

Marae ā-kura

Tracing the birth of marae in schools

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KEY POINTS

- Marae ā-kura not only teach Māori, but they also enable Māori to be Māori, to learn and teach as Māori, and to live as Māori at school.
- In this study, three marae ā-kura in mainstream secondary schools were researched using a pūrākau approach within a kaupapa Māori methodological framework. Researching the history of each marae ā-kura was identified as a vital task by the campuses involved, given the transient nature of secondary school students, staff and families
- Marae ā-kura began amidst the wider kaupapa of cultural regeneration, and they are also a response to state school policies of assimilation, integration, and Taha Māori. Marae ā-kura represent the aspirations *of Māori* as well as the Government's aspirations *for Māori*.
- Regardless of government intentions, marae ā-kura have produced strong marae whānau with deep and enduring connections to one another as well as to local hapū and iwi. They express the kaupapa of commitment to educating Māori students *as Māori* and understanding that at the heart of Māori education is Māori language, culture and knowledge.

Marae ā-kura (school marae) have been part of the New Zealand educational landscape for nearly 30 years. Marae ā-kura began amidst the wider kaupapa of cultural regeneration; they are also a response to state school policies of assimilation, integration and Taha Māori. Marae ā-kura represent the aspirations of Māori as well as the Government's aspirations for Māori. This article considers two strands in the whakapapa of marae ā-kura: a Māori-led initiative to revitalise Māori language and culture in schools; and the Government's selective inclusion of Māori culture in the curriculum. Marae ā-kura provide a context to not only teach Māori, but to learn as Māori.

Marae ā-kura (school marae) have been part of the New Zealand educational landscape for nearly 30 years. In 1978, one of the first marae established in a secondary school in Auckland was Kākāriki Marae at Green Bay High School, West Auckland, led by Pat Heremaia (personal communication, 10 May 2010). Today, the Ministry of Education estimates that 99 marae ā-kura exist within secondary schools,¹ and it officially endorses marae ā-kura as a way to better engage with Māori parents, whānau and communities (Ministry of Education, 2000). Despite the popularity of school marae, there is little research about the historical context in which they were created, the key drivers of what has been described as a “radical innovation” (Heremaia, 1984), and the aspirations of Māori to establish such a cultural institution within the environs of the mainstream secondary school.

The way marae ā-kura came about is particularly interesting because, as Wally Penetito (2010) points out, “it is also probably the only Māori structure that exists within education, and is based on a traditional institution that dates back more than a thousand years” (p. 123). Given its precarious position within the monocultural environs of the school setting, the marae represents the aspirations *of Māori* as well as the Government's aspirations *for Māori*. While these aspirations may appear at times to converge, there are inevitable tensions that arise from a relationship between two distinct cultural groups with different values, beliefs, world views and philosophies, as well as different access to resources, control and power.

As a kaupapa Māori researcher, I believe one way of exploring this modern intervention is to consider the whakapapa of marae ā-kura. In Māori terms, everything has a whakapapa—a genealogy that determines one's sense of belonging as well as obligations and responsibilities to the whānau, hapū

and iwi. Traditional tribal meeting houses are where tipuna—personified and cared for as ancestors. Therefore, the exploration of the whakapapa of marae ā-kura is consistent with Māori understandings of being and knowledge. In his discussion of mātauranga ā-iwi (Māori tribal knowledge), Wiremu Doherty (2009) explains:

Through whakapapa, three important elements—people, land and knowledge—are linked together, providing the context for each to exist. This is mātauranga-a-iwi. It is contextual knowledge (p. 77).

While marae ā-kura may not be considered part of the tradition of tribal knowledge, they contain—through whakapapa—the elements that connect them to people and place, and give them meaning and purpose. A whakapapa approach does not merely mean providing a historical overview of the context from which marae ā-kura developed. Rather, the approach aims to assist in better understanding the kaupapa of marae ā-kura by tracing their connections to others and the context from where they came. Furthermore, knowledge of whakapapa serves as a guideline for one's relationship with others—in this case, the ways marae ā-kura may engage with whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider community. In any genealogy there are always at least two different lines one could track; for the purpose of this article the focus is on the relationship between the (state) school and the Māori community.²

While this article draws fleetingly from a small research project, involving three urban marae ā-kura in Auckland, it was through the process of collective reflection on and analysis of their origins that the decision was made to focus, for the large part, on the history of marae ā-kura. The state school system is introduced first to set the scene in which marae ā-kura are born, then the Māori community is

introduced as active agents in what Kuni Jenkins (2000) describes as an aitanga relationship.³ While each marae ā-kura has its own whakapapa—distinct people, school, community, whānau, hapū and iwi—marae ā-kura are also located in a particular sociohistorical context.

The research project: Where to begin?

The overall aim of the two-year research project, funded by the Ministry of Education's Teaching and Learning Research Initiative, was to investigate the culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000) of marae in mainstream secondary schools. Three such marae ā-kura with Māori immersion, bilingual or whānau units in urban Auckland were included in this research. Using kaupapa Māori as a methodological framework, this qualitative study employed a pūrākau approach (Lee, 2008) to narrative inquiry. This involved conducting semistructured interviews with teachers, students, whānau and principals individually and in focus groups, as well as collecting archival school documentation. Pūrākau enabled the stories of the individual marae ā-kura to be told, as well as the creation of the wider cultural portrait that draws on themes across the marae ā-kura. Year one (2010) of the research focused on collaboratively crafting with the schools the pūrākau of the establishment of each school marae; the second year shifted to analysing the pedagogical dimensions of the pūrākau of marae ā-kura. This article draws on the first year of this project, in which the history and origins of marae ā-kura were explored through a review of related literature as well as fieldwork.

Initially, we envisaged documenting the history of each school marae to be a straightforward task involving recording the key people involved, the work they did and how the marae was established. Researching the history of each marae ā-kura was identified as a vital task by the campuses involved, given the transient nature of secondary school students, staff and families. However, from the interviews it soon became apparent that there were various versions of the pūrākau about the beginning of each marae, and that the “beginning” could not necessarily be easily identified.

Typically, the origins of each of the marae ā-kura were credited to a kaupapa that was larger than a single person, group or action. Sometimes this kaupapa would become more visible in the school with the involvement of particular whānau or the appointment of a particular teacher or teachers—the strength of the kaupapa was reliant on the people. Although principals, boards of trustees, teachers, students, whānau and school communities change, the kaupapa endures. At one school, the kaupapa was articulated by the Māori teacher (who

led the building of the marae ā-kura) as the valuing of Māori people, language and culture. He said:

Kei te hiahia mātou ki te whakanui i tō tātou iwi—kōia rā te mea tuatahi ... Ko tō tātou marae kia whakanui te iwi Māori, whakanui i te reo, whakanui i ō tātou tikanga. Kōina te take [o te marae ā-kura], kāore he take kō atu i tērā. (Interview with Jenny Lee, 2010)

We want to value our Māori people—this is the first thing to do—our marae values Māori people, our language, our culture. That is the reason [for the marae ā-kura], there is no better reason beyond that.

Although this man was the first Māori language teacher to be appointed, in 1982, these aspirations were not new. When asked about the beginnings of the marae ā-kura, he acknowledged the whānau who initiated and led the first Māori culture club when the school opened in 1968. Any attempts to provide opportunities to learn Māori language and culture, usually through a cultural group that was whānau driven, were acknowledged as part of this same kaupapa. It is not surprising that after this teacher joined the staff, the popularity of the school's Māori cultural group increased. So too, did the opportunities for whānau to meet, discuss, plan and collectively articulate their concerns and the needs of their children, which included (in this school) their desire for a school marae.

At the second school, a Pākehā teacher involved in the establishment of its marae attributed it to a Māori teacher who had set up a special class for Māori students in 1977, seven years before a request was made to establish the marae. Although the class was officially referred to as an “opportunity class”, the focus on these students *as Māori* was an impetus to working out how to better serve Māori students in the school. The Māori class served to create a “space” for Māori students that eventually led to the launching of a bilingual class. In the original proposal to establish this class, one of the aims read: “The bilingual class will facilitate all learning by providing a strong, stable base from which students can be MĀORI with pride and work from that position of strength.” (Interview with Jenny Lee, 2010; original emphasis).

The kaupapa at this school emphasised providing a particular education for Māori students in which their language and culture were integral components. Another Māori teacher also involved in the establishment of the marae at this school recalled:

I taua wā [1983], e ono rau pea ngā ākongā katoa o te kura, tērā pea ko te tekau paihēneti he ākongā Māori. Engari, kāore ngā ākongā Māori i noho tonu i te kura i muri i te Tau 10. (Margaret Taurere, personal communication/interview, 2010)

At that time [1983], there were approximately six hundred students at this school, perhaps 10 percent were Māori students. But the Māori students did not remain at school after Year 10.

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There was also a strong desire from a small group of staff to improve conditions for Māori students so they could achieve better educational outcomes.

At the third school, the sole Māori teacher deeply involved in the establishment of the marae referred to the wider Māori political movement as the precursor for it. She said: “It [the marae ā-kura] came out of the resurrection of mātauranga Māori” (Awa Hudson, personal communication/interview, 2010).

Like the other marae ā-kura, the beginning point was not the designing and building of the whare. Rather, it was the wider kaupapa of cultural regeneration. In schools it is a kaupapa of commitment to educating Māori students *as Māori* and understanding that at the heart of Māori education is Māori language, culture and knowledge. However, schools did not easily embrace this ideal. Rather than document the particular challenges faced at each school and the ways these were overcome, the discussion that follows moves to the wider whakapapa of the kaupapa that founded the marae ā-kura in these schools. The two key partners (schools and Māori) are introduced separately here to signal some of their principal differences as well as the nature of their engagement in the relationship.

State schools: Constraining Māori culture

When the state-run national native school system for Māori began in 1867, Māori language and culture were, not surprisingly, deliberately omitted from the curriculum. There was no place for Māori culture given that the mission of schooling was to simultaneously assimilate and civilise Māori and assist colonisation (Simon & Smith, 2001). Critical to this approach was a carefully selected and controlled curriculum through the exclusive medium of English language, the appointment of “appropriate” teachers (ideally teacher-certificated, married, Pākehā men) and the presence of English

culture embedded in the physical structures of buildings and their surroundings (including the gardens).⁴ The Government assumed the right to control the “education” of Māori with the emphasis on replacing Māori language and culture with that of the English, including western knowledge, beliefs and world views.

The official introduction of Māori culture into the native school curriculum didn’t occur until the 1930s. Despite Government efforts to assimilate Māori into Pākehā culture through schooling, Māori had continued to *live as Māori* (then viewed by the Government as a negative and “backward” way of life). A survey undertaken in 1930 found that 95 percent of the Māori graduates of native schools were still speaking Māori in their homes and had retained their traditional customs (Ball, 1940). In the same year, the Department of Education modified the policy of assimilation to one of “cultural adaptation”. Under this policy, native schools were now required to include aspects of Māori culture, usually art and craft-type activities, in the curriculum so that their pupils would “radiate a healthy racial pride, stimulated by knowledge of and research into past history and achievements of the Māori” (Ball, 1940, p. 283). The Government also hoped that through the teaching of Māori culture at school, the Māori community would become more involved, which, in turn, would enable the native schools to exert a greater influence over whānau (Ball, 1940). The original goal of civilising Māori had not changed, but was to be achieved through a policy that sought to acknowledge the cultural identity of the Māori child by allowing a select amount of Māori culture into the curriculum.

One of the implications of the cultural adaptation policy was the need for the native schools teaching force (who were commonly monolingual and deficient in knowledge of Māori culture) to have some appreciation of the indigenous culture. As a result, the Department of Education turned its attention to upskilling the Pākehā workforce. In 1931, the *New Zealand Education Gazette* began a Native Schools’ Column that aimed to assist teachers to incorporate activities that promoted elements of Māori culture. Another strategy was to set up professional development workshops (referred to as “refresher courses”) taught by cultural exponents such as Sir Apirana Ngata, Dr Tutere Wi Repa, Pine Taiapa, Hera Rogers and Ann Warbrick. Begun in 1936 in Kaikohe, Rotorua and Tikitiki (Simon & Smith, 2001), these courses provided an opportunity for mainly Pākehā teachers to learn about Māori history and culture as well as carving, weaving and songs. By 1939, introductory lessons in Māori language and culture had begun at Wellington [Teachers’] Training College—the start of what was to become a part of teacher preparation in New Zealand.

Despite the opportunities teachers had to upskill and incorporate Māori culture into the curriculum, the emphasis given to it in the classroom varied. The oral testimonies of former native school students and teachers collected in Simon and Smith's (2001) study show that the inclusion of Māori culture was highly dependent on the motivations and skills of the teachers. Moreover, Simon and Smith (2001) found that most Pākehā teachers did not incorporate Māori culture into their daily curriculum in any meaningful way. In 1940, Ball also recognised that native schools were still mainly staffed by Pākehā teachers, "not one percent of whom has facility in the Māori language" (Ball, 1940, p. 299).

In the 1960s, the Government's policy officially changed from assimilation to integration, that is, "to combine (not fuse) the Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation wherein Māori culture remains distinct" (Hunn, 1960, p. 15). Each school was expected to play a vital role in achieving this policy, as the "nursery of integration" (Hunn, 1960, p. 25). By 1971, the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education had published a report recommending, among other things, that Māoritanga⁵ (including Māori language) be incorporated into the curriculum (National Advisory Committee on Māori Education, 1971). However, it wasn't until a review of the core curriculum (conducted by Māori and Pākehā working parties) that a clear directive was given that all state schools were to implement "Taha Māori" (Department of Education, 1984a), officially described as the "Māori dimension". The department expected that:

Aspects of Māori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the school—into the curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes, organisation. It should be a normal part of the school climate with which all pupils and staff should feel comfortable and at ease. (Department of Education, 1984b, p. 1)

Although in theory Taha Māori offered the potential to substantially change every aspect of schooling and incorporate Māori culture in meaningful ways, the reality was that schools interpreted it differently (from tokenistic gestures to policy and practice changes). And even if some wanted to fully commit to Taha Māori, they

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were logistically unable to because of the lack of Māori expertise in schools. Judith Simon's (1990) study of Taha Māori in schools during the 1980s, including 18 secondary schools in Auckland, found that the importance accorded to Taha Māori varied according to the number of Māori students and Māori teachers.

Just as the cultural adaptation policy had facilitated the introduction of some Māori culture into the curriculum primarily to raise Māori students' confidence and interest so that they would learn the rest of the (narrow) curriculum more effectively, so too did Taha Māori, despite the espoused ideals. Graham Smith (1986) argues that, at one level, Taha Māori continued a model of acculturation by trying to raise Māori students' self-esteem so that they would feel more comfortable in the school environment and, in turn, learn (the largely unchanged curriculum) more effectively. Taha Māori was seen by some schools as more of an inconvenience, because it never really threatened the power structures and dominance of Pākehā (Pihama, 2001).

In sum, while Government policies changed (slightly), Māori culture in the secondary school setting was more of a means to an end, promoting better cultural understanding among teachers and encouraging more Māori to become teachers, which was laudable. But for some schools it was often a case of business as usual. Māori, however, had their own reasons for ensuring Māori culture entered the curriculum, the classroom and beyond.

Promoting Māori in schools

In the 1930s, the introduction of Māori culture in the school curriculum was also due, in part, to pressure exerted by a powerful segment of Māori society—the leaders. For reasons that were completely different from the Government's, Māori communities saw Māori culture in the curriculum as part of the wider revitalisation of cultural knowledge and skills. Concerned about the decreasing numbers of people expert in the traditional arts of carving and weaving, leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi promoted a "cultural renaissance". An important part of this strategy was the push to teach Māori culture in native schools. The native schools (dominated by Māori students and nestled within, and closely connected to, the Māori communities) were increasingly seen as part of the Māori communities themselves (Simon & Smith, 1990). In most cases, tribal land had been given for the schools, and parents and elders in the whānau, hapū and/or iwi had helped to establish the schools. By 1960, Linda Smith argues, "Māori Schools had also come to be seen as the only hope for Māori cultural survival" (Simon & Smith, 1990, p. 7). (In 1947, the name "native schools" was changed to "Māori

schools”.) However, in 1969, the Māori schools system was closed and the sites were incorporated into the mainstream system. The aspiration for cultural regeneration via schooling remained and, in secondary schools, attention turned to the teaching of Māori language.

Māori language

By the 1970s, the state of Māori language had changed dramatically. More than 30 years after Ball (1940) reported that it was being spoken in the great majority of Māori homes, a national survey of 33,638 people conducted by Richard Benton (1978) now found the language on the brink of extinction.⁶ Only 15 percent of Māori youth (who constituted 50 percent of the Māori population at that time) could speak the language fluently (Benton, 1978). Māori (especially kaumātua and educators) sought to rectify this desperate situation. They demanded that the language be given official status and that the education be made responsible for promoting its revival.

In secondary schools, Māori language tuition was slow to begin. Although Māori language had officially become a University Entrance subject in 1918⁷ and was gazetted as a School Certificate subject at the inception of the qualification in 1934, it was not actually offered as a School Certificate subject until 1945 (C. Smith, 2002). Even then, few secondary schools provided it as a subject option; most of those that did were Māori district high schools and Māori boarding schools. In 1970, there were still only 10 schools in total teaching Māori language as a School Certificate subject (Walker, 1984, p. 35). Nearly a decade later, there had been a near-threefold increase in students studying the language in secondary schools, and these numbers continued to rise.⁸ The increase in students learning Māori was mainly due to two key factors: the push by Māori to access their language via schooling, and the infiltration into secondary schools of Māori language teachers—a group who were to have a huge impact on Māori education, including the establishment of marae ā-kura. One of the consequences of increasing the number of Māori secondary school teachers was the rise in the recognition of negative schooling experiences and low academic achievement rates of Māori students.

Māori educational underachievement

Māori underachievement at the secondary level was not new. In 1960, the Hunn Report was the first to draw public attention to the long-standing educational achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā. By the end of the 1960s, the statistics had worsened. Whereas in 1963, 21.8 percent of Māori students sitting School Certificate had “passed” (scored over 50 percent in 3 or

more subjects), by 1969, the rate had fallen to 15.9 percent (Grant, 2003, p. 78). The poor educational outcomes experienced by Māori at secondary school became even more evident as the Māori population rapidly increased and became more youthful. From 1936 to 1966, the population more than doubled to 201,159 people, and 50 percent were younger than 15 years old (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, pp. 247, 248). In the following 20 years, the Māori secondary school population more than tripled. But 76 percent of Māori were leaving school without School Certificate, more than twice the proportion of their Pākehā peers (37 percent) (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, p. 30). While the statistics provided a depressing overview of Māori underachievement, Māori teachers saw firsthand the “carnage” (Marks, 1984) the secondary school system could create in the lives of Māori students and their whānau.

Māori teachers

The increase in Māori language teachers was due, in part, to demands from Māori groups (including Ngā Tamatoa) to the Government to urgently provide more. As a result, in 1976, the Department of Education established an alternative pathway one-year training programme to recruit native speakers.⁹ By the 1980s, 13 percent of teachers at primary level and 6.8 percent of those at secondary level were Māori and Pacific Islanders (Renwick, 1984, p. 9). While the numbers of Māori teachers were disproportionate to the numbers of Māori students in secondary schools, it was enough of a critical mass to begin to agitate for change. Because they were privy to the poor conditions and underachievement commonly experienced by Māori students, Māori teachers became increasingly outspoken about the prospects for Māori in secondary schools.

Political unrest brewing among Māori teachers was most clearly articulated in March 1984 at the Māori Educational Development Conference at Tūrangawaewae Marae in Ngāruawāhia, where most of the 300 delegates

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were Māori language teachers. One of powerful papers that encapsulated the way many Māori teachers felt was presented by Maiki Marks (1984). She expressed her disenchantment with the ineffectual implementation of Taha Māori by non-Māori and lamented the suffering of Māori students (especially girls) as “victims” of an institution that failed to recognise Māori culture, knowledge and skills. The teachers concurred that negative schooling experiences were commonplace for Māori, and many felt that secondary schools had “actually manufactured Māori failure” (Walker, 1990, p. 242). According to Marks (1984), in order to teach, protect and sustain Māori language as part of a cultural legacy and collective identity, Māori teachers were required to make a cultural as well as a political commitment. Her comments were indicative of the tone of the conference.

It was clear that educational institutions were coming to be seen by Māori as sites of struggle to challenge the assimilationist drive of mainstream schooling (G. Smith, 1997). Delegates purposefully used the term “Taha Pākehā” to describe the domination of Pākehā culture and draw attention to the asymmetry in power relations between Taha Māori and Taha Pākehā. A synopsis of the workshop discussions says, “delegates came to the conference prepared to challenge Taha Pākehā social prescriptions and advocate radical changes” (Walker, 1984, p. 17). These radical changes were based mainly on cultural institutions and frameworks and included:

- aiming to increase the number of kōhanga reo
- supporting bilingual education
- developing alternative “special character” schools to provide a continuity from kōhanga reo to primary education (kura kaupapa Māori)
- building on the role of marae in education.

Two sorts of marae were discussed: schools within marae (such as Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland) and marae within schools. It is the latter, marae ā-kura, that are most relevant for secondary schools.

Marae ā-kura: Making Māori space in the mainstream

Marae ā-kura are aptly described by Wally Penetito (2010) as sharing a kaupapa Māori agenda. In the context of the 1984 Māori Educational Development Conference, they were clearly part of the discourse that aimed to create a kaupapa Māori learning environment, including operating with a level of autonomy through the establishment of marae committees in which community involvement was vital. Marae ā-kura, however, were to be cultural institutions located in existing mainstream schools.

The essential ingredient vital to the very existence of everything Māori, however, are those values which are of the spirit – ‘te taha wairua’.

The conference attendees expressed support for the Kākāriki Marae model at Green Bay High School, as outlined by Pat Heremaia (1984) in his paper “Marae as a learning environment in secondary schools”. Te Roopu o Kākāriki Marae Incorporated Society was set up as an autonomous group, but with representatives from the school board, staff and community cultural groups. According to Heremaia, Kākāriki Marae was viewed as an educational institution in its own right, guided by Māori values, beliefs and knowledge. For instance, one of the key things emphasised in his promotion of marae ā-kura was te taha wairua. He writes:

It [the school marae] also fosters identity, self-respect, pride and cultural appreciation of the inter-relationship and responsibilities of each member of the family. The essential ingredient vital to the very existence of everything Māori, however, are those values which are of the spirit – ‘te taha wairua’. This very important aspect of Māori has been ignored and sometimes rejected in some schools (p. 72).

The marae ā-kura reconceptualised existing relationships between school and community. In the case of Kākāriki Marae, it became a community hub for activities, including a marae tribunal where court, police, youth aid and social welfare referrals were dealt with in the presence of whānau. In Heremaia’s experience, regardless of government department programmes, people from all walks of life can be connected to the marae simply because they are whānau—part of the local Māori community. A key function of the marae ā-kura is to support Māori people, Heremaia reiterates. “The kaupapa is Māori” (p. 73). However, given the implications of asserting kaupapa Māori in a mainstream setting, the reality is that it is never going to be simple.

Conclusion

One of the difficulties in using a whakapapa approach is that there is often no clear beginning. Yet this is precisely the reason such an approach was appropriate as a way of thinking about marae ā-kura. While each has its own pūrākau, with its particular people, specific situations and tribal territory, the focus here was on a shared whakapapa back to two metaphorical ancestors (Māori and state schools) who had completely different cultural, social and political backgrounds and aspirations. This

article has sought to signal some of the critical points of engagement (as well as of lack of engagement) that spurred on Māori initiatives, including marae ā-kura, to develop. Understanding the whakapapa of how the iconic cultural institution of marae came to be located in the monocultural mainstream of the secondary schooling system sets the scene for better understanding of the tensions that may be experienced when perched in such a precarious position.

I have struggled with this article in finding where to begin and where to end, and whether to use the concept of whakapapa to better understand marae-a-kura. One of the dangers of a whakapapa approach is that there are many lines that could have been followed. I am conscious that several lines have been omitted here for reasons of space. Some of the connections that have not been made explicit include:

- the links to the development of urban marae and tertiary marae
- the role of the New Zealand Māori Council
- the impact of multicultural policies
- the support from non-Māori individuals, families and communities
- the active engagement and commitment of Māori whānau in setting up school marae.

This article is one part of the whakapapa that shows how ideas, movements, policies, practices, interventions and initiatives are related to one another. While marae ā-kura are a kaupapa in response to the consequences of colonisation, they can also be viewed as part of the Government's selective inclusion of Māori culture in the curriculum. I'm unsure, however, whether Government officials expected them to produce such strong marae whānau with deep and enduring connections to one another as well as to local hapū and iwi or, indeed, whether the Crown realised the extent to which marae ā-kura had the potential not just to teach Māori but also to enable Māori to be Māori, to learn and teach as Māori, and to live as Māori at school.

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Notes

- 1 The Ministry of Education was cautious about providing this statistic as the codes that it uses to distinguish types of buildings do not necessarily mean that a whare or marae is not in operation in another building in the school. Furthermore, the Ministry is not able to provide this information for state-integrated schools, private schools and schools on marae. Personal communication with the research analyst, Demographic and Statistical Analysis Unit, MoE (26 May, 2008).
- 2 While the concept of whakapapa facilitates the approach here, it is important to recognise that the two descent lines—state school and Māori—are not essential identities. Wally Penetito's (2010) book entitled *What's Māori about Māori Education? The Struggle for a Meaningful Context* draws attention to complexities of the coloniser–indigenous relationship through what he terms 'mediating structures' in New Zealand education that enable Māori culture to be co-opted in different ways. However, Penetito points out

that while Māori strive for self-determination in Māori education, the institutional and philosophical power held by Pākehā in New Zealand society continues to dominate. Hence, the focus in this article on the relationship between the two groups—Pākehā state schools, and Māori whānau and communities.

- 3 Aitanga as theory emerged from Kuni Jenkins' (Ngāti Porou) dissatisfaction with binary explanations of Māori as either resistant to, or victims of, colonisation in the context of Māori–Pākehā relationships in New Zealand's educational history. Aitanga theory highlights the ways in which Māori actively attempted to develop and engage in multidimensional relationships with other people in the struggle for schooling. Aitanga provides a Māori framework for understanding the encounters, interactions and relationships with other people, tribal groups and Pākehā.
- 4 Some Māori was spoken by junior assistants and included by Māori teachers. At this time, Māori communities, too, wanted their children to attend school to access English literacy and western knowledge and skills to benefit whānau, hapū and iwi development (Jenkins, 2000).
- 5 Māoritanga was used in broad terms in education to refer to Māori cultural values and practices (Tauroa, 1984).
- 6 Benton's (1978) survey was conducted between 1973 and 1978 and covered 6,450 households in the major areas of Māori population in the North Island.
- 7 The inclusion of Māori language as a University Entrance subject was a result of lobbying from Māori politicians Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, and Māori leaders.
- 8 In 1971, 4,423 secondary students were learning te reo Māori (IRI, 1999, p. 33) and by 1979, this number had climbed to 15,000 (Walker, 1984, p. 35). By 1996, the Ministry of Education recorded a total of 90,929 students learning te reo Māori, an increase of 46 percent since 1992 (Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 13, 1998).
- 9 This programme began with 41 students (Grant, 2003, p. 80). By 1980, the numbers of Māori opting into this special Māori language teacher education programme had declined to 13, and shortly after, the programme came to an end. In 1987, a similar one-year Māori teacher-training course called Te Atakura was set up.

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