had to be in attendance and what tangihanga meant for Māori. The learning for the college principal and her staff would have been valuable and perhaps set a process for the future. Although my experience in 1966, 5 years later, was not a positive one either, when my nephew died and I left immediately to return home. The death happened in the weekend and there was no way of letting the college know until the Monday. Suffice to say the principal was not pleased. I too found myself in a position of explaining the process of tangihanga and why even though he was “only a nephew” (the principal’s words) I had to return home to be with my whānau. Reflecting on the event now it is hard to imagine why the principal had little empathy toward me or to the situation. I had to produce a notice of the death and then explain why I had taken a week to return.

Neither mine nor Lynette’s experiences were isolated cases. Research participants shared several similar experiences and while there were no set policies for student teachers to
attend tangihanga or a funeral in the 1960s, the college could have shown some compassion toward Lynette and asked for clarification. I acknowledge that tangihanga was probably not a familiar term used in the Pākehā world; the point is that Lynette was a student and the lecturers experienced adults. The experience that Lynette shared is one that is probably still debated by students and education organisations alike. The union workers education group, Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA) published a book called *Understanding Tangihanga* in 1990 (Rameka & Te Pania (1990)) as a response to workers’ concerns about Māori having to take unpaid or annual leave in order to support whānau during tangihanga. The publication explains in detail the process of tangihanga and was referred to when negotiating leave.

On reflection almost 50 years later, if the college had an induction process we would not have had the difficulties we had. It was a case of look, listen, and find out. With youth on our side we managed. As the stories continued, participants shared more of their experiences and tried to find logic in them, forgiving the lack of knowledge regarding tikanga Māori in particular.

The following stories are not directly linked to the discussion about racism and difference. They do however reflect a lack of knowledge about tikanga Māori as a culture by the lecturers of the day and teachers in the “field”. A difference in understanding of Māori as a ‘race’ of people, ethnically ‘different’. A lack of empathy, perhaps and an underlying thread of “just getting” on with whatever was put to us as students and later as teachers.

Elizabeth: “Lynette, the whole thing about how you felt as a Māori in that environment and what you were able to experience as a Māori student, of that time. What was that like?”

Lynette: “Well I knew, I think, I felt comfortable in the mono-cultural society because I just mimicked what they did. I learnt later about Fagan’s philosophy. But probably that, Fagan’s philosophy; “fake it ‘til you make it.” But I didn’t know then. I just did what they said. They [lecturers] encouraged me, they were very supportive of me and I thought it’s probably because I’m the only one [Māori] in my class. But they just didn’t understand my culture”.

Elizabeth: Again there is the acknowledgement that the lecturers did not understand Māori or the “ways” in which Māori lived/practised. In retrospect this was to be expected, particularly if training colleges were encouraged by the Education Department in partnership with the Māori Education Foundation to train more Māori teachers in pre-school. Training college staff were probably not prepared to receive Māori students. Often Māori students were “solo” as Lynette was. She was the only Māori student in her year and therefore, as identified
earlier in this chapter, “alone”, as Lynette said she just “faked it ‘til she made it”. Lynette’s management of the situation is repeated by other research participants’, Uingangutu said “I just walked the white line until I graduated”. Amanda said a similar thing, “I was the only Māori in my year so I made friends with the Māori in the primary intake and took te reo Māori as a study option to stay connected”. Others secured “outside” links, relatives who lived close by and for those who stayed in Māori girls hostels established kinship with others there. Olive recalls the induction she had at the hostel and that she “roomed” with a year two Māori kindergarten student who supported her through the initial processes of training college.

So, this was the training ground on several levels; learning to live away from home; learning how to manage in a city; developing new relationships; learning to become a kindergarten teacher; learning how to cope with negative comments and lack of understanding from other students; learning how to be a student undertaking teaching practice with teachers in the field; and learning how to respond to parents at kindergartens. The process of learning in a short 2 year period meant surviving in a world different from anything that we were used to. I refer to the period as my socialisation, my transition from a country girl into becoming an adult.

The following narratives continue the dialogue regarding how the research participants grew in their roles as teachers, how they were part of making changes, and how they applied those changes in practise. The sense of frustration remains throughout participants” korero. I reiterate that research participants have shared experiences that they probably would not have shared with anyone else. This was verbalised many times, requiring me to ask them if I would be able to include what they had said in the research; the answer was always emphatically, yes!

Margaret: Nga Puhi, Ngati Hine. Grew up in Pipiwait. (Kanohi kitea interview at Tokoroa Learning Centre, 02.08.2012).

Margaret: “They [Pākehā] wear us out and now where I am, I am surrounded by people who have been there, done that, and I feel safe I am the kuia here. Without the discourses that have been shaped we wouldn’t have what we have today, the conditions. It”s not airy-fairy, without Te Whāriki we wouldn’ have what we have now”. In her interview when discussing the title Maragret substantiates the title; “Marakihau is intrinsic in our stories; we owe it to the future to tell our stories”.

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137 Kuia terminology used to acknowledge an elderly Māori woman a mark of respect.
Elizabeth: Margaret shows her frustration in saying “They Pākehā, wear us out” - that is a strong statement but one that is not unexpected in Margaret’s case as she worked for over 30 years in a monocultural system where she often felt marginalised and unappreciated. Her comments about basing learning and teaching on whānau, whakapapa, and tamariki pepeha are important as is the point she makes about just being able to “do” it. The centre where I interviewed her is a bilingual bicultural one and where she is the kuia, she is respected, she feels safe and she is teaching intergenerational families. This observation is substantiated in Margaret’s comment below.

Margaret: “I think all teachers should take responsibility for Māori because we didn’t have te reo Pākehā. The training should include all of these as everybody is responsible Māori we always had to rise to get recognition that shouldn’t be happening now. Māori needs to be recognised properly. More incentives for Māori teachers more programmes. I am so proud to be Māori and I know that there are some teachers who mean well however to have Māori teachers in all centres and totally immersed in who we are the Māori world. What is happening in this kōhungahunga is a dream coming true for me and I am so pleased that at my age I can be doing this. Whānau, whakapapa tamariki pepeha138, why are our tamariki missing out in mainstream it’s not hard to do, it should be normal practise. Need to just do it!!! Enjoy teaching”.

Elizabeth: The “it” that Margaret refers to is te reo and tikanga Māori. Margaret has taught over several decades and while in one place, Tokoroa, she has taught across kindergartens within the town. Living and teaching in the same town over a 47 year period has not been a difficulty for Margaret or her whānau. This is because Margaret challenged herself on a regular basis by questioning teaching and teachers. She mentored and guided many students and neophyte teachers into the sector.

Amanda’s reflections identify her frustration about what she sees as an issue that has never been addressed; that of ensuring that there are Māori teachers in areas where there is a high Māori population. I support her thinking as I have observed and experienced this many times, where Māori are teaching in ECE, Māori whānau bring their children. This has been an area of ongoing discussion for many years as there are not enough Māori who enter training college or who complete the programmes and teach in ECE. Amanda recognises the importance of whānau involvement and whakapapa in her korero.

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138 Pepeha, genealogy, whakapapa
Amanda: “Pākehā teachers in Māori areas are a real reason for non-participation, this is one of the findings of my recent research - where Māori are teaching, and Māori attend. Kindergarten service needs to really think/review their practise. Whakapapa - whānau links for Māori are really important. Whānau voice in ECE today is really important, society today separates whānau, and if whānau can attend the one ECE where they have whānau links this may well regenerate links. I have a huge responsibility to Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Kahungunu tanga139, the tikanga is really important and I want to normalise the practise that is the vision and the thinking. Making changes was difficult getting Māori teachers into Māori kindergarten areas such as [name removed] was extremely challenging but I did it eventually”.

Elizabeth: Whakapapa is who we as Māori are, if one doesn’t know their whakapapa then where does one fit, where does one belong? Where do they come from? These significant questions are debated and explained in many academic writers’ work, Dansey(1974), Hemara, (2000), Mead (1997), Pere (1991), Rangihau (in King, 1977), and Walker (1990), for example.

Georgina: Ngati Porou. Grew up in Tikitiki and Gisborne. (Kanohi kitea interview at Ngongotaha, June 2014) Then email and text messages.

Georgina recalled: “The group of four other Māori students in the 1966-67 intake would have been seen as a successful bunch of Māori school graduates because we had made it to this elitist college. In no way was my culture and ethnicity acknowledged or considered a bonus or something to celebrate. I began to understand the influence European cultural lenses had on my training, I could take what I considered to be relevant and apply this to my own teaching practice. I was not adequately prepared for teaching in the big wide world but I soon realised how important my own upbringing and knowledge had on my teaching”.

Elizabeth: “what was it like being Māori in a mainstream – mono-cultural environment in that period of NZ?”

Georgina: “There was no recognition of culture, ethnicity or difference within the training course. All Māori students were expected to just go with the flow and learn mainly European practices and theorists that had nothing to do with our own culture and bicultural heritage. There was no link, connection or acknowledgement with iwi, whānau or hapū. This was indicative of how people thought at the time it was like you left that other world at the gate when you arrived. All Māori students had survived a white colonist approach to teaching and

139 Ngati Kahungunu Tanga – practices specific to Ngati Kahungunu
learning and we had all successfully developed strategies to cope with anything that was thrown at us. All Māori students gravitated towards each other and we survived because we looked after each other, we understood the pressures, our needs and strategies for survival. Māori students had to manage as best they could and generally we were treated like minions, second class citizens because we cleaned, scrubbed and tidied up”.

Elizabeth: As a “fellow” 1966-67 student I can endorse what Georgina shared. None of us knew each other beforehand, however, from the first day we became firm friends supporting each other. We were also mentored by a Māori student from the year ahead. Georgina became the student representative to council and mentored the only Māori year one student Olive (another participant) to the position. Later as teachers, Olive, Georgina, and I became active Union members. Georgina is right in identifying that as Māori students we were successful academically and in sport with myself being selected in 1966-67 for the 1968 New Zealand “A” netball team. These collective achievements dispelled comments made to us on our initial days at training college. I recall a Pākehā student saying to me “oh but you got in because you’re a Maori”. I had the greatest pleasure in telling her “no, actually I got in because I passed the same tests that you did, and I have sixth form certificate”. She stayed well clear of me after that, something that amuses me still.

Olive recalls her initial experiences entering training college. She was the only Māori student in her 1967 year intake and she followed the theme of a country girl entering a large city without close whānau to support and mentor her. She too found support from other Māori students in the year ahead and from Māori teachers when she is on teaching practice. When she was thinking about the title for the thesis in her October 2017 feedback she said, “I like the title, Marakihau, she identifies us”.

Olive: “Getting accepted was a cause for celebration for my extended whānau. In the first year at Training College I had huge support from the hostel and from Māori in year two. I was also elected to the student body with [Georgina a participant] and that helped me to understand my role as a representative and the importance of reporting back. As Māori, I think that I was expected to do more such as speak for our year group on trips. I felt “put upon” by some of the staff sometimes but others were great”.

Elizabeth: Olive’s earlier reflections of her introduction to kindergarten teachers college, her links with Māori in the year ahead, and her tutelage from Georgina who was the student representative at the time are good indicators of the position she would hold at a later
date in her career. One of the things that Olive remembered on the first draft of her interview for this research was the experience she had when she applied for a Head Teacher’s position at a kindergarten and being told by the president that “as long as I am president of this Association you will never be a Head Teacher”. Olive’s base qualification and the natural progression into the development of TRMECE and union work reflect a glimpse into her career and the enormous amount of work that she undertook not only for ECE in the union sector but for primary teachers as well. Olive’s reflections are a great record of a very short period of time when Māori women were really active within the Kindergarten, ECE and Union movement. Olive also reflects on a situation that took place at a marae and her feelings at the time, and then at a later date when she found out the whakapapa of the person concerned. There are instances where this mistake can happen, it is a learning experience for all parties, and in the case that Olive remembers, it initiated a journey for the other person involved, as Olive reflects:

Olive: “we were arriving at the 1987 Wainuiomata Hui and preparing for the powhiri when this Pākehā woman said she would do the karanga. I remember our response (mine and yours Elizabeth). We were not impressed and explained the tikanga and kawa to her, I think we upset her, however we were very clear that Pākehā did not karanga at marae. We were adamant about this and proceeded with the powhiri. I was still learning myself, my awareness of things like that was developed during experiences like that. I did a lot of learning during that time and still call on it today. Some years later, I met that person. She spoke to me about it and said that it was that incident that instigated her to find out about her whakapapa. I had to remind myself that there are some very fair skinned Māori”

Elizabeth: I recall the incident that Olive speaks of clearly and have had cause to remember it again as my mokopuna were born, some of them are fair skinned and while they have Māori features, one could be forgiven for thinking that they were Pākehā. I celebrate that some of them korero Māori and attend kura and wharekura.

Two of the research participants experienced, or perhaps I should say practised, a different kind of racism. Both participants identified as Māori, were brought up on marae surrounded by whānau, hapū, and iwi, however because their skin was fair they were thought of as Pākehā. Their experiences were different to their “coloured” colleagues in that they turned their “whiteness” (their words) to an advantage and worked with Pākehā surreptitiously to influence and inform them about tikanga and te reo Māori or when they thought Māori were being marginalised.
Gloria: Te Ati Awa ki Parihaka. Grew up in Waitara. (Kanohi kitea interview at her home in Bombay, 18.06.2012).

As Gloria reflected: “I didn’t share a lot of my Māori as I walked the white line, didn’t put my hand up”.

Elizabeth: Throughout her career in education, Gloria learned how to work with the tools at her disposal, in her case, the best one was her colour. Gloria used her “whiteness” to educate her colleagues in a way that they would be more receptive. Moving through her life as a fair Māori had its advantages and Gloria cleverly wove her experiences into her career. This did not mean that she was not aware of or did not identify as Māori, on the contrary, she used it to improve and change people’s attitudes to the inclusion of te reo and tikanga Māori in ECE as her following narrative shows.

Gloria: “my parents got some funding from the Māori Education Foundation but it was minimal. There were not many Māori at the hostel where I stayed, although the major at the hostel was Māori. Not much support from other Māori (relations), which I found interesting and somewhat disappointing. No Māori included in training at all, no Māori lecturers, I didn’t mix and mingle a lot even though there were some Māori. I didn’t share a lot of my Māori as I walked the white line, didn’t put my hand up. Throughout my career I have found that because of my colour, very fair, I was able to make changes, put suggestions that someone else may not have been able to. On reflection I think that in order to shift thinking I would bring people in to speak to the groups, as they were the right ‘model’, Pākehā. They were a good role model, knew what they were talking about and they [Pākehā] listened to them. When I moved to Auckland with the mixed iwi that was also a challenge as I had to identify the support that I would need. I met up with Waipereira City Council and they guided me to respective kaumatua who would support me. I also brought Dawn and Terehia [other research participants] to do workshops on harakeke and this was a good strategy too”.

Elizabeth: The support and guidance of kaumatua and kuia is important for Māori, especially women and especially when one moves between whānau, hapū, and iwi. Often it is kaumatua and kuia who will identify whakapapa links, thus making the entrance into a new iwi area easier. I certainly found this as I worked across hapū and iwi, in particular when kaumatua asked me to apply for a position within Te Arawa. At my powhiri, Te Arawa were informed

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140 Te Arawa the iwi from Maketu to Tongariro – Maketu located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and Tongariro a mountain range in the central North Island.
of my whakapapa and told very clearly to look after me or they, my Ngati Kahungunu kaumatua, would come and collect me. I remained in Te Arawa for 21 years being guided by esteemed Te Arawa kaumatua Wihape Winiata, Te Hiko o Te Rangi Hohepa, Pihopa Kingi, Molly Taiapa, and Maureen Jehly. I remain grateful for their wisdom and support. As Mera identified, as someone working outside of my own iwi geographic areas, there is/was a responsibility to uphold and contribute to the educational aims and aspirations of the local hapū and iwi, and to communicate with them in order to achieve this. Developing relationships with hapū and iwi is, in my view, a critical responsibility for teachers. In terms of my own hapū and iwi, it is about representing them well in all that I do. In fact hapū and iwi influences become more and more significant for me as an academic. In my view you cannot really be successful in Māori or indigenous education unless you understand the significance of hapū and iwi, and operate in ways that progress their/our own aspirations.

The following reflections are from the last participant for this research in terms of the years she trained. She reflects on the “result” of the whāriki developed by those who went before her. Mera acknowledged this and although she no longer works within the early childhood sector, she maintains links and is the only one of the group who has advanced her original qualification to PhD level. The PhD it is not in the ECE field, however her professional growth is celebrated by those of us who watched her progress through the ECE sector, TRMECE, and the union movement. Mera has never been self-conscious about being heard or for politicising the relationship that Māori have with the crown. Indeed, Mera wears her wahine Māori status with a moko kauae and in every area of her life as a lecturer and mentor.

Elizabeth: “What or who helped or influenced your decision to teach ECE? How did whānau, hapū and iwi influence your choice”?

Mera: Ngati Raukawa, Maniapoto. Grew up in Te Kuiti. (No kanohi kitea interview. Mera completed the questioner and emailed it for comment. Follow up with emails and text messages).

Mera: “I was becoming acutely aware of myself as a young Māori woman, and being the only Māori in my intake, I realised very quickly that there were likely not too many Māori kindergarten teachers – that translated to me developing an understanding of my responsibility to ensure Māori ways of being and seeing the world were something I needed to both practise and develop within the curriculum. I quickly learned that there would be challenges and indeed racism in the face of my aspirations to include and build things Māori into the curriculum. A
newfound aspiration therefore was to defeat racism and develop positive attitudes amongst non-Māori in the sector. As the only Māori student in my years it was pretty lonely. I didn’t know any of the other Māori students (doing primary training) – who all seemed to know each other. I was not a kapa haka queen, was hopeless at speaking Māori, pretty fair, and so felt a bit on the edge socially I guess. However, it was also a time for me of developing greater political awareness, and in the context of being “the only one” in my intake, this probably served to highlight and speed that development up. As a young student, I hadn’t yet learnt the value of ‘choosing my battles’ – and so chose every single assignment and probably most class discussions, to push ‘Māoritanga’ and challenge institutional and educational racism as I viewed it. So it was an exhausting time also. And when ‘battles’ were won, it was exhilarating.

It was a powerful progressive and/or aggressive time in the broader political and activist contexts of Aotearoa/NZ, so though there was a sense of isolation in terms of who I was with day to day, there was a sense of solidarity that I plugged into in terms of aligning my politics in teaching, to those that were being played out more generally, by far greater activists than myself. There is a responsibility in anything we do back to iwi, whānau and hapū”.

Elizabeth: Mera covered many of the “themes” that I identified in my initial analysis of research participants stories; Māori women, Māori kindergarten teachers, racism, political awareness, and being alone, the only one.

Elaine: Whakatohia. Grew up in Otara. (Kanohi kitea interview at TWoA office in Mangere, 2012).

Elaine: “I have “worn” and still sometimes do “wear” negative comments from the wider teaching community about all the Māori being together. Now I respond when prior I may not have. My thinking is about being inclusive. Being Māori in mainstream education is certainly monocultural. I believe my thinking is not set in Māori I see myself between both cultures as we didn’t return to Torere a lot and so I thought that I would be able to fit in the monocultural system. I believe that the racism in education remains. I’m glad that Te Whāriki is there. I think a review would be good to identify that, yes it is still relevant. It is still working. Other kindergarten teachers in the area [Otara] realized that they could not teach as we did in other places and so we were able to develop a teaching style that suited the area”.

Elizabeth: The reflections that Elaine shared are related to her upbringing and wanting to know more about her whakapapa. Elaine is the first generation of children born following

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141 Torere is a small village on the East Coast of the North Island.
the urban migration of Māori in the 1950-1960 period (Barrington, 2008; Dewes, 1975; Walker, 1990). Many Māori moved from their papakāinga\(^{142}\) to the cities in search of work. Elaine came from a newer generation of young Māori women. She identified early in her interview that although she knew where her mother came from, Whakatohea, Torere\(^{143}\), she had a closer relationship with Otara\(^{144}\) where she was born and raised. Nonetheless she still wanted to know her whakapapa and learn through that how to include it in her teaching as a young Māori woman. Establishing a network of “like minded” people, teachers and drawing on those relationships for guidance and support was a good strategy.

Elizabeth: Elaine reflected what many Māori in ECE think, that we live in two worlds and need to identify how we are going to manage the challenges that are placed before us. I use the plural (we and us) as a way of including all participants. I do not assume that participants felt this way, their korero reflects it. Lynette’s comment, “walk the line until I finish”; Margaret’s “just do it”; Dawn’s “I didn’t take any notice, I never took any notice in fact I put more up until it became a part of the teaching environment”; and, Huingangutu’s “I walked the white line, because I knew that I would be returning to my Māori community”. Many of the participants who had Pākehā mothers, myself for example, were accustomed to working across races. My Irish mother and grandmother prepared me for what I might meet at training college including how to dress. I attended the first day at training college in a twin set and pearls, which was normal dress in the 1960s. However several years later an early childhood researcher wrote about 1960s students attending their first day at training college in Auckland in jeans. In a conversation with her about the comment in her book, she assumed it was me and was most apologetic when I told her it was not me. This is another example of assumptions made about Māori students.

An example of the oppression of a Māori kindergarten teacher is when I invited her to attend a professional development course in the mid-1980s and her reaction was, “you know what I look like Betty” - she was scared about what she may be asked to do. She did attend and later said to me that that was the first real thing she knew about being Māori and that being part of Te Runanga Māori, coming to the meetings, was the best thing she had done for a long time. She cried the whole first meeting that we were together. A sad case of total oppression.

\(^{142}\) Papakāinga place of birth  
\(^{143}\) Torere is a small settlement on the East Coast of the North Island  
\(^{144}\) Otara, a suburb in South Auckland.
5.4 Making Changes for Māori Women, Tamariki, and Mokopuna

Another reflection is that of being disappointed in “our” ECE sector when in 1999 the only Māori presenters at the ECE convention in Nelson were scheduled to present at the same time on the same day. Disappointed because it seemed that all the work we had done had been put aside within ten years, I noted this in the evaluation sheets and verbalised it during the poroporoaki/farewell session. During this session it is the practice that the next convention organisers are named. TRMECE had put a tono/proposal forward and it had not been successful. When we asked for the rationale we were told that the outgoing committee didn’t think we were capable of managing a convention. The resulting discussion generated protracted and vigorous debate with mana wāhine Māori doing a haka in protest and the majority of the conference delegates supporting our stand. The debate went on for so long that many missed or had to re-schedule travel and was described by one of the international keynote speakers as the best workshop of the convention and that when TRMECE do present a convention she and her team would attend. We did organise a convention, two in fact, and they did attend. The titles of the convention were “Pakiwaitara: Telling our stories” in 2007 reportedly one of the best ECE Conventions ever, and “He Wai Whakariporipo: Making waves in early childhood - surviving the storm 2015”. Statements indeed to consolidate mana motuhake, mana māhine.

The following section reflects research participants’ stories as they relate to the development and implementation of Te Whāriki the ECE curriculum. Participants discuss their journey as they navigated new “waters” in relation to the development of Te Whāriki. There are threads that “look back” on racist and culturally insensitive behaviour and participants discuss how they managed these. The terminology “researching back” is described by Mead (1997) as “a site of struggle for Māori” (p. 121). The participants’ reflections “mirror” each others korero again as similar experiences repeatedly transpire. Participants identify their contribution to the ECE sector and discuss how their involvement changed as the move from the 1980s Education Department developed into a Ministry of Education and its subsidiaries such as the Education Development Unit (ECDU) for ECE, the Education Review Office (ERO) and the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC).

5.5 He Wai Whakariporipo – Riding the Waves Surviving the Storm in ECE

The following reflections are linked to teaching both as students, as teachers in the field, and as professional managers. Once again many of the narratives are similar. During analysis of the participants’ stories I found that the interrelatedness between the narratives was
incredible given that the participants varied in age, where they grew up, with their whānau, hapū, and iwi, and where they trained. Also where they taught and as they grew professionally through their career development. The separate yet collaborative educational growth is discussed by Coxon et al. (1994), Jahnke (1997, 1998), and Pakai (1999; 2000) where various stories are shared by pre-service students, beginning teachers, lecturers, and researchers. One of Lynnette’s reflections was true for many of the participants, that of often being the only “brown” person in the room or a group. Lynette’s experience was not isolated as I recall this happening to me often from the time I entered training college. It is a lonely place, especially when one is a student and is assessing every situation one enters in order to identify how to “deal” with it. As a student I found the safest thing to do was to wait, look, and learn. As a neophyte teacher I did the same, progressing as I grew in confidence. This confidence was initially received with surprise, however, as I continued to teach in that particular kindergarten for several years the community reached a point where it became common practise.

Lynnette: “When I was teaching, the first learning I would have had, about being marginalised. I got thinking about how I was gonna make it better. It was my first experience with the Department of Education. They’d just come in and sit in the office and never, engage just sitting checking your roll, checking you and I remember thinking ‘hmm is this going to be the rest of my life’. They didn’t come in and observe the kids. If they did, they came with preconceived ideas about what we were doing. No positive stuff. When [name removed] and I were there I remember a visit by a department advisor and a delegation of Fijian and Solomon Islands people visiting to gage indigenous techniques used. We found out they came because we were the first Māori teachers working together. So they came, delegations of indigenous peoples to observe our methods. They were mostly primary teachers.

Elizabeth: During the late 1960s and early 1970s it was “common” practise for Education Department personnel to arrive unannounced. As teachers, we were expected to receive them with good grace and host them for the duration. The Department visits that Lynnette and her Director had could have been much more beneficial to all if the department had given notification. It is not acceptable to Māori for visitors from other countries to just arrive. This would have put Lynnette and her Director in a difficult position and caused some embarrassment as they were not able to welcome visitors in a way that was acceptable to Māori.

Rama: “Te Whāriki. It was just done. Funny eh? When I think of it now it’s so different from today. I just practiced it. We were actually doing it before they formalised it”.
Dawn: ‘I feel that Māori were, maybe still are outsiders/token and my observation is that, that hasn’t changed over the years. I was already practising Te Whāriki145 so there wasn’t anything new for me. I put my ideas into practise and then shared them with everyone, they [Pākehā] think it is something new, when we have been doing it all the time and then suddenly it is their [Pākehā] idea. I recall how the Education Department rejected many of the ideas that Māori put forward in the 1970s and 1980s’.

Elizabeth: Dawn’s comments about the development and introduction of Te Whāriki being perceived as something new is mentioned by several other research participants. I too have an opinion. Many of us were already practicing what was proposed in Te Whāriki and had been for several years. It is a source of frustration for me, for Dawn, and other participants that our work was not acknowledged. The rejection of policies and procedures that we developed for the inclusion of te reo and tikanga Māori added to the frustration. The decision to reject them was insulting as they (the decisions) were made without communication with us as the proposers. It seemed that what we put forward was not good enough or was not up to standard and so did not warrant a response or explanation about why the proposal was rejected.

Amanda: “Te Whāriki – I had a big involvement. I was working at Waikato. I felt that a lot of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi146 and Māori content had been taken out. The ECE Council did not want a lot of that ‘Māori stuff’ in there. That’s the thing we have always been in a fighting stance. We have always had to defend why we want to include ‘us’ and I’m getting tired. When is it going to get better? The bad feeling is still there, being called a racist separatist person in 2012 is just not acceptable. I am tired of being attacked for being Māori and expected to answer for all Māori and all Māori actions. Māori pedagogy has had a huge influence on my practise. I cannot remember what it was like before Te Whāriki but I think that we were probably doing it all the time. We were tokens. ‘Can you do that Māori stuff?’ There was opposition from parents. In particular one father voiced his disapproval of te reo Māori and wanted it removed. I offered to transfer his children to another more suitable kindergarten but he never did and he didn’t make any further complaints. I was really passionate about what I saw as racism and I did not like being treated like an ‘outcast’ or a second rate citizen. In the 1970s I punched them out [was volatile in my objection]. In the 1980s I verbalised, but I am able to articulate better I think. I am now calmer in my approach to Māori opposition but I still ask why this is still

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145 Te Whāriki is the early childhood curriculum for Aotearoa New Zealand
146 Te Tiriti o Waitangi (TOW) is reference to what is identified as the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was signed on the 6th February 1840 between the Crown and Māori and has been instrumental in Māori being able to negotiate with respective Governments.
happening; even something as basic as pronunciation of names. So there are times when I get very emotional because it is so disrespectful and ignorant. Somethings just don’t change. I believe I am much calmer now. Section [teaching practice] ‘oh yes you’re the Māori girl that’s come in to help us. Can you play the guitar, put down a hangi?’ Minimum standards continue the use of Waiata sheets. Not enough Māori in ECE as if Māori teachers should be some kind of quota. If you have this number children you have this number of Māori staff”.

Elizabeth: Amanda’s reflections mirrored many of those who have retired from teaching and those who still practice. The sequential growth she reflects on regarding her reaction to racist comments and behaviour, “in the 70s punching them out, the 80s verbalising, now much able to articulate better” is exactly how many of the participants had to grow as the they learned to manage situations and meet challenges. However, it is obvious that the frustration remains. Amanda was absolutely right. Being called a racist separatist in 2012 or 2017 or in any year is unacceptable. What Amanda wanted to do was set up a mentoring programme for Māori in ECE, a branch of TRMECE. Amanda reflected on the reactions of her whānau in choosing kindergarten teaching and including te reo Māori in her study options. Her narrative continued the theme set almost on entry to training college, that of being a Māori student. Her teaching practice experiences, particularly the one close to Bastion Point, were a measure of her lecturers’ confidence in her ability to manage the situation that would have a successful outcome. This and other experiences Amanda shared laid the whāriki for her career in kindergarten and the ECE sector. Amanda and all other participants needed to have that “base” courage to survive in the unsure sea of ECE.

The following narrative shares Lynette’s experience once she had graduated and returned to her iwi to teach.

Lynnette: “I came back to Kaikohe in 1962 and I had a Māori Head Teacher. Having her was an asset to my future plans which spanned 50 years. She spoke Māori to me and all the children and we found that year every Māori in Kaikohe were attending kindergarten because they felt comfortable so, as word got out, Māori came. Before, they had a few Māori children attending but not many until the two of us got there. We must have gone up almost 20-25%. So all these Māori families were accessing the kindergarten because they had seen Māori there teaching. One of our parents was a Māori doctor, the infant mistress at the Kaikohe Primary school was also Māori. So that was our big strength in Kaikohe. So we became Māori education for the early childhood and primary community in Kaikohe”.
Elizabeth: This is a really positive example for the community and at the time would have been rare. Messages sent to the Department of Education by Mr. D Jillett, Officer for Māori Education on the 14.10.63 substantiates Lynette’s korero as he wrote:

As you probably know the Kaikohe Kindergarten Association has made great efforts to get Maori children into the kindergarten and they now have something like 50-50 Maori and European. My anxiety is that any proposed Playcentre should not become a Maori centre and I would fear that this might happen if the Playcentre is in the Maori school. I do not propose any action at the moment.

This is a blatant racist statement and echoes what Judith Simon identified in her Native School records of Carleton saying that he did not recommend advanced education for Maori. Neither Jillett nor Carleton acknowledged the fact that where Māori teachers were present, whānau attended. This has been included in several of the participants’ stories. As Amanda’s research found, if Māori teachers are in the ECE service, Māori whānau will attend. There is a 50 plus year gap between Lynette’s 1962 experience and Amanda’s research, so why have not the numbers of ECE teachers increased in order to accommodate this? Lynette reflects what many Māori students experienced during their training, across all the years the korero is similar.

Georgina: “European and American theorists dominated the curriculum and my training. Initially, everything I was taught and heard during my training were totally new and foreign to me. There was little connection to my own experiences or upbringing and the context always focused on white middle class philosophies and ways of doing things. Once I began to understand the influence European cultural lenses had on my training I could take what I considered to be relevant and apply this to my own teaching practice. I was not well prepared for the context of white middle class kindergartens where a high number of children were brought to kindergarten by nannies and maids, and where conversations centred on social outings, haircuts, and tennis games. These were really foreign to me and the kindergartens felt like drop off or babysitting venues. There were very few Māori children in the kindergartens that I visited.

“One other practicum in south Auckland was just as foreign because most of the children and families were Pasifika, or other immigrant and migrant populations. The college had no idea about these so-called dilemmas and we were left to cope with them as best we could. We were dependent on the teachers to support, advise and assist us.
“My involvement in the development of Te Whāriki was initially extensive because I lived in Hamilton and attended regional and national courses prior to its development where many a conversation was about developing our own ECE curriculum. I spent many meeting alongside a number of ECE teachers and educators, including Margaret Carr, discussing the notion of theorists, and how we might start and approach the subject of a NZ ECE curriculum that would celebrate the special essence of Aotearoa NZ. I was a senior teacher within the kindergarten service where my role was to lead and work creatively with and alongside teachers. All professional learning and development was focused on this kaupapa for many years prior to and during the development of Te Whāriki”.

Elizabeth: Georgina’s reflections identify similarities across all of the participants’ stories and became familiar to the researcher in the sharing, stories of marginalisation, fitting into a world that was foreign to participants. It causes one to wonder why Māori needed or were encouraged to be involved in an education system that created this feeling. The fact that Georgina and many others survived and exceeded expectations is perhaps an indicator. Participants’ stories certainly allude to this.

Terehia: Ngati Porou. Grew up in Wharekahika, Hicks Bay. (Kanohi kitea interview at her home in Papkura, June 2012). Follow up emails).

Terehia: “A big influence on my teaching were two teachers, Jean Herewini and Connie Katai, both Māori. They showed me how to be creative by taking us into the environment to see how it related to learning – writing stories, poems and art work to see how it relates to the experience. Te Whāriki (TW) was there a pedagogical curriculum guide? – wasn’t one as such, ours was what we could do to practice how we could do it, teach, all basics but nothing in Māori and I didn’t worry about it, as I was used to living in those Pākehā footsteps. In particular this related to my experience at school, “we were not allowed to speak Māori at school, only when we were at home, I spoke Māori with my grandmother”

I was involved in the preparation of the document TW and felt that the planning/teaching I had done prior fitted it but not how it was being documented. What is sad about TW is that it isn’t implemented as it should be, Māori inclusion in the programme. I can remember being asked about taha Māori by a senior kindergarten teacher and how she could include this. I had to explain that I was already doing it and had been for several years. They also were expected to recruit Māori families to come to kindergarten; but I found that while the Pākehā teacher had good intent Māori families would still not attend.
“I attended several workshops at Lopdell House around inclusion of Tikanga and Te reo Māori especially the ‘Statement of Intent’ that preceded TW. I believe that these made us politically astute/aware of what was happening and active in the changes that took place. I remain committed to the continued growth of Māori in ECE. I think that the Māori side should be left to Māori, not for others to interfere as they don’t know the significance of it. I think that Māori teachers are doing well in the wairua side – they need to translate all te reo to English depending on where they are working so they don’t get hoha (impatient) and just use English. So there was a need to do more here. I think that TW could be reviewed but not changed significantly. It survives with interpretation and monitoring of implementation. I think that the ones who developed it, those from the 1960s-80s, those who were involved in the initial development TRMECE for example, should be involved so the original thinking can be revisited and included.

“I’m still concerned about the lack of non-participation of Māori across the whole spectrum of ECE. I believe that once you have made the decision to be a teacher you need to be committed to making it a success. I believe that we need more Māori ECE teachers, a lot of the graduates go into other government agencies and so the teachers in service remain small. This is great in one respect but not for the teachers on the ground”.

Elizabeth: Terehia reflects a significant era in the development and consolidation of Māori participation in ECE. Her reflection about Māori about leaving the teaching of Māori to Māori is one that is indicated by other participants, Margaret for example. Perhaps there needs to be a medium where Pākehā are encouraged to include and celebrate te reo and tikanga Māori in teaching but leave the wairua and “deep” tikanga to Māori teachers. Terehia’s closing comment regarding more participation from Māori is echoed by many participants, including me. Her comments about the lack of acknowledgement and inclusion of The 1988 Statement of Intent (Department of Education, 1988) and the specific inclusion of TRMECE members was something that should have been done at the time. Participants reported that they were involved in the development of Te Whāriki, however as participants did not share in specific or indepth ways, this is probably due to their statements that “they were already doing it” I know I had been, so the introduction and implementation of Te Whāriki the ECE curriculum

147 The Statement of Intent is a document commissioned by the Department of Education and developed by Māori early childhood teachers in 1987 and 1988 it set the basis for Te Whāriki although the document was never included.
into ECE overall led the way to a more inclusive and representative ECE curriculum and we should be proud that we influenced that.

Maria (psuedonym).

Maria recalled: “the year I started there were sixty students but only forty six graduated, but this included all four Māori. Whānau, hapū and iwi played a significant part in my life and in how I taught. Especially teaching te reo Māori. I worked hard to be received into the kindergartens by being myself and sharing my skills, especially music. I think that kindergartens have come a long way positively and Te Whāriki may have had a lot to do with that. Te Whāriki was easy to refer to and helped support the involvement with families and develop the teaching programme. I looked for ways to include manākitanga, and some of the socially and culturally valued roles, including tuakana – teina and the role of caring for the environment. I encouraged the use of te reo and tikanga Māori believing that they would enhance children’s ability to relate confidently in both worlds, Māori and Pākehā”.

Elizabeth: The successful graduation of all four Māori students in her year is significant, that all continued to teach and be involved in the ongoing development of the kindergarten and ECE sector too is a cause for celebration.

Margaret trained at the same time as Maria and Terehia. Margaret: “Growing up in Pipiwai148 is where I understood the values of korero Maori,149 Papatuanuku Māori values that we had all our lives it was instilled in us: the importance of tuakana150 teina, whakapapa whānau. Choosing kindergarten was progression from attending the Native school and Northland College where I was introduced to a teacher who I now realise was instrumental in influencing my choice. The teacher said that his niece [Lynnette a participant] had just graduated and was teaching at Kaikohe so I was sent there I really enjoyed it. Leaving home was a big culture shock. There was never anything spoken but the expectation was that I would succeed. It was also my own expectation. So there was a responsibility back to whānau, hapū and iwi. There were no Maori lecturers, and so I got to do all the karakia, mihi. However at times this was too much as staff relied on me so I became overworked. I don’t know how I survived. I was with students from all the wealthy families and then there were us [Māori]. I don’t recall being prepared for teaching practice at training college. I was sent to all the Maori and Pacific kindergartens – Myers Park, Ponsonby. There were many Pākehā and few Māori teachers. I

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148 Pipiwai is a small settlement inland from Whangarei in the north of the North Island of New Zealand.
149 Papatuanuku – earth mother
150 Tuakana and Teina refer to the older and younger in a family.
enjoyed doing all the Māori things because I knew that it would be good for them. Made me want to tiaki, manāki. There was a curriculum around growth and development, art. Once I was teaching, if I wanted to do Māori ‘stuff’ I had to prove my case and I had to instigate it all. Resources, the lot. People don’t understand how we practice. We remember our dead because they are our future. There is a time and a place for everything”.

Elizabeth: Margaret’s reflections are an important contribution to this research, as she led by example and never forgot to include Māori in all areas of her life. At times this was not appreciated, her strength, determination, and belief in what she was doing was right is clearly identified. Searching for and gaining support to teach in a world that was only tentatively exploring how to include te reo and tikanga Māori is something that was familiar to all participants. How this was undertaken was left to the individual, where they lived and how the community accepted these inclusions. Often, as participants discussed, attempts were not received well and when one is the only Māori teacher in the area and often asked to undertake all things Māori it is a big responsibility. The support of whānau is therefore important. The mid to late 1980s was a period of major growth when TRMECE championed the inclusion of Taha Māori151 as a precursor to Te Whāriki the ECE curriculum.

As Olive remembered: “It was fun working with a keen young head teacher intent on moving towards an open plan for a child centred programme. That was the early to mid-1980s and we were being pushed by the emergence of Kohanga Reo152. Schools were developing Taha Māori programmes and we started work with local teachers to do our best to incorporate Māori. I was expected to have the answers and would annoy my Mum who was starting to go to Kohanga Hui. So I badgered my Aunties and they would give me things to do and ideas to follow”.


Moira: “I get really emotional when I think about my early journey into learning about being Māori. I wasn’t brought up Māori, so I have had to learn a lot and one of the ones that I learned a lot from are people like Dawn [another participant] and her whānau at Ihumatao in

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151 Taha Māori is the terminology used in the 1980s and mid-1990s as a Māori view, beside the curriculum.
152 Kohanga Reo refers to the Māori language centres’ instigated in 1982.
Mangere and of course when the Runanga Māori was formed and especially the Auckland Runanga whānau and the KTA. I’m not confident on things Māori. I was brought up by my grandmother. When I was at secondary I, like many Māori girls of the time, I was bullied especially by the piano teacher so I left at fifteen. I was an adult student, after I qualified we moved to a very middle class area in West Auckland. I set out to involve more Māori and Pacifica. I enjoyed the new challenges of senior teacher work. There were good opportunities there to represent Māori, speak for Māori. In Ranui there were only two or three Māori teachers so I still felt isolated. I did Professional Development. This was great support and I began doing things in a more Māori way. I was also there when (Kaiatawhai) Dawn [another participant] was the Māori senior teacher for AKA. Dawn built up my strength both in things Māori and Politically. Te Whāriki and the development of management was part of the big picture. I was getting disillusioned with the whole education system. Cuts all the time, health and safety issues so by 2013 I just thought ‘oh I need to get out for a while’. I applied to teach English in China. I really enjoyed it there I was able to share Māori culture. I see the similarities, importance of whanau, tikanga. I introduced Māori to management and staff Tikanga TOW information ERO visits and reports were a good tool for developing. I think that all of the learning I have had has made me who I am today. My overall experience has been a continuation of life to date. It has been a very monocultural environment. Experiences of prejudice, cultural mix. Although I was not aware of it I became aware of politics and I had my first experience of marching to support the inclusion of te reo Māori and better outcomes for Māori. For me it meant new education which is what I felt was really needed”.

Elizabeth: Moira entered teachers college as an adult student. She trained in Wellington and moved to Auckland where she quickly became involved in recruitment, especially of Māori and Pacifica. Becoming dissolutioned with what was happening in ECE she left and went to China to teach English.

Huingangutu: Te Ati Awa. Grew up in Waitara, Taranaki. (Kanohi kitea interview at her home in Whangarei, July 2014). Followed up with emails and text messages).

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153 KTA – Kindergarten Teachers Association was the union that represented kindergarten teachers during the period of this research.
154 AKA – Auckland Kindergarten Association, the governance and management organisation for kindergartens in the Auckland area.
155 The Treaty of Waitangi (TOW) is the document signed by the Crown and Māori in 1840 and is referred to as the founding documents of NZ.
156 The Education Review Office (ERO) is a government agency charged with the responsibility of reviewing all schools and ECE.
Huiringangutu: “Oh I think we were all strong. We had to be, y’know. We were out there really staunch. Yeah and we now have organisations who are alternative providers of bilingual special education, early intervention services like Te Oho Mairangi. Total immersion ECE such as Te Kopae Piripono which grew out of Te Kohanga Reo. Services which I was involved in were developing strategies for Māori special education services. We can have whatever we want if we have the drive, passion and commitment to carry it out”.

Elizabeth: Huiringangutu is a great example of a person who practises proactively. Learning te reo Māori so she could pursue other goals such as establishing a bilingual special education service, Te Oho Mairangi, which is still operating in the South Auckland area, and Te Kopae Piri Pono, a total immersion reo Māori early childhood centre. She identified the challenges, what she needed to do and then worked with them, to advance services for Māori women, tamariki, and mokopuna. A great contribution and one of the themes that have been identified in this research.

Elizabeth: Being the only Māori or indigenous person in a meeting, a teaching team, and a working party became ‘normal’ for me as I grew into a teaching and professional role. As a person of mixed race I tended to take umbrage at being expected to speak for all Māori, however, I soon learnt that if I didn’t speak for Māori then our voice wouldn’t be heard. There are many similarities between what the participants have shared and what my experience has been in the education sector. Beginning at training college in 1966 with Georgina and two other Māori girls we were expected to be successful. There was never any doubt from my parents that I would succeed.


My decision to apply to train as a kindergarten teacher pleased my parents and the school principals with the primary school principal telling me that he would have a kindergarten ready for me when I graduated. Unfortunately the kindergarten was not completed until 1972 and by that time I was Director at Taihape Kindergarten. As students we were all “bonded”, the amount was quite large in the 1960s so there was an obligation to succeed. When I graduated, one of the school Principals who had monitored my progress let me know of the Director’s position at Taihape Kindergarten. I applied and was successful, however I know that I would succeed.

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157 Bonding was a financial “bond” on students, tuition fees were paid, and students received an amount of money to support them with accommodation and travel. If a student did not complete training the bond had to be repaid.
not have got the job if it had not been for the principal’s support. By 1968 he was principal at Taihape Primary school and so he became a mentor and provided major support as I sailed unfamiliar waters into the profession. An article in *Te Ao Hou* in 1962 identified a Māori girl who was appointed to the Director’s position at the Opotiki Kindergarten. The article reads; “It is unusual for a girl to go straight from training college to a director’s position” (Langford, 1962). So it was that six years later I followed suit. The article also identifies that the Māori roll increased markedly on her appointment. This also happened at Taihape, where on my arrival there were very few Māori participating but within twelve months Māori enrolments increased significantly. The presence of a Māori teacher is discussed by other participants. Terehia and Amanda, for example, identified that where Māori teachers are, Māori attend.

My first enrolment at Taihape was a kaumatua bringing his mokopuna in and saying, “I want you to teach her”. A simple and direct statement. She wasn’t on the waiting list158, however how could I turn them away over a process that didn’t fit kaupapa Māori? I could not, and the result was the establishment of a mentorship between the kaumatua and me. He taught me a lot about whakapapa, tikanga, mātauranga and kaupapa Māori, and although he did not use that terminology, at that time I wasn’t familiar with the terminology either. As I grew I realised that that is what they were. One of the things that happened not only to me but to other participants as well, was during the early days of my Director role some people thought I was being supervised by another retired “Pākehā” kindergarten teacher. I had no problem telling them that I was not being supervised by anyone and that I was fully qualified. Another similar occurrence I had in common with Lynnette, for example, was being told “oh no I’m looking for the Director” and the person walked past me to the assistant director, who promptly sent them back. The other was being “mistaken” for the “cleaner”.

On a positive note, due to the relationship I had with the primary school Principal and new entrant teacher, we developed a process to transition children to school. The Taihape area is a farming community. Many of the new entrants to the new entrant class hadn’t attended any form of pre-school. Many of the kindergarten children were ready for school. We developed a transition process whereby we would take children who we identified as “ready for school” to the school and bring back children who hadn’t had pre-school experience. We did this on a regular weekly basis and it worked well. On reflection it would have been a great research project, but of course we were not at that stage in the late 1960s early 1970s.

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158 Waiting List was a process of parents enrolling their children onto a list so that when a position on the kindergarten roll came up the first child on the waiting list could commence.
The inclusion of whānau Māori became a regular practise throughout my teaching career and carried through into my other professional areas. When I began my last teaching position at a Kawerau kindergarten in 1984 there were not many Māori enrolled, although the town was predominantly Māori. On my arrival at the kindergarten however, the Māori roll increased. The community had gang affiliations, both Mongrel mob and Black Power. They too came and brought their children. I was pleased with this. However, I set clear rules: no gang patches, no smoking, no swearing, no alcohol, no drugs, and if they turned up drunk or drugged they would not be getting their child/ren. To the surprise of many it worked, although I did take children home from time to time. I was the only Māori kindergarten teacher in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and became a spokesperson for all things Māori. This period of my career was also when I became an active union member. I became the Eastern Bay of Plenty representative and by 1988 a co-vice President of the Kindergarten Teachers Association and Māori representative of the NZ Council of Trade Unions. These were busy, interesting, and challenging times. We were making positive changes to how te reo and tikanga Māori were included in teaching. We developed and put forward policies and procedures for staffing, interview processes, pay scales, and curriculum and attended numerous professional development courses to assist us in this period of growth. For me the period 1984 to 1990 was one of enormous growth both personally and as a professional. It was also during this period that TRMECE was formed.

5.6 Qualifications and Career Growth – Final Reflections

This section records how the initial qualification – a two-year Diploma in Teaching Kindergarten – supported participants professional growth and assisted in their respective career development. Many were able to progress without any additional “formal” qualification such as an undergraduate or postgraduate degree. Others, however, because of the areas they chose to enter, such as lecturing and developing higher education programmes were required to undertake further qualifications. All chose to remain within the kindergarten, ECE, and education sector because they had made a commitment to themselves and to their respective whānau, hapū, and iwi to achieve. While this may not have been verbalised, participants korero echoes the sentiment – mine, for example. While they never verbalised it, there was an expectation from my parents that I would succeed. Olive’s comment that the “whole whānau celebrated”; Dawn’s comment “my Dad shouting that’s my daughter” and how she felt that she had made her whānau proud - are all indicators that success was, celebrated and that continued

159 Mongrel Mob and Black Power are two “gangs” who are often ‘feared” by ordinary citizens. They often have criminal affiliations.

160 CTU is a combined Union organisation
success and achievement would be expected. These memories alone would have determined why participants remained in early childhood education. Wanting to uphold the ‘mana’ of the whānau, hapū and iwi was, probably still is one of the main reasons why ‘we’ remain in our chosen careers. The following reflections include how each participant ‘grew’ their initial qualification and experience.

Gloria: “I moved to Taranaki and I met Mera and Huinganutu [other participants] who I mentored in their respective roles in Te Kohanga Reo and Te Kopae Piri Pono (an early learning centre) they established.

“The devolution of education [mid 1980-1990] began and I was encouraged to be a resource teacher of Māori but I felt that one needed to be a fluent speaker. I moved to Wanganui with the Early Childhood Development Unit (ECDU) and employed as many Māori as I could to work in the team. I then moved to Auckland to manage ECDU was a huge area with four offices covering all of Auckland, Northland, Waikato, Coromandel. The restructure process [mid - 1990s] meant that a lot of people didn’t get their jobs back and so I wasn’t very popular for a while but that is what the job entailed.

“I got a job in Barnardos managing their offices all over Auckland. I employed those suitable to work with the families Māori. There were not many Māori with social work qualifications though. I supported the implementation of te reo and tikanga Māori, established a position of Coordinator Māori for Barnardos and contracted people to come in and teach te reo”.

Dawn: “I’m 75 and proud of it, it’s just a number. I still work with children working with special needs at my home, six of them. When I began working with the group I asked the school; ‘so what’s special about these children?’ I identified that they were from dysfunctional families and needed support. I teach reading, writing, art, we do lots of talking, hands on stuff. I encourage them to talk and reflect on how they have grown. They come from Papakura High school age range fifteen - eighteen years. The school is really pleased about what I am doing with them, it’s positive. I believe that you treat people how you want to be treated.

“I also home school two children. One gained a place in a prestigious ballet school in New York. The children were brought to me by their mother so they could learn Māori as they weren’t getting anything at the school they were enrolled in. The mother offered to pay but I said no (the mother is a podiatrist) she could just do my feet. So it’s a good swap. I am also
working with the marae running youth programmes doing art, harakeke/kowhaiwhai murals, raranga, and finance. I invited them all to my art exhibition to share and show them what one can be capable of doing. I use myself as a role model and lead by example.

“My Dad was illiterate. He never read or wrote and put all seven tamariki through education. On my graduation night my father took me - it was a Ball at the Auckland town hall. A lot of rich people were there. In fact many of the ‘girls’ who trained were from ‘rich’ backgrounds. I remember that Dad was so proud when I went up to receive my Diploma he clapped and shouted, “that’s my daughter”. He was the only one that did. They had a graduation waltz. Dad was a hit because he was such a good dancer. It was the first time he had a suit on, a borrowed one, and he kept saying they are looking at us. I will never forget that. I felt that I had brought respect to the family and led the way for the rest of them”.

Mera: “I know that for my own girl (8 years old), seeing her mummy study, write, teach and learn, is simply a natural part of our daily lives. Whether or not this influences her approach to learning I’m not sure, but typically of children her age, she is always eager to do her ‘mahi kainga’ (homework). She has talked of going to ‘university’ so that she can become a make-up artist or hairdresser! I think in her mind perhaps everyone goes to university. I would think it likely that because I now have a PhD, my siblings and nieces all now know how achievable that is, and may well at some stage choose that path also. Part of my present work is leading the MAI (Maori and Indigenous) Doctoral Programme at UoA. My role is to support doctoral candidates in their journey and conduct a programme of workshops and retreats throughout the year that add to that”.

Amanda: “The original qualification has been the Kākano but was advised/guided by a certain person (Elizabeth Pakai) that we need to continue studying and seeking higher education. She said, “Don’t sit on the original qualification, when you are in education you are expected to grow, to be aware and be globally aware you need to move the social consciousness”. A good example is the recent research which showed that too many of our people and therefore our tamariki are on or below the poverty line; medium wage 2006 was $16kpa - $17,600k. 90% of the population in the affected areas (Flaxmere and Camberley in Hastings) are Māori & Pacifica. So, the Māori population is growing, however, the income is below the poverty line. There needs to be social consciousness around what is happening to children/tamariki in these poverty areas. Flaxmere and Camberley are identified as struggling communities in the Hawkes Bay city of

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161 UoA – University of Auckland
Hastings. There is also no collaboration between ECE services that children can access, for example kindergartens don’t refer on tamariki families to other services where they could be enrolled. So the whakatauākī of Tamariki at the heart of the matter is bullshit. TW is the essence the base of what we do, although the ECE curriculum framework refers to the strands it does not speak about TW. So we have to continually fight for inclusion – a voice”.

Georgina: “My career choice has in no way influenced my children’s career choices. They chose totally different pathways. I think seeing their mother working hard ‘put them off’ because they often talk about it. Since completing my training I have had a wide variety of experiences within and across the sector and including Kohanga Reo. I have seen many changes occur across the sector from what was an elitist kindergarten sector to the acceptance and merging of wide and varied ECE sector. Specialist kindergarten training occurred during my time as a trainee and I have always felt this was an advantage because it was indepth and focused. The merging of teacher training across Universities has advantaged the individual but not necessarily the sector. I am transitioning towards retirement now and it is sad to observe the ECE sector constantly having to ‘fight hard’ to be heard and to be recognised. The early childhood sector is complex and I don’t believe that training currently prepares educators well for the variety and complexity they are likely to endure.

“At a student year reunion, [2007] the Māori attendees had all pursued a career in ECE, sought further qualifications, won leadership roles and positions within the sector and none of our Pākehā colleagues present pursued a career in ECE. Most married and left and a very few changed their careers but didn’t stay in them for long because they all married husbands who were able to provide for them. Our lives have ended up so differently”.

Elaine: “My basic teaching qualification has allowed me to do many things, be a teacher if I wanted and be a head teacher when I wanted to influence and make changes. I have worked across the ECE spectrum with the exception of Te Kohanga Reo; kindergarten, community and private child care, Barnardos, lecturer and now careers advisor. I upgraded to a degree a few years ago but I don’t think that the degree has given me the flexibility that the kindergarten teachers’ Diploma did. I still have an affinity with ECE I miss working with children. I want the college to open a centre as there are a lot of teen parents. My mother didn’t want me to do anymore school, she wanted me to “get a job”. She didn’t understand tertiary education, as she and her siblings were 14/15 when they left school and found a job. I did work in a factory for a while and this ratified my thinking about teaching. I spent my first year flatting with a teacher
from Hilary College and so Mum accepted this. I remain thankful for Mum and the teacher’s support. I’ve been in education for 32 years”

Terehia: “The initial qualification has been a major influence in my career from teaching to a lecturer at university - Diploma – Degree and Masters. I have three children, 11 moko and three moko tuarua [great grandchildren]. I encourage them to korero Māori. Some of the mokopuna attend Te Kohanga Reo. I go too just to see what they are learning and to support the kaiako. I think that I’m lucky to have had the opportunity to leave and go to school, Queen Victoria Boarding School. There are a lot of expectations now political, parent, staff are so loaded down that they don’t have enough time to absorb and reflect on what is happening, there is too much information. I think that my decision to be a kindergarten teacher was a good one. I have been able to work across sectors, able to have my children with me, I’m still in contact with people I meet back then and some children I worked with, they don’t forget you”.

Elizabeth: One of my best memories is that I ended up lecturing with three of the women who had taught me at Training College. I accepted a position at Auckland College of Education in 1989, twenty-two years after I graduated. I was part of the team delivering to the last group of students completing the 2 year Kindergarten Teacher’s Diploma. I was the only Māori lecturer on the team; however, the college was developing the 3 year Diploma of Education ECE, which involved the Child Care Certificate lecturers. The development team numbered 22 with three Māori. I often found myself in the position of protecting my old lecturers as they fended off unacceptable remarks about being too ‘old school’. I brought in TRMECE for support. In later years I based a 3 year Diploma of Teaching ECE on the ground work we did at the college in 1990. As part of the journey I completed a degree in Vocational Education and Training, because it suited what I was doing at the time in Vocational Education at Waiairiki Polytechnic and then a Master of Education (Educational Administration) which supported me in my role as Head of School and then National Manager.

5.7 Summary

This chapter allowed me to add my reflections, to include them alongside and or integrate with the participants’ reflections. This chapter, indeed, this research has given a voice to the participants, a place where they have been able to share their experiences without being judged. The research is not intended to “point the finger” at what was not appropriate for these participants. It was about what could be done to improve ECE for all Māori in the sector. The

\[162\] Kaiako - teacher
questions are: Did it? Did we? Reading about someone’s life experiences is one thing; doing something about it is another. Marakihau He Taniwha - she is intrinsic to us, she is who we are, what we became, to be heard in the increasingly busy and political world of early childhood education. This chapter has been about “speaking our truth”.

While many of the participants did not pursue higher qualifications, those of us who did set a precedence for what was to come in ECE, the “advancement” of the Diploma to an undergraduate degree. Personally I had set goals for myself, to retain my position in the tertiary sector I needed to advance my qualifications. Progressing higher qualifications became a necessity for those who would be delivering the Diploma that we had developed to be accredited by the NZ Teachers Council and the NZQA. Across the ECE sector teachers and lecturers were required to undertake postgraduate qualifications. This set a new standard for ECE. On the 8th of December 1967 Georgina and I graduated from Kindergarten Teachers Training College. Fifty years have gone by, that is cause for celebration. The guest speaker at our graduation, a Dr Barney, urged us not to consider the Diploma as the end of education. He said “you are entering a field which is expanding at a tremendous rate. We can no longer afford to regard preschool facilities as just custodial care but as a set environment where the child will learn” (New Zealand Herald December 12, 1967, source researchers personal file).

Interestingly the push to encourage Māori to join the teaching profession and to enrol at various universities had been an objective of the Education Department for many years. A group of identified Māori practitioners, Waimatou Rewiti, Te Ao Pehi Kara, John Rangihau, Huia Jahnke Monty Ohia and I, were selected to form a team who travelled throughout the North Island in 1985-86 charged with talking to secondary school students and also to groups of fluent te reo Māori speakers to enrol to become teachers. I recall that initially we had concerns about what we were doing. While we were willing to do the recruitment we were not sure that the programmes many of them would enrol in would suit them or, if they would ultimately meet the expectations of the Education and the then Maori Affairs Departments. The process did give Waimatou and me the opportunity to work with people who were role models to us in the Māori world. I felt privileged that I had the opportunity to work with and learn from them.
6 Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education Incorporated (TRMECE)

6.1 Introduction – Te Timatanga

This chapter identifies the real taniwha in this thesis; Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education Inc. The Runanga is the ihi, the mana motuhake for the research participants, the process for becoming Marakihau began within TRMECE. The chapter also includes the principles from the Statement of Intent (Department of Education, 1988) which identified the initial concepts or principles for Te Whāriki the ECE curriculum. This chapter identifies why and includes specific stories from individual research participants that substantiate this.

All research participants were Runanga members, all played a significant part at various times over almost 40 years of participating in the Runanga, undertaking various roles, instigating policies and procedures, and generally making sure that a Māori voice was heard throughout ECE and within government departments. While the interest and participation of the Runanga waned from time to time, when there was a reason such as the development of pre-service teaching programmes, for example, the Runanga like Marakihau emerged, ready to challenge. TRMECE could be identified as the “backbone” of this research. It is arguable that research participants may not have travelled as they did without the support and guidance of the Runanga, its members, and the kaupapa. Therefore, it is particularly important to me as the researcher and to all participants in this research to record, acknowledge, and celebrate the work that was undertaken and completed during the life of the Runanga. The Runanga was initially made up of 40 identified Maori kindergarten teachers, (researcher’s personal notes from the initial registration 1987) however, this number grew significantly when kindergarten and early childhood workers unions amalgamated following the Employment Contracts Act of 1989-91.

Whakapapa - Time Line for the development of the Runanga. (Pakai, 1999; Pakai, 2002).

- 1986
  - This initial Hui was called to bring together all Māori within the Trade Union movement, that Hui took place in Rotorua. From that Hui the plan to call a Hui for Māori teachers in kindergarten specifically was developed and the Hui at St. Josephs was called; KTA Māori members Hui - St Joseph’s Māori
Girls College in Napier (Appendix D). From there the movement grew until the ratification of the Runanga in 1987

- Inaugural Hui of Māori Child Care Workers and Kindergarten Teachers
- Māori representation to the KTA Executive Betty Campbell, aka Elizabeth Pakai and Georgina Kerr.

**1987**

- National KTA conference at Wainuiomata\(^\text{163}\) Marae
- National Māori early childhood teachers’ Hui, Ihumatao\(^\text{164}\) Marae in Auckland. Developed the constitution for the establishment of TRMECE.
- Nelson KTA Hui - Nelson Girls High
- Tauhara Centre - Taupo Call for independent Hui
- Changes to KTA constitution and executive composition. The appointment of Pākehā TOW monitors
- Establishment of Māori Kindergarten Teachers Register
- Involved in teacher recruitment.

**1988**

- Māori teachers and students Hui
- Taha Māori in ECE & Statement of Intent. Lopdell House Auckland. (Appendix F)
- Changes to the KTA constitution and Executive composition.
- Pākehā TOW monitors attend and monitor all KTA meetings
- Nga Toa Awhina establishment of their Runanga within the Public Service Association. KTA representation Betty Campbell (Elizabeth Pakai).
- Child Care Workers register established
- Māori representation on ECWU Executive.

**1989**

- Awareness of racism and anti-racist strategies for ECE. Lopdell House Co facilitated by the Department of Education and TRMECE members Jan Wineera (Huingangutu) Bronwyn Thurlow and Elizabeth Campbell (Pakai)
- Runanga Hui at Ihumatao Marae Mangere - Auckland

\(^{163}\) Wainuiomata is a suburb of Wellington with at the time of the conference a large Māori population.

\(^{164}\) Ihumatao is a marae located in Mangere a suburb in South Auckland. It is the Marae that Dawn, a participant grew up in.
o KTA Conference Dunedin - Constitution re-visited and a process to continue, changes relating to amalgamation into Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa (CECUA)
o Amalgamation of the Early Childhood Workers Union and KTA
o Review of all government education agencies
o Auckland College of Education - writing the 3 year Diploma of Teaching (ECE) Maori involved: Pera Tangare Royal, Puti Pere, Waimatou Rewiti165 and Betty Campbell166 (Elizabeth Pakai)
o Selection and entry into the new Education reforms such as: The Ministry of Education. The Education Review Office. The Early Childhood Development Unit and Pre-service Teacher Education.

• 1990
  o Amalgamation of ECWU and KTA
  o TRMECE representation on the Executive
  o Appointment of Te Takawaenga A Motu (National Coordinator Māori) Olive Hawira.
  o Establishment of the new education reforms.

The list of wānanga and working parties instigated the negotiations and development of policies and procedures within government departments, training providers, kindergarten associations, and child care services for the recognition and inclusion of tangata Māori including te reo and tikanga was significant. The period 1986-1989/90 was an extremely short period of time for the Runanga, supported by KTA, the National Council of Churches, and the Department of Education personnel to achieve such dynamic changes to the ECE sector. The achievement was a culmination of several years “ground” work where people such as Hine Potaka, Lex Grey, Amiria Pewhairangi, Waimatou Rewiti, and others including research participants prepared the way for the future. The significant documents that TRMECE established were:

6.2 A Statement of Intent

In my view The Statement of Intent (Department of Education, 1988, see Appendix F) had the most effect. It was the base for all changes that followed including Te Whāriki the ECE

165 Pera Tangaere Royal – Director of School AKC. Puti Pere and Waimatou Rewiti lecturers’ at Auckland College of Education.
166 Betty Campbell – my name prior to reclaiming my birth name.
The Statement of Intent was based on the Treaty of Waitangi and affirmed that the principals were morally, ethically, and legally binding. The ideologies that link the Statement of Intent to the development of Te Whāriki the ECE curriculum are:

- The right of each and every child of Aotearoa to be enriched in an environment which acknowledges and incorporates the values and languages of the tangata whenua.
- The early childhood curriculum (should) be infused throughout with “waiora” - a concept which recognises the existence of durable links between a person’s spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical states of life.
- The Royal Commission on Social Policy statement that “responsible citizenship in New Zealand requires that New Zealanders be well – informed about the Treaty of Waitangi”.
- To honour the Treaty of Waitangi (TOW) all early childhood policies and provisions need to be consistent with the principles of partnership, power and participation which are embedded in the Treaty”. (Pakai, 1999 and 2002).

The points identified were the significant ones. What followed was a list of “principals” that the working party to the Statement of Intent requested. Among the principals were the following (these have been “abridged” to cover the basic concept):

- That every child in ECE has the right of access to teachers and caregivers who were “steeped” in Tikanga and knowledge of tangata whenua.
- That all personell within ECE; employing bodies and Boards of Trustees must go through an approved and recognised anti-racism process with reference to TOW.
- That Resource Teachers of Māori specifically for ECE be developed and implemented. That teacher/worker exchange be implemented to support the implementation of the te reo and tikanga Māori strategy.
- That the advisory committee on childcare accreditation implement the recognition of Nga Kohanga Reo Training.
- That ECE, review and audit teams, the development of audio and written resources be developed and the cost met by the Department of Education.
- That a review of the initial teacher education training programmes be undertaken.
- That a recruitment process be implemented to ensure Māori are involved in the recruitment and employment processes.
- That advertising of all positions extend to Māori publications.
There were other recommendations listed as “general”:

- That a Māori group be established to support all in ECE. This role was delegated to TRMECE.
- That a National group be established to monitor all ECE pre-service, in-service programmes. That a Te Kohanga Reo representative be included.
- That tangata whenua be represented on all ECE administrative bodies.

6.3 The Curriculum:

- That waiora (spiritual, intellectual, physical, emotional, and wellbeing) infuse all areas of the curriculum. This is dependent on quality, personal relationship developed through team teaching.

The Statement of Intent 1988 (Department of Education, 1988) is unequivocally the base on which Te Whāriki He Whāriki Mātauranga mō ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa, the Early Childhood Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996) and all connected developments for its implementation and monitoring is founded.

The hui held at Makaurau Marae, Ihumatau in May 1989 confirmed TRMECE as a substantive Runanga and set the base for the Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa - Te Rau o te Aroha o te Kohanga ki Aotearoa. The development of what was called The “Cosmic Tree” (Appendix G) was instrumental in ensuring that all participants understood what was taking place. That the wānanga process was adopted by the New Zealand Educational Institute at a later date as discussed by Olive is a complement to the work that the group undertook.

The following includes research participants’ reflections about the Runanga Māori ECE. TRMECE was initially registered alongside the Kindergarten Teachers Association and as research participants have identified the Runanga was a big part of their professional lives and gave many of them the support to make positive changes for Māori women, tamariki, and mokopuna.

Olive; I remember that on the way home, from the National Hui at Wainuiomata in 1987, you [Elizabeth] and I wrote the Runanga constitution between Porirua and Taihape which was then passed at KTA and registered, as an Incorporated Society with the Companies Office. The constitution has a clause about selection rather than election of officers and so Sarah Mulheron [KTA President of the time] and I had to meet with the companies chair to explain that. The constitution was ratified. One of the things I said we were really good at was that we
took the Runanga concepts into every realm we worked in/with. A lot of the historical work we developed still applies.

Elizabeth: After the amalgamation of KTA and the Early Childhood Workers Union the Runanga needed to be re-registered with the Companies Office. For a variety of reasons this was not undertaken until the inaugural conference in 2002. However, the Runanga still operated as outlined in the Constitution from 1993 to 2002, managing to include representation at several Ministry and sector discussions ensuring that Māori were given a voice. Examples of this are Te Whāriki (the ECE Curriculum) the ensuing processes that followed Te Whāriki such as Desirable Objectives and Processes; The ECE Code of Ethics; Initial Teacher Education programmes; the Recognition of Prior Learning process; The Teachers Council of Aotearoa; The New Zealand Teachers Registration Board; Tertiary Education Commission; Ministry of Education; and The Education Review Office. All had representation from TRMECE and if we did not have a presence then a challenge was issued to the respective organisation. This took a lot of courage from such a small group within the sector, however, because we all believed in the kaupapa because we had developed the constitution over several Wananga. Appendix G, The Tree shows one of the processes that was undertaken during the development of the constitution it shows how the group identified as a Runanga and what the Runanga would stand for. Tino rangatiratanga and mana wāhine, it was these principles that members returned to often. The Runanga became a whāriki for many and also a korowai, something that we as members could return to often for guidance and support.

In addition to having a constitutional role the Runanga was active nationally and internationally co-hosted the 2007 ECE International Convention - Pakiwaitara telling our stories; The Runanga with Te Wānanga of Raukawa and Mana Tamariki co-hosted the First International Indigenous ECE Gathering - Te Puawaitanga, 2013. The Runanga hosted the 2015 International ECE Convention - He Wai Whakariporipo - Surviving the Storm - Riding the Waves, in ECE. The Runanga (Elizabeth) assisted the organising committee with the second International Indigenous Gathering in Songhese First Nations Territory in 2016. Elizabeth was a keynote speaker. The endurance of the Runanga is evidenced in all of the activities, the demise however followed, and in October 2017 I notified the Companies Office that the TRMECE would cease being a company from 2018.
6.4 Research Participants’ Reflections

Margaret: Te Runanga Maori - it gave us a voice. We know what we are talking about. We can trust ourselves. If we have a Runanga we can be safe. It is not Pākehā. It is Maori for Māori. When I think of what we put up with within the education sector, I don’t know how we survived. The Runanga helped me with this, it helped to shape teaching in our way, affected Te Whāriki, the regulations the diversity of opinions. I acknowledge your role in it, Elizabeth and also a big mihi to Ming and what she achieved in ECDU\textsuperscript{167}. I think about what we did as a Runanga making a stand, making a difference, being role models, being politically aware of the protocols. Māori women shape how we think, act. No one else can understand that. Marakihau is intrinsic in our stories; we owe it to the future to tell our stories. Miria Pewhairangi\textsuperscript{168}, she guided people into specific roles and that to some extent was the demise of the Runanga.

Elizabeth: Margaret’s last reflection is right. As the new Ministry of Education was being developed in 1989, Miria identified each person’s new role. Many of us took up the challenge and entered ministerial positions such as the Ministry of Education and its subsidiary the Early Childhood Development Unit. Some went into lecturer positions at various training colleges, management positions in various Kindergarten Associations, and some chose to stay within the teaching fraternity or joined education roles within the union. With all the positions we were challenged by our kaumatua, kuia, and communities to ensure tikanga and te reo Māori were integral in all aspects of the development of each office. I entered the Education Review Office and worked alongside Georgina and other Māori staff to work toward that. I also became the ERO representative to the Public Services Association\textsuperscript{169}.

One of the strategic developments that was instigated at an early stage of the Runanga, was the negotiation of a Māori advisory and support person in the Auckland Kindergarten Association\textsuperscript{170} (AKA). This was undertaken as we identified that AKA had the highest number of Māori kindergarten teachers. The Runanga wanted to ensure that they were supported in their teaching, knew that they had support and could call on Runanga members for that. The negotiation and development of the position proved challenging, however, we had the support of one of the AKA councillors, Hewitt Harrison, who after discussion with kindergarten staff

\textsuperscript{167} ECDU was a Ministerial group formed to manage the implementation of the changes taking place within the ECE sector in particular Te Whāriki and existed from the 1990’s to 2003.

\textsuperscript{168} Miria Pewhairangi was the first Māori Education Officer appointed to the ECE unit. Miria was Primary school trained but supported the Kindergarten sector. She was a mentor and guide to many of the Runanga members.

\textsuperscript{169} Public Service Association is the union that represents all Government agencies workers.

\textsuperscript{170} The Auckland Kindergarten Association was the largest Kindergarten Association in New Zealand at the time, located in Myers Park in central Auckland it became a focus for the Runanga.
Robyn Sigley, Moira [another participant], and the wider whānau group (the Runanga) wrote a memorandum to the AKA in 1989. The letter was supported by the staffing committee who approved “in principle” the establishment of a position to fulfil the responsibility of supporting and promoting bi-culturalism within AKA. The ramifications and necessary changes to AKA policies in particular and his inclusion of a “paramount principle” to be included in the AKA Early Childhood Management Handbook that: “Policies and Practises in Early Childhood Centres should reflect the dual cultural heritage of the parties to the Treaty of Waitangi”. This was major support for the Runanga. The letter substantiated the position including the salary range and support processes. (1989/90 Memorandum to AKA from author’s private collection). The position had a significant and positive effect on how AKA operated. Dawn (a participant), was appointed to the role and developed it until she left to take a short term position in the Early Childhood Development Unit (ECDU). Dawn was replaced by Karen, however, sadly with changes within AKA the role was dropped in 1994. Dawn recalls her time in the position.

Dawn: Yes I found that role hard but continued it to ensure support for Māori teachers and the implementation of the curriculum. This was before Te Whārikī. It was hard maintaining the impetus of the Runanga and bringing others on. I recognise that the Runanga achieved a lot and influenced many.

Mera: I drew great strength and inspiration from the older more experienced Māori teachers in the sector, particularly through both the trade union movement and the Runanga [Te Runanga Māori ECE]. Pākehā “supporters” within the sector were also important. They were able to convey messages to their own colleagues in ways that worked and that simply would not have been acceptable coming from us as Māori. That was very powerful.

Moira: The union and the Runanga played a major role and identified leaders (like yourself my dear) the whole experience was major and very empowering.

Elaine: the Runanga Māori supported and shaped my thinking, I did things that I would never have done such as being the Māori rep on the Auckland Kindergarten Association which was a valuable learning experience and was good for Māori and teachers. It built my mana and made me more aware of my role. It [the Runanga] strengthened Māori women in ECE representing Māori at national level. We all became “important” stepped up/into specific roles and became really busy. I never really understood the significance of the group until later. The Runanga underpinned my thinking and helped me grow.
Lynette: I was one of the people that attended a Māori combined union conference in Rotorua in 1986. I am proud of what we achieved in the Runanga. We worked hard to make changes that our tamariki and mokopuna hopefully will not have to repeat. We should celebrate and watch as the “seeds” of our mahi bear fruit. We are all kuia now, time for the younger generation to take over and for us to give guidance as our kuia did.

Olive: in 1990 I began attending the Tino Rangatira Hui where all four teaching sectors were brought together to develop a statement of purpose for the teaching of Māori. This group was politically motivated and were united in the pursuit of improving the active participation in the individual unions while they pursued an across the sectors amalgamation. A battle that quietly diminished as CECUA worked through and amalgamation with NZEI to form NZEI Te Riu Roa. I found it interesting that the TRMECE was ahead of the NZEI Māori unit in its planning and policies. 1993 saw the amalgamation of ECE with NZEI and it was the Māori unit that drove the name through. I remember that under guidance of Miria Pewhaiaarangi we didn’t like the idea of institutionalising Kaumatua. That was a big discussion during the amalgamation as we (ECE) didn’t want to marginalise them [kaumatua]. NZEI now have a Kaumatua position for goodness sake, so it allows us (the younger ones) to opt out of taking a lead with tikanga as there is “Kaumatua” to take care of that. I don’t think it is good as we (all Māori) are all responsible for this. I believe that it was the Māori kindergarten teachers who made the changes, who put the pressure on sectors to make the changes for Māori inclusion in education. I think we [the Runanga members] were the catalysts in making change, that we took risks in order to improve provision for Māori across the board.

I have been involved in the Union CECUA then NZEI since 1990 - 22 years. There are a huge number of Māori working in ECE - which includes TKR but they aren’t in the union. TKR don’t see themselves as ECE.

Maureen: Te Arawa, Ngati Whakaue. Grew up in Rotorua. (Kanohi kita interview at her home in Rotorua, May 2013, September 2015). Then Email communication).

Maureen: “the formation of the Runanga began in the late 1970s and 1980s was instrumental in bringing the need to change to a bicultural early childhood sector, incorporating the values and beliefs of tangata whenua (Māori) at a national and international level. Presentations were made at various ECE conferences across the country and generated a form of Māori activism. The Statement of Intent (1988) stated: ‘it is the right of every child of Aotearoa to be enriched in an environment which acknowledges and incorporates the values
and language of the tangata whenua’. Te Runanga was able to initiate practices around this statement. The dawning conscience at this time, caused many New Zealanders to understand for the first time what was meant by the cultural significance of language and how language enshrines its peoples living spirit. Members of Te Runanga led the sector into the convention’s call to innovation, creativity and future thinking. They were on the cutting edge of change-taking risks to explore the known and the unknown. The members became leading practitioners as competent and professional agents of change. I was blessed to be a part of this dynamic organisation. We all have a dream, and that is to transform lives, especially our own as practitioners. To make a difference, to appropriate an insight, a concept, a vision, so that one’s world is altered. Nietzsche’s famous aphorism is relevant here; “he who has a why to live, can bear with almost any “how”. Nietzsche, in Postman (1996). This applies as much to learning as it does to living. Te Runanga accepted this challenge into the future and so stamped an indelible mark on the future of culture, identity and language in the early childhood sector. The cultural evolution of Māori in Aotearoa has been a long process. Throughout this time, Te Runanga has played a leading role and I have been fortunate to have been a part of that journey. In fact, wherever there have been forums, be it to do with policy or practice, the Runanga has been there, ably led by their president Elizabeth Pakai; challenging, prompting, and always committed to the realisation of a truly authentic bicultural and bilingual early childhood sector.

“At the end of the day, it will be our tamariki who will lead the way into this bicultural heritage and so change the world for the better!”

An eloquent mihi - salute to TRMECE from one of our kuia.

6.5 Summary

Participants identified a desire to address the main questions of the research very early in their interviews, that is, the discussion around aspirations and contribution. I identified several areas that were linked, for example the comments around the development of Te Whāriki the early childhood curriculum and how Māori were represented in the multiple changes that were taking place during the time frame of this research and particularly the period of the mid to late 1980s.

When I reflect on the major changes TRMECE made during the 1980s and into the 1990s I realise what a strong group of women we were. We really were, probably still are Marakihau the taniwha within early childhood education who thrashed our tails and stamped
our feet to be heard. I am aware as this thesis goes to print that the review of the 1996 Te Whāriki is being completed. It would be an interesting project to undertake and analysis of the new document and compare it with the 1996 version, the Statement of Intent and the participants korero included in this chapter. I include it as a finding in Chapter Seven Conclusion.

Many of the original group have passed on (died), retired, or now work in isolation. The impetus may have subsided somewhat with the retirement of many of the original “drivers”. The younger generation perhaps, not having had the same struggles and or experiences as this group of participants, have to see a need to continue.

In October 2017 I presented the papers to dissolve the Runanga Māori ECE as an Incorporated Society (Appendix G). Established in 1987, disestablished in 2017 after thirty years, its time has been. Our tipuna would say “perhaps this can be seen as a good thing as it would imply that “all the work is done”. Ma te wa – Time will tell. Ka pu te ruha; Ka Hao te rangatahi. The old net is set aside; the new net goes fishing.
7 Findings and Conclusion – Whakamutunga

E kore au e ngaro; Te kakano I ruia mai I Rangiatea. I will never be lost – the seed that is planted in Rangiatea.\textsuperscript{171}

7.1 Te Timatanga – Introduction

This thesis began as a way to acknowledge, share, and celebrate wahine Māori in the kindergarten sector. It grew into something much bigger. Life stories that reminded participants of the journey they had taken, together, separately, then together again as TRMECE, then finally as part of this thesis. Some stories have been painful for them, however I believe that in the sharing they came to an understanding of what they had achieved and that they should, rightly, be proud of that. In the process of identifying the research questions, identifying and contacting possible research participants, negotiating supervision, and finally enrolling I began to refine the research into something that would be acceptable to the university PhD enrolment criteria. This final chapter looks back on the journey, identifies and discusses findings, and looks forward to ongoing research projects and writing.

As discussed in Chapter Four Methods, the significant interviews with participants began in 2012 and ended in 2016. Ongoing communication has been a mixture of telephone conversations, text messages, and emails and on occasion face-to-face through out the same period and into 2017. The most recent communication has been during the writing of Chapter Five: Becoming Marakihau - Participants Voices. This was to ensure that what was being included was what they wanted. I was unable to communicate with two participants who have passed away. Their korero is included as they are the oldest in the collective and have a unique view of the growth undertaken in ECE. Since they entered teaching in the mid to late 1950s, responses to this chapter were pleasing. There were no significant changes, two adding points for clarification, all other comments reaffirmed what they had originally said, and indeed in four cases developed them. Participants’ responses ranged from a short; “kapai”\textsuperscript{172} to paragraphs of additions that I needed to reflect on, sift through and add.

I assumed that participants would build their responses around the questions. I expected reflections about how they managed from the time they decided to attend training college to where their career journey lead them. I did not expect to find that every participant experienced

\textsuperscript{171} A Whakatauaki referring to the longevity of belonging.
\textsuperscript{172} Kapai – translated - all is well.
racial prejudice as students, as teachers, and as citizens. Some of the korero relating to this area was so “raw” it was therefore necessary for me to write it as they recorded it as it was so that it built on the original, significant research questions which were:

How do you think Māori women have helped shape teaching in early childhood education in particular the Kindergarten service in Aotearoa – New Zealand?

What have Māori Women’s Aspirations and Contribution been for Pedagogy and Practise in Kindergarten in the context of ECE?

As mentioned in Chapter Four Methodology and Methods and described by Bishop (1996), “the process has been described as spiral discourse” (p. 211). The research evolved over a long period of time, 2012-2017 as the time extended it brought together common “threads” or “themes”, that is, that there were similar experiences for all participants with regard to race, ethnicity, colour, teaching experiences, and professional development. In doing this the interrelatedness regardless of generational, tribal, whānau, or community backgrounds identified significantly that the ECE sector was and remains a place of uncertainty for Māori whether they are children, students, teachers, or parents. Telling these stories has been about recognising and naming participants’ experiences.

In the beginning I commenced what I thought would be a relatively easy, straightforward research project. My aim was to record Māori kindergarten teachers’ stories over a specific period of time, the 1950s to 1989. I wanted to investigate why they had chosen kindergarten teaching. I also wanted to know how their whānau, hapū, and iwi had informed and shaped their early lives to “grow” them into the people they had become. I wanted them to remember what their aspirations had been for kindergarten teaching and what their contribution was not only to kindergarten teaching but to their whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Narratives are relating people’s stories, interviewing them, recording them, analysing them, and then sending them back for review and comment to write up, simple right? Wrong! What began as a relatively easy, straightforward vision grew into a multi-level, multi-faceted research journey. A journey that took much longer than I expected or wanted, for that matter, and probably longer than any of the research participants imagined. The research took on a life of its own, the life of this research and the lives of the participants and others who contributed. The journey grew into one of discovery for the research participants and for myself. The journey was set with obstacles that I did not envisage. Questions emerged; how far back do I explore to investigate education for Māori? What about colonisation how did that impact on Māori men,
women, children, tikanga, and te reo? What about the research itself, what were my intentions for the research and what about any possible consequences for the participants, or, for myself? Edwards, (2007) discussed the “utility of story” and how “story provides prescriptions for practical and cultural behaviours”, (p. 4.) This research, and this thesis encompasses that concept. The practicality of choosing to become a kindergarten teacher, the reality of that choice as a student, a teacher and as a Māori woman came together in the research participants’ stories. For me as the researcher I celebrate that as a Māori woman undertaking research with other Māori women is exciting, not because this had never happened before, but because it had not happened in this context for Māori women in the Kindergarten sector.

The decision to undertake this PhD was not hard. The necessity to tell the stories of these Māori woman is an important addition to the history of the early childhood education sector. Indeed the stories are essential for understanding the history of ECE in New Zealand, with lessons that can be extended to international contexts. This alone was going to provide participants and myself with the opportunity to reflect on our contribution to the sector and how that contribution had affected us as managers of cultural change. While we may not have been aware of the impact our actions were having over the period 1985 to 1989, we were in fact making changes to how the kindergarten and later the ECE community related to and included Māori, indeed changing the culture within the sector. We were also influenced by the cultural changes that were taking place within New Zealand at the time. The effects of the stand at Bastion Point, the 1981 Springbok Tour, and Race Relations for example, were in the background as we formed our views and our specific changes. As I reflect on how we managed through the period and the changes that we effectley made, we were indeed managing a cultural and therefore educational change, remenants of which remain today.

There were other considerations though, such as how much information did I need or want? Where would I find previous literature to support my research in particular literature that related to the ECE sector and was written by Māori for Māori? What did I want to achieve and why? Suddenly there seemed to be more questions than answers. I needed to find the answers to some of the questions before I could proceed. Fortunately the research participants’ responses to the invitation to be part of the research assisted with this. When I approached them they were excited and eager to participate and commented, “when do we start”, “what do you want me to do”, “awesome about time Māori wrote for Māori”, “have you thought about this or that”, “it’s about time, I’ve been waiting for you to start”, and “well you are the only one who can tell the
full story ne?" Great support, all positive, although the last two comments were a surprise. I had not realised that the expectation was there, that put a new twist on the journey because with expectations comes responsibility. I asked myself what have I done? What am I doing? And then, well I have done it now! I just better get on with it. So after 5 and a half long years I am finally at the end. Years of reading, questioning, analysing, talking, and traveling from one end of the North Island to the other. Sending and receiving numerous emails, Skype, Zoom, and teleconference meetings with participants and supervisors. Mate/deaths, births, celebrations, and tears, laughter and stress, work and retirement.

7.2 Looking Back – Reflecting

In Chapter One I introduced the concept of the research, why I felt it was necessary to share stories of wahine Māori who had trained, taught and made contribution to the kindergarten service from the 1950s to 1989.

Chapter Two; Marakihau identified the rational for the research, why it was necessary for me as the researcher to have a pou, a guide and mokai to support me in the journey.

The choice of the title for this thesis is definitely right, Marakihau a taniwha who appears in many places, who shows strength, cunning, initiative and imagination in how she navigates the waters of change is a tribute to the women who have gifted their stories. For me personally it has been a journey of discovery, discovering who I was, reminding myself how I came to be who I am, and why I chose to investigate, interview, and share these stories.

Chapter Three includes relevant and related literature that would speak for and support the research participants and me when I needed to rationalise a point being made, or to confirm what I was discussing. This was particularly where I discussed how education was used as the colonising “tool” to subjugate Māori as a people. Chapter 3 also includes specific discussion about the subjugation of Māori women during the colonising period and the long term effects that has had on Māori women today.

Chapter Four identified and rationalised the Methodology and Methods used to work through the narratives, to link to Māori methodologies and Kaupapa Māori in particular.

The substantive chapter, Chapter Five Becoming Marakihau – Participants’ Voices is, for me the “heart” of the thesis. This is where the stories unfold and the participants are able to “speak”.

173 Ne? is used to highlight a question
I could have called the chapter “Te Puawaitanga” as it is a “flowering” of sorts. The participants, using their voices describe how their aspirations were informed, affected and determined by the life experiences they had as children and as pupils in various education systems. The chapter also includes discussion about their responsibility to whānau hapū and iwi why they chose to teach, where they chose to teach and how they managed the turbulent world of a Māori woman in ECE.

Kaupapa Māori research reflects qualitative research as both include attention to reflective practice. As described by Elliot (1976) and Pakai (2000) “on the job reflection” assists teachers to experience the benefits of studying their own teaching, it is “practical reflection” (p. 12) this case it gave the participants the opportunity to look back on and analyse their own lives, their teaching history, to reflect on how they taught, how they interacted with others, indeed how they contributed to the kindergarten sector. Early confirmation of participation and providing participants the research questions before the interviews allowed them time to reflect, thus empowering them to be able to contribute in an organised way. For Māori “oral storying” is important (Bishop, 1998; Carr, 1998). As Edwards, (2007) explained, “Story as an approach to framing the world is a feature of what has been termed ‘narrative theory’, a type of discourse for making meaning” (p. 6). Participants’ reflective practice, their personal narratives, cultural stories and links to whānau, hapū, and iwi are identified as influences on their narratives as they are the “informants” of their stories. Participants suggestions, their discussions, and their narratives gave me the opportunity to reflect and at times comment on my own experience’s within the sector.

My position as participant and researcher was never identified as an area for concern. What developed was a reciprocal relationship whereby during discussion the “roles” were subject to change, that is, rather than the researcher asking all the questions and recording the story, the participant controlled the process because it is their story that they were sharing. This too is empowering for the participant and makes the interview process a collaborative one and more in line with kaupapa Māori as it is based on whakawhanaungatanga. Participants showed a great deal of trust in my ability to analyse their stories, to understand and respect their position, and to write their stories in a credible and honest way. Finally I have realised that the way I write and how I think are more in line with kaupapa Māori than what I learned in English class. I begin at the end and work forward, reflecting and analysing as I go. I did not use the “normal” what Pākehā call a linear approach and often thought about my approach and how that it probably caused a lot more angst and work for me than needed. However that is how it was.
7.3 Findings

Is, has the significant question been answered? I would have to say that yes, it has been, the participants identified how they challenged and effectively changed what was happening for Māori in early childhood. The significant finding was the effect that strong, vocal wahine Māori had on the kindergarten, ECE, education, Trade Union, and Public Service areas. The processes that wāhine Māori within the (ECE) sector developed to work within Pākehā constructs generated a group of women that many Pākehā may not have encountered before. There were several occasions during the 1980s and into the 21st century where wāhine Māori challenged a decision and that challenge was met with surprise and sometimes anger. This was not only in the ECE teaching sector but also in the public services and trade union sectors. One that I recall clearly is when the Ministry of Education Recognition of Prior Learning\(^\text{174}\) for ECE teaching was being debated. I challenged the lack of “general”, or “mainstream” Māori on the working party and other respective working parties. The response from the Ministry of Education was that Māori were being represented by Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR)\(^\text{175}\), or, by a person who was married to a Māori. My response was that TKR did not see themselves as part of the ECE sector and that being married to a Māori did not make a person Māori. Where Māori were not represented I put an objection on behalf of Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education (TRMECE)\(^\text{176}\). This occurred on a regular basis and it was clear to us (TRMECE) that the challenges were causing some dissention among those who had spoken for Māori in the past. The result was that TRMECE were contacted regularly to put a nomination forward. Following our objection the RPL working party had two Māori appointments to the committee, and this became general practise for all other working parties or groups that were generated to develop specific ECE processes and or procedures. Examples are The ECE Code of Ethics, Te Whāriki the ECE curriculum, appointment and interview procedures for positions and accreditation processes for qualifications in particular respective Diplomas of Teaching ECE. Additional reflections on these positions are shared in participant’s specific narratives and in TRMECE.

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\(^{174}\) Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) was a process developed in the late 1990’s to give recognition to applicants who had completed various qualifications prior to applying for entry into an accredited pre-service teaching qualification.

\(^{175}\) Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR) is an early childhood Māori language nest and was generated in 1982 in response to the demise of Te Reo Māori

\(^{176}\) Te Runanga Māori ECE (TRMECE) is an Incorporated Society formed in the mid-1980’s to support and mentor Maori working in Kindergarten
the late Waimatou Rewiti\textsuperscript{177} stated, “If ‘we’ don’t stand up we don’t get included, our views aren’t heard, listened to or documented.” (Researcher’s personal notes 1989).

Participants stories of racism are a real concern as their recollections are as clear to them decades later as they were when they happened, human acts, racial comments, “put downs” individually are painful to the recipient, collectively they can be devastating. Fortunately the participants were strong enough to meet these challenges to rise above them and to move forward. That act alone made participants “different”, it grew them into activists, politically minded, politically and personally driven, determined to make changes to education that would have long term effects. I understood their korero and knew that they had not acted with personal gain or recognition as the intent. The intent was always for the benefit of others educators, politicians, and of course for tamariki and mokopuna. Individually and collectively that has been successful, however, as racism remains in our society it begs the question, what has changed between colonisation and today? It echoes Scott and Nairn’s (1983) paper “Racism the hidden agenda in Early Childhood”; does what they identified in 1983, still exist today?

The following are what I have identified as the main findings for this thesis that link back to the themes identified, to research participants, and my reflections of the period and can be developed into further research areas for any of the participants or for someone who is wanting to investigate the area further.

1. Te Runanga Māori ECE Inc. All participants belonged to and strengthened the Runanga. The Runanga gave participants an identity and a collective voice. With the Runanga as the “tool” TRMECE made long term changes to the ECE sector that remain to date. Te Whāriki the EC curriculum; The ECE Code of Ethics; the inclusion of Te Reo, Tikanga Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi in all areas of education, within the Trade Union movement and ultimately respective government departments, particularly the Ministry of Education. TRMECE had the biggest effect on the research participants and influenced their lives and mine for decades.

2. Race and Ethnicity. The racism that the research participants were subjected to was unacceptable, not surprising, but unacceptable. How participants managed through the racism as individuals and as a group is the way Māori and all other Indigenous peoples have met racism for generations. Not accepting it, learning how to respond, and

\textsuperscript{177} Waimatou Rewiti was a kindergarten teacher and lecturer in ECE, she influenced many of TRMECE members with her clear vision and passion for Māori. Waimatou passed away in 1992 and like so many before her left her mark in ECE.
maintaining individual mana and respect, choosing the “battles” are described by participants.

3. Being alone or being viewed as a “token”. This was discussed by several of the research participants as an area where they often felt “put upon” to be responsible for all things Māori. That they could speak on behalf of all Māori whether they belonged to the hapū or iwi or not.

4. Teacher recruitment and retention. Several research participants identified their concerns that there were not enough Māori teachers in ECE. That kindergarten and child care services expected, indeed wanted Māori children to attend their services yet they couldn’t see that if they employed Māori teachers then that would be the “instrument” to draw whānau Māori. Amanda’s 2012 research outcome showed this to be the case in Ngati Kahungunu, yet when she tried to discuss it she was called a racist and a separatist.

5. Choices for Māori. Research participants identified that Māori needed to have an education system based on tikanga and kaupapa Māori. That there needed to be curriculum changes to ensure the inclusion of te reo and tikanga Māori from ECE to tertiary education. That there needed to be respect shown to how Māori learnt, where they chose to learn, and by whom. That there needed to be a better recruitment process so that more Māori saw teaching as a respected and viable career.

6. That the Treaty of Waitangi must be taught across education so that all are familiar with and can apply the principles to everyday life.

7. That Māori need to be in decision-making positions. Not as a token so that equality is “seen” to be met, but as a right.

8. That there needs to be accountability, back and forward. That is by Pākehā to Māori and by Māori to Pākehā, mutual respect.

9. That an analysis between the 1996 Te Whāriki and the reviewed 2017 document be undertake. Note this was probably promulgated during the review process, however it would be an interesting process to undertake as part of a continuation of this thesis.

7.4 Limitations of the Research

This research presented in-depth narratives from 15 Māori kindergarten teachers and one kuia with a broad range of early childhood experience. Participants shared their personal and professional life stories during a specific period of time from the 1950s to 1989 with a glimpse into the 1990s and the 21st century. Participants shared their experiences as children, students, kindergarten teachers, mothers, and grandmothers, an intergenerational journey. I did not set out to provide any statistical data, the research did not require that. What I did set out to present
were the life stories, the lived experiences of Māori kindergarten teachers in their time. It may be that further research, a follow up perhaps, of current ECE (kindergarten) teachers’ experiences is undertaken, a collaborative research study to ascertain what changes have taken place since this research was undertaken.

7.5 Where to From Here? Looking Forward

“Would you tell me, please, which way to go from here?” asked Alice. “That depends a good deal on where you want to get to,” said the cat. (Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland*).

Alice’s conversation with the cat has an important message for us in education. Where do we want ECE to be in 10, 20 years from now? If I or someone else did a similar research in 10 years time (with a different group of Māori women) would the outcomes be the same? Given the findings for this research I think that they would be very similar. Why? Racial prejudice has not diminished in the last 60 years which is really the time frame for this research. When I consider Rama and Dawn’s stories and then Amanda’s in 2012, why would it have changed in the next 10 or 20 years? A rather pessimistic view, however a realistic one given the participants’ stories. Practices are based on values what values do we have in teaching? The early childhood Code of Ethics was integrated into The New Zealand Teachers Council Code of Ethics, and if they are based on values, then how are these practised? How is the Code “taught”, how is it monitored, and by whom?

It would seem that further research is needed in all of the areas identified in the findings. This may not be so much as identifying new areas for research, rather a process of supporting Māori who remain in education so that they can be strengthened and know that they have support when they need it. Finally “we” can have all the working parties, strategic planning, government agencies, Wānanga, policies, and procedures we want. What we need to do is to stop procrastinating, stop pontificating, and get on and “do” the hard work, because it is hard work and we have lost too many valuable people along the way.

I mentioned earlier in the thesis that the reader could be forgiven for thinking that many of the interviews were undertaken as a group, this was not the case. However, I would like to bring all the research participants together as a final “salute” to those who have passed and to celebrate their stories in an appropriate way. I also see this as an area for ongoing research.
Postscript

As Māori our lives are complicated, convoluted, intricate, and unpredictable. Expectations as we grow older extend too. We are expected to be seen at hui and wananga, to represent the whānau, hapū, and iwi, know what to do in whatever situation we find ourselves, to lead, be the mangai178 of the whānau. My role since retiring and returning “home” has grown far beyond what I anticipated. If I expected to return to a quite retired genteel “old ladies” life I was mistaken. Perhaps it was what the community expected, perhaps it was because of who and what I had become, whatever “it” was I soon became involved in community affairs, both Māori and Pākehā. Again I experienced the “aloneness” that of being the only Māori present at Pākehā community meetings, although there were subtle changes. As discussed in the body of the thesis, this occurrence was not unfamiliar to me or to any of the participants. We learned through trial and error how to manage the situation, this to some of the committees that I entered was “most” unusual and I could see and sense with some disappointment the reaction my presence created. Pākehā women welcomed my input, Pākehā men were more reticent, however once those who knew me and my background (whakapapa) introduced me, the new residents of the community relaxed. I have become a conduit between them and the Māori world, while they thought they were consulting with local hapū and iwi they realised that they needed to do more. The role though needs to be reciprocal; Pākehā communicating with Māori and Māori communicating with Pākehā.

He Tohu

As I worked toward preparing the thesis for submission, I had my moko kauae179 done, which was undertaken after many years of contemplation. One of my kaumatua told me in 1996 that he wanted to see our nannie’s moko on my chin before he died. I was not ready in 1996 or for many years after, however as the last of my father’s whānau died in June 2016, I knew it was time to acknowledge her passing and all of that line. Having a moko kauae is a major undertaking for a Māori woman. It is something that is not undertaken lightly as it represents the status of the person who is wearing it. For me it meant that I was representing

178 Mangai – Head of or leader
179 Moko Kauae, is a traditional Māori chin Moko, based on ones Whakapapa and life experiences.
all of my tipuna\textsuperscript{180} including those of my Irish and Indian heritage. The links to this thesis are multiple, I did it knowing I would become the mangai for my whānau, that I was representing my immediate family, and significantly, the woman in this thesis, it is a tohu, a sign of respect for everyone involved. I gave a great deal of thought to my decision as it is a tohu that I will wear for the rest of my life, it defines me.

As Mera explained in her thesis:

Māori women have an identity that is unique to them and their ancestry. Moko has been shown to be an effective expression of that identity and one which to their wellbeing as Māori women. The voice of Māori women has been silenced in many ways through the process of colonisation. Moko provides another narrative through which the silencing is directly challenged. (Penehira, 2011, p. 216)

I cannot think of a better way to conclude this thesis than with that statement. Mauri ora!!

\textsuperscript{180} Tipuna, ancestors
## Glossary of Māori Terms

Please note, the glossary of Māori words are referred to in related footnotes. The following glossary includes reo Māori that is frequently used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aromarau</td>
<td>Remembering, reflecting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haka</td>
<td>A dance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hapū</td>
<td>Smaller or sub tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hau Kainga</td>
<td>The home place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hine nui Te Po</td>
<td>Goddess of death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>Gathering or meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwi</td>
<td>Main tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiako</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaitiaki</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakano</td>
<td>The seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai Karanga</td>
<td>A person who calls, a woman or women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanohi</td>
<td>Face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakia</td>
<td>Prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaumatua</td>
<td>Male elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaupapa</td>
<td>The purpose, or a reason.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawa</td>
<td>Cultural practices, traditional procedures and beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kete</td>
<td>A basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koha</td>
<td>Gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōhanga Reo</td>
<td>Language nest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korero</td>
<td>To speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koro</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korowai</td>
<td>A cloak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuia</td>
<td>Female elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kura</td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kura Kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>Māori language primary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>Common terminology to encompass all indigenous iwi and hapū of Aotearoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangai</td>
<td>Protector or acknowledged leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana</td>
<td>Prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldest or, older than</td>
<td>Tuakana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The deceased body</td>
<td>Tupāpaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestor/s</td>
<td>Tupuna/Tipuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A place of belonging</td>
<td>Turangawaewae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women or woman</td>
<td>Wāhine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs, singing</td>
<td>Waiata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother or aunty</td>
<td>Whaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>Whakāro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overarching</td>
<td>Whakaruruhau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Whakawhānaungatanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Whānau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>Whare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mat</td>
<td>Whāriki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A women’s womb</td>
<td>Whare Tangata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of higher learning</td>
<td>Whare Wānanga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKA</td>
<td>Auckland Kindergarten Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACE</td>
<td>Auckland College of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CECUA</td>
<td>Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECE</td>
<td>Early Childhood Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECWU</td>
<td>Early Childhood Workers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERO</td>
<td>Education Review Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTA</td>
<td>Kindergarten Teachers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEF</td>
<td>Māori Education Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZARE</td>
<td>New Zealand Association for Research in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZEI</td>
<td>New Zealand Education Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZPPTA</td>
<td>New Zealand Post Primary Teachers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPL</td>
<td>Recognition of Prior Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKR</td>
<td>Te Kōhanga Reo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOW</td>
<td>Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Treaty of Waitangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRMECE</td>
<td>Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education (Inc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUEA</td>
<td>Trade Union Education Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW</td>
<td>Te Whāriki He Whāriki Mātauranga mō ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa Early Childhood Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UoA</td>
<td>University of Auckland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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National Education. (July 1962) Institute pledged to more interest in Māori Education.


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Appendices


- The Māori population grew 10,900 (1.5 percent).
- New Zealand's estimated Māori population was 734,200, up 1.5 percent from the estimate for the previous year.
- There were 358,400 Māori males and 375,800 Māori females.
- The median ages for Māori males and females were 22.9 and 25.9 years, respectively.

1. Total Māori estimated resident population of New Zealand, by single-year of age, five-year age group, broad age group, and median age, 1991–2017
2. Male Māori estimated resident population of New Zealand, by single-year of age, five-year age group, broad age group, and median age, 1991–2017
3. Female Māori estimated resident population of New Zealand, by single-year of age, five-year age group, broad age group, and median age, 1991–2017

Liz MacPherson, Government Statistician
ISSN 2382-2295
15 November 2017
Articles regarding inclusion of Māori in kindergarten and teaching Māori children the English language.

Transcribed: Nursery School Idea to Teach Maori child English. (Auckland Star 18.3.1961) Wanganui Saturday (PA) Educationalists hope to establish nursery schools for Māori children to help them overcome the language problem the officer for Māori schools, Mr. R. Bradly, said yesterday. Mr. Bradly said the Māori child starts school with a lower knowledge of English than the European child. "This handicap was never made up. Although he progressed through school at the same time as a European child. Mr. Bradly was supportive of the 24th Annual Conference of the Dominion of School Committee Associations. He said Māori parents were anxious about learning the language and about sending their child to school. Remote areas. It is only in recent years that much English has been spoken in remote areas Mr. Bradley said. The older groups in most districts had spoken nothing but Māori and this had handicapped the children in school life. He said. It had been suggested that both languages should be taught in
school, some believing that the teaching of both languages would help with the other. But there were several difficulties, from district to district some were thirty years ahead of others and it was feared that qualified teachers might leave and leave the school with no requirements at all.

Auckland Star 8.05.1965

Transcribed: Pre-Schooling Helps Maoris Reach Potential (Auckland Star 8.5.1965.
One of the most significant developments in Maori education is the increasing interest in various forms of pre-school education, the Education Department’s Maori Education Officer Mr.D.M.Jillett today told the Federation of Maori Students at Ardmore Teacher’s College. Success in the field of pre-school Maori education could close the present gap when formal education began said Mr.Jillett. With the growing awareness of pupils’ problems this doesn’t
mean that Maori children are likely to achieve their potential. As important as this would be for the Maori race. It has equal significance and value for the community. He said. Maori people in touch with the day to day world in general would agree that identifying teaching problems with Maori was important. Improvement. With so many articles working for improvement and with the growing awareness of many Maori parents that the future of their race depended on regular schooling. There was reason to look forward with confidence to great improvements in Maori education in the immediate future. Said Mr. Jillett. Taking special note of language difficulties, Mr. Jillett said, most Maori children suffer a severe language demise of Maori language background. Home circumstances are often responsible and pre-school experts tend to lack remedies. Not easy.
Pre-school years key to Maori education

Wellington correspondent.

If the Maori child is to be given a school on an equal footing with the Pakeha he must receive adequate pre-school training. Mrs. Blanca Sanyo, representing the Maori Women's Welfare League on the Maori Education Committee, told the meeting yesterday.

"An adequate pre-school education is vital for the future of the Maori child. At present there is a great need to develop more facilities for Maori pre-school children, both in urban and rural areas. Too many children are already behind in education before they start school. Education needs to start as soon as possible, especially for Maori children who often lack the cultural and educational background of many Pakeha children."
MAORI CHILDREN NEED KINDERGARTEN

Maori children desperately need the kind of pre-school play and learning experiences which a kindergarten offers. More than any other group, Maori youngsters are inhibited by a paucity of language which paralyzes their ability to learn and impairs the growth of personality, said Miss I. J. Christison, speaking yesterday at the annual conference of the New Zealand Union of Free Kindergartens in Invercargill.

Miss Christison is the supervisor of pre-school education with the Department of Education and sees kindergartens and play centres as vital adjuncts to the proper growth and development of, in particular, Maori children.

"Ten years at school does little to narrow the gap between Maori and pakeha; if anything, it tends to widen it. The child who starts school labouring under a language handicap problem often never makes the grade at all, and this language problem is a very real one with the Maori child of today," said Miss Christison.

Today's Maori parents do not, in the main, speak their native tongue, and many of them have a poor grasp of English. They cannot pass on to their children the range of talk needed by the pre-school set and their partially tribal way of life tends to diminish the close parent-child concept of pakeha society.

No Link

The "extended" family set-up of the Maori places elders with grandparents with parents and children with children. Without a close mother-child link the toddler has no real way of identifying with a responsible adult and of modelling its behaviour on him.

The kindergarten teacher can provide that model if she is able to absorb a number of Maori youngsters in her class and if she wins the cooperation of the Maori parents.

Generally, says Miss Christison, the Maori mother is like any other; she wants the very best for her child, even although at times she may be unsure how to achieve this. The lack of parent-child communication in Maori families is one example.

Today, said Miss Christison, the Maori is no longer a rural race. More than 50 per cent of the Maoris live in urban areas, either in closely settled inner-city streets or in vast state housing tracts. Neither provides the intimate family atmosphere the Maori is used to.

Play Groups

Mobility of Maoris is another factor hindering the easy progress of their children. While many Maori men are seasonal workers and while many Maori women work, further north, clearing at night, family life can be difficult and the shifting of the unit from place to place makes it difficult for the child to have the safety and stability demanded in early life.

Realizing this, many Maori mothers further north have, themselves, begun small family play groups, where mothers and children meet on an informal basis to play and talk and have fun together. This parent-child fun was never a feature of Maori life before, said Miss Christison. Maori families work together, but rarely play together, and even today a Maori mother must especially be encouraged to read nursery rhymes to her toddlers, to dance and play with them.

Such encouragement comes first and foremost from pre-school centres, from kindergartens and play groups, but there is a need for the understanding of the under-fives and the under-twos can give others confidence in the directing of supervising activities.

Given the chance, the Maori mother is a generous and willing worker for a kindergarten, sparing neither time nor effort and grateful for the chance to see her child make progress.

Substantial Increase

During the past three years, said Miss Christison, the Maori roll at kindergartens in New Zealand has increased substantially and with the steady flow of Maoris into urban areas greater provision still must be made for these New Zealand children who are more in need than most of kindergartens places.

The pattern of Maori family life is changing but it still differs greatly from that of the average pakeha. Decisions are made slowly and thoughtfully with grandparents, uncles and aunts all having a say. This attitude must be respected and understood. Once committed, the Maori parent wanted action, and should see it.

Language was still the greatest barrier for the Maori five-year-old. The culturally deprived child, it is said, lacks the sort of stimulating play which encourages him to talk and, says Miss Christison, the child who doesn't talk, doesn't pay. He tends to become inactive for long periods and the utter silence of little Maori children is still a problem for infant teachers at New Zealand primary schools.

Appendix C: Research Questions.

Marakihau – A study of Māori Kindergarten Teachers 1950’s – 1989

PARTICIPANT QUESTIONS.

Tena koe, following my earlier contact with you I would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in this research.

As previously identified the doctoral study is aimed to record your story; as such it will involve the gathering and presentation of individual personal/professional life histories which will be set alongside my own autoethnographic narrative of being a Māori kindergarten teacher. It is an opportunity for you to identify and discuss the influences that may have contributed and informed your teaching practice. The research may encourage discussion on how you as one of these women shaped teaching in early childhood education specifically and teaching in Aotearoa/New Zealand in general. The research may also explore how whānau, hapū and iwi aspirations and or expectations developed teaching practise and shaped you as professional practitioners in the sector.

The nature of the questions has not been pre-determined as such and may vary as you and other participants identify other areas of interest. The development of questions will also depend on how the interviews progress. You will be informed that if the questions or interview develops in any way that makes you feel uncomfortable then you may decline to answer any specific question(s) and may withdraw from the project without disadvantage of any kind.

• **Personal information:**
  - Personal information which will be collected such as age on entry to training college; whānau/parents names; teaching career; reasons for breaks in service, will be approved by you prior to any inclusion in documentation. The information will not be included if your approval is not given.
  - You will be given the opportunity to use a pseudo name if you choose.

As an integral part of the study you will be asked to:

- share your memories and experiences about your preparation for teaching (initial teacher education)
  - Share memories, reflections and experiences on teaching during your ‘time’.

For example:

Describe some of the influences that informed your practice, what or, how you believe Māori teachers influenced teaching in the kindergarten service and what changes have been made to include Māori’
- Your first day at ‘training college’
- Your overall experience as a Māori student of that time?
- Curriculum implementation - changes from college and reality
- Views on current practices
- Whanau, hapū and iwi influences
Specific Questions:

WHAT HAVE MĀORI WOMENS ASPIRATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS BEEN FOR PEDAGOGY AND PRACTICE IN KINDERGARTEN IN CONTEXT OF ECE?

What was it like being Maori in a mainstream – mono-cultural environment in that period of NZ?

ASPIRATIONS:

- Why did you choose early childhood education?
- What lead you to choose kindergarten teaching?
- What or who helped or influenced your decision to teach ECE?
- Once you had decided to become a kindergarten teacher what were your personal aspirations for the role.
- What did you expect the teaching role to include?
- How did whānau, hapū and iwi influence your choice; thinking and practice?
- Was/is there a responsibility back to iwi; whānau & hapū?
- If so
  - how was/is this managed
  - what form has/did the responsibility take
  - what were/are the expectations.
- How has your career choice influenced your whānau career choices
  - Siblings
  - Extended whānau
  - Own tamariki
- Did your first day at “training college’ met your expectations?
- What was your overall experience as a Māori student of that time?
- What or who helped you progress?
- Te Runanga Maori ECE, what was the purpose for establishment?

CONTRIBUTION:

- Do whānau, hapū and iwi remain a significant factor in how you participate and practice?
- Were you immediately involved in your tamariki ECE as;
  - Teacher; parent
  - Were you happy with what was available
- Are you involved in your mokopuna ECE environments?
- What role did/have you and other Māori teachers have in the development of Te Whāriki – the ECE Curriculum?
- How do you think Te Whāriki has influenced the sector?
  - What changes have you witnessed?
  - Is there room for further change?
- How has your initial teaching qualification assisted you in developing and or advancing your professional career?
- Describe some of the influences that informed your practice, what or, how you believe Māori teachers influenced teaching in the kindergarten service and what changes have been made to include Māori’?

PEDAGOGY:

- What were the teacher and curriculum guides or documents when you were a ‘student’?
  - Do you think they were adequate to prepare you for teaching in the sector?
    - If yes – why?
    - If no – why?
- Were there any factors that you think could have enhanced your preparation?
- What are/were some of the key influences on your practise?
  - Describe a ‘typical’ practicum?
  - How were you prepared?
  - How were you involved in choosing the placement?
  - What mentoring did you receive from
    - Supervising teachers
    - Whānau
    - The kindergarten committee
    - Other students
      - Were clear expectations given?
      - How were you received into the environment?
      - What was the overall experience like?
- Please share your views on current practices in relation to:
  - Initial teacher education/preparation
  - Regulations and compliance
  - Participation
  - Representation
- What do you think has happened to ‘play’ – has anything happened to play?
- Transition to school- how has that changed?
- How do you think Te Whāriki has influenced the sector?
  - What changes have you witnessed?
  - Is there room for further change?
    - Do you believe Te Whāriki is ‘working’?
    - Do you think Te Whāriki needs to be reviewed?
    - If so by whom?
- Were you immediately involved in your tamariki ECE as;
  - Teacher; parent
  - Were you happy with what was available?

PRACTICE:

- What were the teaching and curriculum guides during your preparation for teacher education?
  - Do you think they were adequate to prepare you for teaching in the sector?
- If yes – why?
- If no – why?
  - What do you think could have enhanced your preparation?
  - What are/were some of the key influences on your practise?
  - What were the opportunities for practical experience like?
    o Describe a ‘typical’ practicum
- How were you prepared for teaching practice?
- How were you involved in choosing the placement?
- What mentoring did you receive from
  • supervising teachers?
  • Whānau?
  • The kindergarten committee?
  • Other students?
    o Were clear expectations given?
    o How were you received into the environment?
    o What was the overall experience like?
- Views on current practices
  o Do you compare with current Initial teacher education/preparation and your experience?
  o Regulations and compliance, how have they changed?
  o Participation, what are your thoughts on this?
  o Representation, are Maori well represented in ECE now?
Appendix D: Ethics Approval and information for research participants

Marakihau – A study of Māori Kindergarten Teachers 1950s – 1989

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS.

Tena koe, following my earlier contact with you I would like to thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate I thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and I thank you for considering my request.

The aim of the project, titled Marakihau: A study of Māori Kindergarten Teachers 1960s - 1980s is to document the personal and professional histories of several Māori kindergarten teachers from the time of the decision to become a kindergarten teacher and the journey through the service as professional practitioners. It is a historical narrative following Māori kindergarten teachers through the period 1960’s to 1989, primarily in the Auckland area, however the study may include participants identifiable from across Aotearoa/New Zealand. The doctoral study is aimed to record your story; as such it will involve the gathering and presentation of individual personal/professional life histories which will be set alongside my own autoethnographic narrative of being a Maori kindergarten teacher. It is an opportunity for you to identify and discuss the influences that may have contributed and informed your teaching practice. The research may encourage discussion on how you as one of these women shaped teaching in early childhood education specifically and teaching in Aotearoa/New Zealand in general. The research may also explore how whānau, hapū and iwi aspirations and or expectations developed teaching practise and shaped you as professional practitioners in the sector.

Participants:
The participants I am planning to interview are Māori Kindergarten Teachers from the 1960’s to 1980’s, primarily in the Auckland area, however the study may include those identifiable from across Aotearoa/New Zealand.

- Recruitment method:
  - Telephone and email contact with those I have contact information for Personal archival information

- Exclusion criteria:
  - Those who trained and taught prior to 1960 and after 1989.

- Number of participants to be involved
  - Approximately 15-20

- Details of compensation/reimbursement of expense/payments offered for participation (where relevant)
o No remuneration, compensation or other reward will be offered in exchange for your participation in the project.

• **Description of any benefit or access to information which the participant will have access to as a result of participating in the research**
  o As a participant you will have access to your specific information in either written or pen drive, online or CD. The information will not be included in the research until you have reviewed the information and agreed to proceed. Once the research has been completed you will have access to the full thesis. I may also consider presenting a report to all participants as each chapter is completed.

• **Should you agree to take part in this research study/project, you will be asked to:**
  o Share your memories and experiences about your preparation for teaching (initial teacher education)
  o Share memories, reflections and experiences on teaching during your ‘time’.
  For example:
  Describe some of the influences that informed your practice, what or, how you believe Maori teachers influenced teaching in the kindergarten service and what changes have been made to include Māori’
  These may include:
  - Your personal experience as a child in an ECE environment, if there was anything available?
  - How you came to choose kindergarten teaching?
  - Why you chose it?
  - Your first day at ‘training college’
  - Your overall experience as a Maori student of that time?
  - What or who helped you progress?
  - How did the whanau, hapū and iwi influence your thinking and practice?
  - What role did/have you and other Maori teachers have in the development of Te Whāriki – the ECE Curriculum.
  - How has your initial teaching qualification assisted you in developing and or advancing your professional career?

The nature of the questions have not been pre-determined as such and may vary as you and other participants identify other areas of interest. The development of questions will also depend on how the interviews progress. You will be informed that if the questions or interview develops in any way that makes you feel uncomfortable then you may decline to answer any specific question (s) and may withdraw from the project without disadvantage of any kind.

• **The procedures in which you the participant will be involved**
  o As a participant you will be contacted individually and the research project verbally described; initial, verbal, agreement to participate will be asked.
  o Once verbal permission has been given, the researcher will then forward all documents for formal approval including information as to the purpose of the research and why you have been asked to participate.
  o As a participant you will be given a copy of the research application and ethics approval.
• As a participant you will be asked to undertake an interview of between 1-3hrs to talk about their respective career in teaching.

• **Time commitment:**
  o While the amount of time is identified as between 1-3 hours, respective participants may want to share additional information; if this happens time will be negotiated and determined by you. Time may include communicating through emails or telephone and will defiantly include a face-to-face interview where the conversation will be recorded using video and or audio whichever is acceptable to you.

• **Do you require any support or health and safety processes to deal with adverse physical or psychological risks associated with participating in the research**
  o If the research or interview proves to be uncomfortable for you as a participant you will be able to disengage and if you choose – withdraw.

• **Are there any discomforts, risks or inconvenience to you as a participant as a result of participation**
  o While no discomfort or risks are anticipated, if, during individual and/or group interviews, topics generate discomfort, you have the right to ask for the topic to change, or for the interview to cease.
  o Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

• **Collection of data and information:**
  o You will be recorded using audio, video and written processes. The recordings will be transcribed and edited. If you agree to being videotaped and or photographed. The video recording and or pictures may be used as part of a conference presentation.

• **Personal information:**
  o Personal information which will be collected such as age on entry to training college; whānau/parents names; teaching career; reasons for breaks in service, will be approved by you prior to any inclusion in documentation. The information will not be included if your approval is not given.
  o You will be given the opportunity to use a pseudo name if you choose.

• **Access to the data or information:**
  o Access to the data will be for the researcher only; the two supervisors will have access to the analysis of the data.
  o Once the thesis is completed all participants including any funding group and the Early Childhood community will have access.
  o If the research is developed into a publication (book) you will be informed that you have the opportunity to agree, to correct, delete or change any information. You will also be reminded that you can use a pseudo name if you don’t wish to be clearly identified.

• **Commercial use:**
• It is not envisaged that there will be any commercial use of the data. The information collected may be used as part of a book intended for publication.

**Data security:**

• The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that the researcher only is able to gain access. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

**Anonymity:**

• The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

• Due to the nature of the research if the research is developed into a publication (book) you will be informed that you have the opportunity to agree, to correct, delete or change any information. You (the participant) will also be informed that you can use a pseudo name if you don’t wish to be clearly identified.

• The research will be published and presented in the form of conference presentations and a thesis.

• On the Consent Form you will be given options regarding anonymity, including the following statement:
  “Please be aware that should you wish every attempt to preserve your anonymity will be made. However, with your consent, there are some cases where it would be preferable to attribute contributions made to individual participants. It is absolutely up to you which of these options you prefer and you are invited to use a pseudo name”.

“This proposal has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Education, University of Otago”.

• You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

• If you have any questions about the project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Elizabeth Pakai and/or Professor Dr Helen May or Dr Alex Gunn
College of Education
University Telephone Number [034794261] University Telephone Number [034794261]
Email Address [helen.may@otago.ac.nz] Email Address [alex.gunn@otago.ac.nz]

This study has been approved by the Department stated above. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479-8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome...
Marakihau Consent Form:

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-
1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information [video-tapes / audio-tapes notes] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years.
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes questions regarding the doctoral study - Marakihau: A study of Māori Kindergarten Teachers 1960s - 1980s and includes questions regarding my reflections on the experiences I have had as a student teacher and as a teacher in the kindergarten sector. The precise nature of the questions which may be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind. I am aware that I can use a pseudo name if I choose.”
5. Discomfort or risks;
   No discomfort or risks are anticipated. If however during individual and/or group interviews, topics generate discomfort, I have the right to ask for the topic to change, or for the interview to cease.
6. Remuneration or compensation issues, or any external funding, or commercial use of the data;
   No remuneration, compensation or other reward has been offered in exchange for my participation in the project.
7. I understand that the results of the project may be published and available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) the research may be published and presented in the form of conference presentations and a thesis however every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
8. I am aware that should I wish my anonymity will not be disclosed, or that I may choose a pseudonym.
9. I am aware that there are some cases where it would be preferable to attribute contributions made to individual participants I therefore consent to my identify being disclosed

Or

I choose to use a pseudo name.
I agree to take part in this project.

............................................................

............................... (Signature of participant)  (Date)
Appendix E: Hui Notice

MAORI KINDERGARTEN TEACHERS
AND EARLY CHILDHOOD WORKERS HUI
Saturday 23 - Sunday 24 August
St Joseph's Maori Girls College
Osier Road
Greenmeadows
Hawke's Bay

Travel and accommodation expenses met
by NZFKEYA and Trade Union Training
Board. Contact National Office
Phone 849889 ext. 68,
PO Box 466, Wellington.
Appendix F: A Statement of Intent.

TE TAKE ........ STATEMENT OF INTENT ....

TAHA MAORI
IN
EARLY CHILDHOOD
EDUCATION

National Residential Course: Loppell Centre, Auckland, September 1988
Appendix G: Te Runanga Māori Early Childhood Education – The Tree
CERTIFICATE OF INCorporation

of

TE RUNanga Maori early childhood education
Incorporated
(HN/1193853)

This is to certify that TE RUNANGA MAORI EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INCORPORATED was incorporated under the Incorporated Societies Act 1908 on the 1st day of March 2002.

Neville Harris
Registrar of Incorporated Societies
1 March 2002