

Indigenizing the University of Auckland

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The breaking down of White resistance against the inclusion of Māori studies in universities in New Zealand first began in the 1880s. Almost 70 years later, in 1951, Māori studies were first taught at the University of Auckland when White resistance against its inclusion in the academy was still very strong. Today, resistance remains but it is tempered, to some extent, by support for Māori from a number of White academics. Māori studies are now taught from a small and marginalized school in the Faculty of Arts, and in similar units in the School of Medicine and Faculty of Education. Individual Māori academic staff members hold positions in several other teaching and research units, and there are six Māori research facilities. However, Māori student enrolments are only half of what they should be, Māori staff numbers are a third of all staff, and Māori student course and degree completion rates are far less than those of non-Māori students. This most unsatisfactory state of affairs is the result of all Māori aspects of the University of Auckland being subject to White hegemony and, hence, control.

In this paper, I provide an overview of what an indigenized University of Auckland might look like before considering the history of Māori studies at the university and its current situation, in terms of governance, management, research, and teaching. The effects of ongoing problems of institutional, personal, and internalized racism against Māori staff and students are outlined within these areas. While this is a significant disadvantage for Māori, there are also advantages to teaching and conducting research in Māori and/or Indigenous studies in a White institution. I will consider these briefly before considering some strategies for achieving the indigenization of the University of Auckland.

Introduction

Māori studies were first taught in 1951 as subject matter at the University of Auckland, New Zealand against a backdrop of strong White resistance to its inclusion in the academy. Today, it is taught from its own small and marginalized school in the Faculty of Arts, and in similar units in the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences and the Faculty of Education. Individual Māori academic staff members hold positions in several other teaching and research units, and there are six Māori research facilities. However, Māori student enrolments are only half of what they should be, Māori staff numbers are just over a third of all staff, and Māori student course and degree completion rates are far less than those of non-Māori students. This most unsatisfactory state of affairs is the result of all Māori aspects of the University of Auckland being subject to White hegemony and, hence, control. When I mentioned to a senior colleague who works in one of our Māori tertiary institutions and who has spent

his life fighting for Māori rights that I was writing a paper titled *Indigenizing the University of Auckland* he simply quipped, "That will be a very short paper."¹ I think that a more accurate title for this article would be *Attempting to Indigenize the University of Auckland*.

In this article, I will start by outlining briefly what I believe the University of Auckland would look like if it was Indigenized. I will then summarize the beginnings of Māori studies in New Zealand before considering the history of the oldest department of Indigenous studies in New Zealand, the Department (now School) of Māori Studies at the University of Auckland. I will focus on the legacies left by the five professors of Māori studies, to date, who have headed the program and the attempts each has made to Indigenize the University of Auckland. I will then consider the current situation for Māori in respect of the University's governance, management, teaching, and research. I will highlight what I consider to be the pros and cons of teaching and conducting research in Māori and/or Indigenous studies in the British-based university system that has been set up in Aotearoa/New Zealand before considering some possible strategies for achieving the Indigenization of the University of Auckland.

The first university was set up in New Zealand forty-three years after my Māori ancestors laid down conditions for British immigration into Aotearoa/New Zealand. The conditions were set down in 1840 in an international treaty between the leaders of our *hapū* (bands/nations) and a representative of Queen Victoria of England. It was written in the Māori language and was a treaty of peace and friendship (Mutu, 2010, p. 35) that we call *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. It confirms that the constitutional framework and system of laws that had been observed in Aotearoa for many centuries would remain in place and be protected. The Queen of England's role would be to take responsibility for the lawless behaviour of her own British subjects recently arrived in the country and to govern them in accordance with *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Healy, Huygens, Murphy, & Parata, 2012, p. 1; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p. xxiii). It promised to make British knowledge available to Māori.

All White institutions, including universities, were supposed to have been established pursuant to this treaty. Had this happened then, our universities would look very different from what they do today. Māori studies, in the broadest sense of the term, would be the norm and underpin all disciplines. Instead of qualifications in a wide range of what I call *Pākehā* or White studies being the only qualifications offered, as is currently the case at the University of Auckland, *Pākehā* studies would be one of a range of options available. The University of Auckland with Te

Tiriti o Waitangi in place would be an institution of higher learning where it is the norm that:

- the various branches of Māori knowledge form an integral part of the country's knowledge base and their preservation, development, and enhancement is fully resourced and underpins all teaching and research
- at governance and management levels, Māori hold the most senior positions having been appointed by Māori in accordance with Māori procedural practice and academic standards
- all decisions made in respect of Māori knowledge, language, law, and other areas of expertise are made by suitably qualified Māori
- Māori decision-making processes are the norm
- White knowledge bases are included and are fully available to Māori
- Māori graduate fully qualified as professionals in both the Māori and the White world.

We are nowhere near achieving these standards in any university in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The primary reason is that White officials never adhered to the treaty they signed. This is, of course, the same uncivilized behaviour they employed in the lands of many other non-European peoples. Instead, and as part of their relentless pursuit of taking over our country, Whites created numerous myths about their own supremacy to wage war against us in order to take over all our lands and resources.² They also waged war against our language, our laws, our knowledge, our expertise, our culture, and our society in a desperate attempt to wipe us out.³ As a result, Māori were reduced to poverty, deprivation, and marginalization in our own land but we have never given up the pursuit of our human rights and honouring our treaty. Not satisfied with achieving this state of affairs, Whites created a further series of myths that only they could determine who and what a Māori was, where and how we must live and how we must behave (Mutu, 2013, pp. 4-5), and that only Whites knew how the Māori language and culture worked, and that only they could tell the oral traditions and record the knowledge of our ancestors properly. It took us more than a century before we could start having some say about what Whites were saying about us. By that time, they had established five universities.⁴

New Zealand universities have always been White institutions. The University of New Zealand was established in 1883 with university colleges located in Auckland, Canterbury (in Christchurch), and Otago (in Dunedin). It was endowed with 30,354 acres of land confiscated from Māori.⁵ Two years later, Māori requested that Māori studies be offered as a subject, but it was not until 1928 that it was included as an optional sub-

ject (Te Waananga o Waipapa, 1993, p. 1). In the 1940s, the professor of anthropology at the University of Auckland, Ralph Piddington, led the fight to persuade his academic colleagues that Māori should be taught. In 1951, he was finally able to appoint a part-time lecturer, Bruce Biggs, to teach Māori as a stage one subject (Sinclair, 1983, p. 202).

Professor Bruce Biggs

Much is owed to the inaugural professor of Māori studies, Professor Bruce Biggs, and the strong language and linguistic base of the program which remains to this day. Although he did not consider himself to be ethnically Māori, Bruce was Ngāti Maniapoto and, in his later years, contributed significantly to his own *iwi* (nation). He set up the academic field of Māori studies and taught courses in Māori language, Māori society and culture, social anthropology, general linguistics, and Polynesian comparative linguistics (Hollyman & Pawley, 1981, pp. 10-13).

However, setting up the field was not straightforward. Bruce found himself having to navigate through deeply entrenched racism within the university (Te Waananga o Waipapa, 1993, p. 1) in order to introduce some of the building blocks of Māori knowledge systems into the British university system. In doing so, he followed the lead of Māori political leaders of his time⁶ and avoided confronting that racism. Instead, he worked to set up extensive databases, many parts of which are inaccessible to those who are not speakers of Māori. They included:

- the Archive of Māori and Pacific Music, which holds huge collections of Māori music, recordings of oral history and traditions, field recordings and lectures by traditional Māori scholars, as well as those of closely-related Pacific languages and cultures (including Rarotongan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, and Marquesan)⁷
- an extensive collection of manuscripts written by tribal scholars in the 19th century on their history, traditions, philosophy, and teachings.⁸

Bruce also published prodigiously to raise the profile of Māori in the literature. His works included grammars and dictionaries, Māori language readers, and oral traditions as told by elders (Hollyman & Pawley, 1981, p. 11).

The legacy left by Bruce is, primarily, that Māori language underpins all Māori studies. The Māori language has been a threatened language for approximately six decades and so its survival, revitalization, and ongoing maintenance is fundamentally important. There is a clear understanding that it is the source of a full and proper understanding of Māori society, culture, and world view, and that it is the key to the survival of Māori culture.

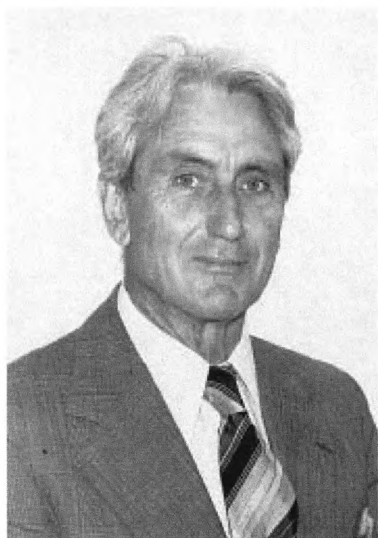


Figure 1. Professor Bruce Biggs



Figure 2. Professor Sir Hugh Kāwharu

Bruce led the program for more than 30 years. He took early retirement in 1984, as a stronger Māori-defined focus was being sought that would lead to the inevitable need to confront White racism within the university. He remained in the department as a professor emeritus, and completed several major book projects and continued teaching. He passed away in 2000.

During his time, Māori were starting to take greater control over the field of Māori studies. During the 1970s and 1980s, Māori increasingly were challenging White academics for the myths they were perpetrating about who we are, for falsifying the history of our country, and for misrepresenting those selected aspects of our stories that they chose to use to advance their colonizing agendas (Te Waananga o Waipapa, 1993, p.3.) Furthermore, in the 1980s, Māori were insisting that Māori rather than Whites define what the field of Māori studies is and that Māori also control the field.

Professor Sir Hugh Kāwharu

The second head of Māori studies at the University of Auckland was Professor Sir Hugh Kāwharu. It was significant that his *hapū* (nation) is that of the Auckland isthmus, Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrākei. He took up his appointment in 1985 at a time when Māori staff and students, with the support of a large number of White staff, had been protesting for several years at the lack of any visible evidence of support for Māori on the campus.



Figure 3. Waipapa Marae Meeting House and Dining Room

Under Sir Hugh's stewardship and with the unwavering support of the Vice Chancellor, Dr. Colin Maiden (Mutu, 2008), the University of Auckland allowed the building of:

- academic facilities to house Māori studies staff, which was opened in 1986

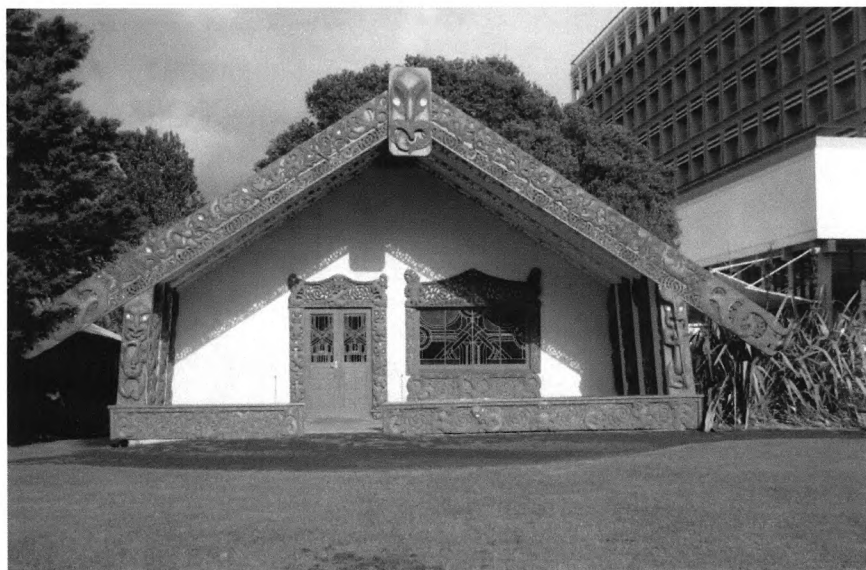


Figure 4. Tānenuiārangi, the Carved Meeting House

- a *marae* (a traditional Māori communal meeting complex with a meeting house and dining room), which was opened in 1988
- a *kohanga reo* (a Māori language pre-school), which was opened in 1995.

The entire complex immediately became the centre of Māori activity in the University of Auckland and an appropriate venue for the Māori community to interact with the University. It provided a strong, highly



Figure 5. Two of the Carvings in Tānenuiārangi



Figure 6. A Carving Depicting the Pacific Connections



Figure 7. The Reception Area of Rehutai, the Academic Wing



Figure 8. Hineteiwaiwa: The Kohanga Reo, the Pre-school

visible, and permanent Māori presence on the Auckland campus and, for Māori students and members of the Māori community, a culturally safe place for them to gather, study, and learn about the Māori world in an otherwise alienating university environment.

Under Sir Hugh, the focus of the department's work shifted to addressing the needs of Māori communities. Staff members were employed who were active in their own tribal and urban communities and some of the more urgent and pressing needs of Māori communities were worked on to find solutions. There was also a concentration on the theoretical and practical aspects of Māori sovereignty and on implementing the university's and the Crown's Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities. In 1991, he guided Māori studies through the transition from being a subsection within the Department of Anthropology to a separate, albeit much smaller, Department of Māori Studies. It gave Māori studies greater freedom to develop more in accordance with Māori needs and wishes than had been possible previously. The department started to challenge discriminatory legislation and policy. This drew attacks from parts of the majority White population and the university was called on to dismiss Māori studies staff. To its credit, it has never entertained these demands and has always rejected them.⁹

In 1992, Sir Hugh retired but remained as a professor emeritus and continued teaching. He passed away in 2007.

Professor Ranginui Walker

The third head was Professor Ranginui Walker, who expanded the program beyond its language and anthropological focus to include Māori aspects of political studies, resource management, and feather, fibre, stone, and wood technology.

Māori studies was becoming increasingly Māori-focused and driven. During this period, the enrolment of Māori students increased from thirty per cent of Māori Studies enrolments during the mid-1980s to seventy per cent during the late 1990s. The department's student numbers (roll returns) peaked in 1995 but then student numbers dropped off with a significant loss of White students.

In 1993, a review of the department highlighted the inequitable allocation of resources to Māori programs as opposed to European languages and cultures programs at the University of Auckland. Furthermore, central government was starting to direct that universities teach Māori aspects of most disciplines. As a result, staff members of the Department of Māori Studies were being expected to contribute lectures in many other departments and faculties where Māori staff and training were lacking (in particular, medicine, law, engineering, architecture, planning, sociology,

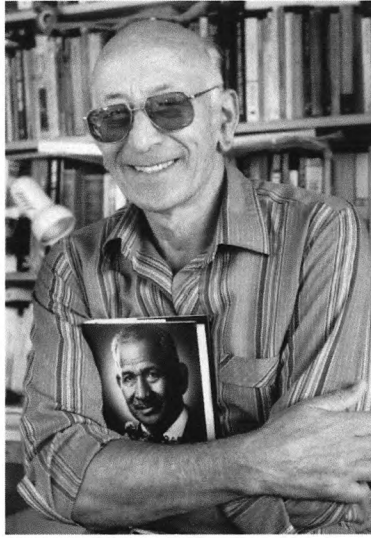


Figure 9. Professor Ranginui Walker

anthropology, Pacific studies, environmental science, and geography). This had major impacts on staff research time and the University took some time to recognize and remedy this issue.

Ranginui led a major initiative to address the shortcomings in the university structures and programs in respect of Māori studies. Medicine and education were the only disciplines starting to address Māori issues in any substantive way through the establishment of the Department of Māori Health in 1996 and the Department of Māori Education in 1997. However, both struggled with lack of resources. The subjects of law, architecture, planning, history, sociology, art history, fine arts, and business did appoint Māori staff. Yet, too often they struggled with being isolated in a White environment with no Māori support and ongoing racism. During this period, Māori staff across the university worked together to compile a set of recommendations to address the university-wide problems and to relieve pressure on the Department of Māori Studies and on Māori staff.

In 1997, the University of Auckland established the position of Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) at a senior management level with responsibility for Māori issues across the university. Ranginui was appointed to the position to implement the recommendations made by Māori staff. In 1998, he conducted a major review of Māori in the university and recommended a large number of structural changes and the redistribution of resources to implement the university's obligations to Māori (Walker, 1998). Ranginui retired in the same year.

Professor Ngāpare Hopa

The fourth head was Professor Ngāpare Hopa, who oversaw the department through a very difficult period as it struggled to cope with significant decreases in Māori enrolments that were affecting all university Māori programs throughout the country.¹⁰ On her appointment in 1997, Ngāpare introduced new courses in urban issues, *kapa haka* (Māori performing arts), and media studies¹¹ but was severely hampered by the increasingly hostile environment to Māori. During her tenure as the head of the department, Professor Graham Smith became the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori). Māori staff members across the University were working towards implementing the Walker review recommendations and bringing all Māori-related teaching into one administrative unit, either as a stand-alone faculty or a school.

However, the numbers of Māori students across the university declined significantly and this had a dramatic effect on the Department of Māori Studies, where 70 per cent of the students were Māori (Mutu, 2002). At their peak in 1995, student numbers in the department were 283 effective full time students. Just three years later, they had declined to 180 (Walker, 1998, p. 41). They continued declining for several years, reaching 101 in 2007, before starting to slowly increase. In 2013, they were at 155.¹² Apart from the very high cost of enrolment, which most Māori cannot afford, and student debt being a strong disincentive for Māori entering universities (Te Mana Ākonga, 2012), Māori were starting to set up their own tertiary institutions¹³ which were far more culturally safe and delivered programs more relevant to many Māori; many of their courses charged no enrolment fees.

Despite these obvious setbacks for the department, it came under sustained attack from the Dean of Arts because of its falling student numbers. He forced the cancellation of several courses and laid off staff. Staff numbers dropped from 13 effective full-time staff to 8.5. He told staff that Māori studies should revert to being a subsection of the Department of Anthropology.

As a result of the strong links staff members have to Māori communities, news of attempts to close the department caused great concern, particularly in the Auckland and northern Māori communities. They rallied around to help, reminding the University of its obligations to Māori. This, along with intervention by the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) and the threat of litigation, prevented the Dean from closing the Department of Māori Studies. Staff offered very strong resistance but their morale was severely damaged. Despite concerted efforts by the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) and Māori staff, the University refused to implement the main rec-



Figure 10. Professor Ngāpare Hopa Figure 11. Professor Margaret Mutu

ommendations of the 1998 review. Professor Smith took a limited term position at the University of British Columbia before eventually becoming the CEO and Vice Chancellor of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in Whakatāne. In 2001, Professor Hopa resigned.

Professor Margaret Mutu

Professor Mutu took over the department in 2001 and returned its focus to research and publication, and to empowering Māori communities. Honorary research fellows were appointed and Māori studies became a member of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the National Māori Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement. In the department, PhD completions became a priority, with fourteen completed by students in the department since 2001.

Māori politics was put on a formal footing early in her tenure as department head with the appointment of a political scientist from Waikato University.¹⁴ Staff conducted many media interviews and gave public lectures to counter a political environment which was becoming increasingly hostile to Māori. There was significant backlash from right-wing White politicians who called for Māori studies staff to be dismissed.¹⁵ Once again, the university rejected their demands.

The difficulties experienced by Professor Hopa continued. The department was embattled with both the Dean of Arts and the newly-appointed Acting Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori). The latter was a retired judge of the

Ngāpuhi nation. In meetings with Māori studies staff, he made it clear that he would not tolerate Māori staff questioning White supremacy, referring to those who did as the Māori Taliban. Māori staff strongly criticized him when he urged a return to White hegemony in the teaching and research of both the Department of Māori Studies and Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga National Māori Research Institute. Northern iwi were incensed when he closed the James Henare Māori Research Centre. The centre had been set up in response to appeals from elders for the university to service the research needs of Māori of the north. The Acting Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori)'s attitude and actions left Māori studies at a very low ebb. Of all the different types of racism encountered in the university, this internalized racism¹⁶ is the most insidious. To combat it, the department looked to other university Māori studies schools and departments for support. Following a national Māori studies subject conference in 2004, the heads of the seven other Māori studies units sent a formal letter to the University of Auckland expressing their concerns.¹⁷ No response to the issues it raised was ever provided.

Then, also in 2004, a national assessment of the quality of research in tertiary education institutions was conducted and it concluded that the University of Auckland was the top research institution in the country, with an average quality score of 3.85 out of a possible seven. But it also concluded that the Department of Māori Studies at the University of Auckland was the best Māori studies department in the country, with an average quality score of 5.3. It ranked eighth out of the fifty-eight University of Auckland departments.¹⁸

Both the Dean and the acting Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) eventually resigned. A new Vice Chancellor was appointed. He apologized for the closure of the James Henare Māori Research Centre and reopened it. A new Dean was appointed who supported and protected the Department of Māori Studies from further attacks. As a result, staff specializing in Māori media studies and Māori development were appointed. Professor Mutu led the department until it merged into the School of Māori Studies and Pacific Studies in 2014.

The Current Situation—Governance

In terms of governance, the current situation at Auckland is that the University of Auckland Council, its governing body, has no provision for the appointment of *mana whenua*, the traditional owners of the land the university occupies.¹⁹ The Minister of Tertiary Education has four appointees and usually tries to make sure that one of them is Māori—although it must be a Māori acceptable to the senior management team.

Academic governance is the responsibility of the university's Senate. Its membership includes all the university's professors, heads of departments, and senior management.²⁰ Only seven professors identify as Māori out of a total professoriate of 334, and two are heads of their departments. The Māori professors and the heads of Māori education and Māori health do not attend Senate regularly. Any comments or contributions they may make on Māori issues in that body are most often accorded little or no attention. Attempts to raise the issue of racism against Māori in the university are either ignored or met with threats against those who raise this issue. In 2013, the Tertiary Education Union stepped in at the request of Māori staff to help them fight some of these threats.²¹

University of Auckland Strategic Plans

The 2005-2012 Strategic Plan states that, "The University is committed to the mutual rights and obligations articulated by Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (University of Auckland, 2006, p. 6). It includes the University's provision of programs that recognize Māori aspirations and "contribute to Māori intellectual and cultural advancement" (University of Auckland, 2006, p. 6). Māori staff worked hard to get that meaningful wording into the plan. Their work was then completely undermined by the key performance indicators set for achieving these goals. They were aimed only at assimilating Māori into the White university and had nothing to do with what Māori aspire to. The measures were the percentages of Māori students and staff and percentages of course and degree completions—all of these were set very low. In 2012, 6.8 per cent of the students and 5.7 per cent of the staff were Māori even though Māori make up 15 per cent of the national population. The successful course completion rate for Māori was 82 per cent compared with the overall rate of 90 percent; and the degree completion rate for Māori was 49 per cent compared to the overall completion rate of 62 per cent.²²

Key performance indicators for Māori student and staff percentages are maintained at around these rates, as efforts to improve them have failed. Efforts to improve the pass rates have been more successful, mainly because of initiatives designed and implemented by Māori staff.²³ There was no attempt made to address the serious systemic inadequacies in the university's curriculum which does not offer any degree that is entirely Māori-focused.

In light of the ongoing lack of support at senior management and council levels, Māori staff did not bother to put the same effort into the 2013-2020 Strategic Plan. The result was that the university's statutory obligations in respect of the treaty are now severely downgraded. No longer

is the university committed to its obligations and responsibilities under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the authoritative treaty. Rather, it now merely acknowledges the so-called “principles” of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi (University of Auckland, 2012, p. 13). The latter is a fraudulent document used by British officials to falsely claim that Māori ceded sovereignty of New Zealand to the Queen of England (Mutu, 2010; Mikaere, 2011). The “principles”²⁴ are based on the false assumption of British sovereignty, White supremacy, and Māori inferiority. The University’s current strategic plan entrenches racism against its Māori staff and students.

Current Situation—Management

In terms of management, there is still a Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori). The current incumbent, like his predecessor, is not an academic. He is a retired secondary school teacher and politician who considers that there is little Māori can do that will change White hegemony.²⁵ He has been appointed primarily to increase Māori enrolments in the university (and hence attract the extra income they generate) and to keep any potentially difficult and embarrassing Māori issues under control. Undertaking the work needed to improve the curriculum or the teaching and research carried out by the university, so that it can better meet the needs of Māori students and communities, is not within his purview.²⁶ As such, these burdens continue to fall on individual Māori academic staff who are necessarily dependent on the goodwill of their line managers.

The Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) convenes a *Rūnanga* (traditional council of representatives). Although Māori staff fought to have members appointed according to Māori law, membership has been determined by senior management and does not include direct representation from the Department of Māori Studies or the School of Māori Education, or from *mana whenua* (local traditional owners). Its membership is dominated by management. In theory, the *Rūnanga* advises the University Council on all Māori matters. In practice, the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) provides information to the *Rūnanga* and identifies and neutralizes any potential attempts by Māori staff and students to challenge White hegemony in any part of the university. Māori strategic needs do get raised but are rarely addressed.²⁷ The *Rūnanga* has no power or authority and, as a result, the academic staff positions on it have been vacant for many years.²⁸

Current Situation—Teaching

There are three Māori-focused teaching units in the University of Auckland:

- the Department (now a School) of Māori Studies (Te Wānanga o Waipapa), located in the Faculty of Arts

- and a department and a school located in professional faculties:
 - the Department of Māori Health (Te Kupenga Hauora Māori) in the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences
 - the School of Māori Education (Te Puna Wānanga) in the Faculty of Education

Physical distance keeps these Māori entities separated. This, combined with the dominant White requirements of their respective faculties, makes collaboration between them difficult.²⁹ Each contributes courses to degrees in *Pākehā*, or White studies, such as the Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Education (Teaching), and Bachelor of Health Sciences. Since 1998, Māori staff and students have repeatedly requested the inclusion of a Bachelor of Māori Studies in the qualifications offered by the university. To date, all requests have been declined.

Māori studies is still very small within the Faculty of Arts. Our focus remains on the language and its revitalization, maintenance, and enhancement. We also teach and carry out research on oral traditions; cultural and social issues; *tikanga* (Māori law), including constitutional matters; politics; *kapa haka* (performing arts—dance); media; and fibre, wood, and stone technology.³⁰ The 2013 staffing complement includes ten full- and part-time permanent academic teaching staff and 14 part-time temporary lecturers and tutors, but they total just 8.4 full-time equivalent staff. This is just over half the average number of 16 for all the departments in the Faculty of Arts.³¹ We have 155 effective full-time students, which is just 42 per cent of the average of 367 for all the departments in the Faculty of Arts. There are two administrative staff, one professor emeritus, three PhD students, and three honorary research fellows.

*The Department of Māori Health—Te Kupenga Hauora Māori*³²

Despite its name, the Department of Māori Health—Te Kupenga Hauora Māori is more than a department. It is located in the School of Population Health. While it has not been accorded the status of a school within the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences, it does operate its own cost centre and the head of the department has the role of Deputy Dean (Māori). Both this³³ and the School of Māori Education have far greater standing and autonomy within their faculties than the School of Māori Studies currently has in the Faculty of Arts.³⁴

The Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences recognized that the inequities suffered by Māori and Pacific Islanders in White schools left them ill-prepared and unqualified to enter university medical and health programs. The decision to set up a Māori health unit in the 1990s was the faculty's attempt to provide some resources to address those

inequities. To do this, they currently have just 11.5 full-time equivalent academic teaching and tutoring staff, one research assistant, two PhD students, one honorary research fellow, 13 administrative staff, and a large number of casual support staff and elders on their books. In university terms, this is a relatively small number of staff. Despite this, they have worked steadily on increasing Māori and Pacific Islands student numbers and now support over 400 in the faculty, with over 200 in the medical program.

The School of Māori Education—Te Puna Wānanga

The School of Māori Education (Te Puna Wānanga) is one of five schools in the Faculty of Education. Programs provided include:

- a one year foundation certificate program for people who would like to develop their Māori language, culture, and tertiary study skills
- the Bachelor of Education (Teaching)—Huarahi Māori, a teaching degree for people confident in Māori language who want to teach in Māori immersion or bilingual schools, or in White schools
- undergraduate and postgraduate courses, teaching, and supervision.

The school has 18 academic and teaching staff, who make up just 12.9 full-time equivalent staff. There are four administrative staff positions, including a school manager (Māori). There are 297 effective full-time students.³⁵

Current Situation—Research

There are six Māori-focused research units at the University of Auckland:

1. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (the National Māori Institute of Research Excellence for Maori Development and Advancement). This institute was set up in 2002. It is funded on a fixed term basis³⁶ by the Tertiary Education Commission (a government department) and hosted by the University of Auckland. It supports Māori and Indigenous research aimed at bringing about positive change and transformation in Māori communities (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, 2012). Sixteen Māori-focused research entities throughout the country participate in the institute. It produces and publishes two academic journals, *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* and *MAI: A New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*.

2. Te Whare Kura: Indigenous Knowledges, Peoples and Identities Thematic Research Initiative. This unit is relatively new, having been established in 2009. It aims to bring Māori and Pacific Islands staff of the university together to develop collaborative research projects for the benefit of Māori and Indigenous communities. It funds preliminary work on projects and provides support for funding applications and international collaborations.³⁷
3. James Henare Māori Research Centre.³⁸ This is a small centre which was established in 1993 and focuses on the research needs of northern *iwi* (nations) in whose territories the university is based.³⁹
4. Mira Szasy Research Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development. This is another small centre, established in 1998 and located in the Business School.⁴⁰
5. Tōmaiōra Māori Health Research Centre. This centre is located in the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences.⁴¹
6. Te Tai Haruru: Māori Legal Academics Group. This is a very small group of Māori academics located in the Faculty of Law. It was established in 1994 and it compiles and publishes *Te Tai Haruru: Journal of Māori Legal Writing*.⁴²

Pros and Cons of Māori Studies in a British-based University

The following are some of what I consider to be the benefits and drawbacks of Māori studies programs in a British-styled university.

The resources available to New Zealand's British-based universities are extensive and the best available, and are far more than any Māori institution or group could ever access. The universities' role of critic and conscience of society is statutorily protected, which ensures that university staff can openly criticize within their own areas of expertise without fear of reprisal. This is not always available to Māori institutions that have come under attack from governments for successfully challenging government policy (Mutu, 2011, pp. 160-161). In the university, there is a critical mass of highly motivated, supportive colleagues, both Māori and non-Māori, and they are able to deliver significant benefits for Māori.

Of the drawbacks, the most significant is the institutional racism which pervades all the universities, and means that Māori are always struggling for a fair share of resources, and for proper recognition and inclusion of our own knowledge and expertise. Māori staff and graduate students find their teaching and research is always subject to approval by non-Māori. Personal and institutional racism does take its toll on isolated staff and students who often give up and leave.

Possible Strategies for Indigenizing the University of Auckland

Lack of any real and meaningful Māori representation at the governance and senior management levels of the University of Auckland has severely handicapped its progress in the development and advancement of Māori knowledge and expertise. There remains strong White resistance to the incorporation of Māori knowledge into the university's overall curriculum and a distinct discomfort with those staff, particularly those in the Department of Māori Studies, who refuse to allow the Māori presence and our knowledge to be devalued in the academy. Notable examples of this have been the repeated denial of requests by Māori staff and students for a Bachelor of Māori Studies to be offered,⁴³ the lack of any considered response to the concerns raised by the heads of Māori studies at other universities⁴⁴, and the Vice Chancellor censuring a senior Māori studies staff member for discussing racism being practiced against Māori in the University.⁴⁵ Māori staff across the university work incredibly hard to provide better and more relevant conditions and courses for Māori students and to conduct research that is relevant, meaningful, and beneficial for their communities. However, they invariably run into White resistance, which ranges from open hostility to embarrassment and quietly ignoring suggestions for improving conditions for Māori. In terms of student recruitment and teaching resources, the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences has made the most progress. The curriculum there is still based on *Pākehā* or White studies and a White world view, although the Department of Māori Health tells me it is strategizing to develop *Hauora Māori* (Māori health) as an academic discipline.⁴⁶ Support at the senior management level will be essential if this is to succeed. Past experience of White resistance to attempts to make these types of changes to the university's curriculum would seem to indicate that it will be a long and difficult battle; yet, it is a battle that must be fought.

It is clear to me that we will continue to have to battle to make any real progress until the time comes when the institutional racism in the university is addressed. For such a transformation to take place, there do need to be significant changes in both the attitudes and the personnel at the most senior levels of the university.

We cannot underestimate the determination of junior staff and our students to have such attitudes set aside, however. The work carried out in our six Māori research units and in similar units at other universities and Māori tertiary institutions has contributed to rising assertiveness in Māori communities as we move to take greater control of our lives. As a result, the next generation is much better informed and much less will-

ing to tolerate the attitudes and behaviour my generation has put up with. Our biggest hurdle has been getting Whites to acknowledge their racism (Abel & Mutu, 2011) and to start redressing the damage it has done. It therefore came as a pleasant surprise to watch a debate on national television in April 2013, which saw the viewing audience vote overwhelmingly that New Zealand is a racist country (TV3, 2013). Given the shame that is associated with being racist, I foster the hope that institutions like the University of Auckland may see fit to ask how it can rid itself of this scourge and repair the damage it has done to its Māori staff and students.

Conclusion

I have been at the University of Auckland since I enrolled as a first-year student in 1970. There are significant drawbacks for Māori. The university's ongoing reluctance to accommodate Māori knowledge as a core part of the curriculum has seen Māori students and staff migrate to more relevant and culturally safe Māori tertiary institutions. The only structural accommodation it has made is to put more effort into assimilating Māori staff and students into its White hegemonic culture. Yet despite this, it has been able to deliver information, resources, and expertise for my people that could not be accessed anywhere else. This is because even though we encounter White resistance, we have always had support from a number of our White colleagues. They helped us to establish our *marae* complex, and each of our teaching and research units, and the work being done in them, is helping to make some positive differences in our communities. The university still has a very long way to go, however, to provide for Māori at the same level that it provides for the White immigrants to our country. I hope to see the University of Auckland make much more rapid progress in that direction before I retire. *Kia ora tātou*—final greetings.

Notes

¹ Moana Jackson, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngāti Porou, Māori activist, lawyer, international constitutional expert, and legal scholar, who contribute to academic programs of Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

² See the many reports of the Waitangi Tribunal for detailed accounts of how this was achieved in different parts of the country. The reports can be accessed at <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/>. The Waitangi Tribunal was established by the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* of 1975; its function is "to enquire into claims laid by Māori against the Crown that they have been prejudicially affected by government legislation, policy, action or inaction that is inconsistent with the Treaty."

³ *The Education Act* of 1867 directed that instruction in schools be carried out in English, as far as practicable. *The Native Schools Amendment Act* of 1871 provided for establishment of village schools and instruction in English only. (Biggs, 1968, p. 74). Biological warfare was waged using introduced European diseases which Māori had no knowledge of nor resistance to. The 1907 *Tohunga Suppression Act* outlawed Māori knowledge and expertise. (see <http://www.enzs.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1908/1908C193.pdf>). By the early 1900s, the Māori population had been reduced to 42,000 and Whites were celebrating the pending demise of the entire Māori population. (Kukutai, 2011, p. 14; Mikaere, 2011, p. 72, quoting Churchill, 1999, p. 228.)

⁴ University of Auckland, 1883; University of Canterbury, 1873; University of Otago, 1871; Victoria University of Wellington, 1897; Massey University, 1927.

⁵ *New Zealand Statutes 1885; Auckland University College Reserves Act.*

⁶ Most notably, Sir Apirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou), MP for 38 years, who cautioned Māori against challenging White refusal to acknowledge, let alone adhere to, Te Tiriti o Waitangi because of the vicious and brutal response that would inevitably result. His 1922 *The Treaty of Waitangi: An Explanation* misrepresents the intention of the treaty in an attempt to dampen down Māori anger.

⁷ See the archive website at <http://www.library.auckland.ac.nz/ampm/>

⁸ See the Grey Collection website at <http://www.georgegrey.org.nz/TheCollection/Explore/id/5/collection/manuscripts-maori.aspx>

⁹ The protection of Māori (and all) academics' right to criticize White hegemonic behaviour derives from the legislation which established the universities. Section 162 of *The Education Amendment Act* states that New Zealand universities accept a role as critic and conscience of society. Section 161 in respect of academic freedom states, "The freedom of academic staff and students, within the law, to question and test received wisdom, to put forward new ideas and to state controversial or unpopular opinions".

¹⁰ Personal communications with the heads of Māori studies of all eight New Zealand universities, November 24-25, 2004, at the New Zealand Universities Māori Studies Subject Conference held at the University of Auckland.

¹¹ See Department of Māori Studies 1997 Annual Report.

¹² Source: Personal communication, Office of the Vice Chancellor, November 14, 2014.

¹³ Most notably the four *whare wānanga* (houses of higher learning): Aotearoa, Awanuiāran-gi, Raukawa, and Rangiāniwaniwa.

¹⁴ Associate Professor Ann Sullivan, who went on to become the first head of the School of Māori Studies in 2014.

¹⁵ In particular, for our support of Māori against the government confiscation of our foreshores and seabed (see Mutu, 2011) and for discussing racism against Māori in the media (see Abel and Mutu, 2011).

¹⁶ I use Camara Jones' definition of internalized racism as "acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth" (Jones, 2000, p. 1213).

¹⁷ Letter to the Acting Vice-Chancellor, University of Auckland, from the heads of Māori studies of Waikato, Massey, Victoria, AUT, Lincoln, Otago, and Canterbury Universities, December 1, 2004.

¹⁸ A recalculation of the 2003 scores in 2013 allocated the Department of Māori Studies at Auckland an average quality score of 6.8 (out of a possible 7) and a ranking of second out of 58 departments at the University of Auckland (Tertiary Education Commission, 2013, Appendix B 90-65).

¹⁹ See the Council website at <http://www.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/council-committees#s2c2>

²⁰ See the Senate website at <http://www.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/senate>

²¹ A series of university-wide meetings of Māori staff was held in mid-2013 to address on-going racism being experienced by Māori staff in every faculty and in the administration areas of the university. Tertiary Education Union intervention was required to stop the university from threatening staff involved in the meetings.

²² Source: Personal communication, Office of the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori), April 24, 2013.

²³ The pass rates for Māori students in the Department of Māori Studies have always been higher than the university average and are frequently higher than the average pass rate for all students. Māori staff members in other departments and faculties have always mentored Māori students. This was eventually formalized into the Tuākana mentoring program, which now employs successful senior Māori students in all faculties to mentor more junior Māori students. See the Tuākana website at <http://www.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/eo-tuakana>

²⁴ The so-called principles of the *Treaty of Waitangi* have their genesis in the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* of 1975. They were an attempt by parliament and the courts to replace Te Tiriti o Waitangi with principles that attempted to reconcile the irreconcilable Tiriti o Waitangi and Treaty of Waitangi in the face of White denial that their claims that Māori ceded sovereignty were false (Mikaere, 2011, pp.123-146). The principles are based on the Treaty of Waitangi rather than Te Tiriti o Waitangi and, as such, wrongly assume that Māori ceded sovereignty and that Whites are inherently superior to and must control Māori.

²⁵ Source: Personal communications from the Pro-VC (Māori) on several dates.

²⁶ See the Vice-Chancellor's response to the recommendation of the 2010 review of the Department of Māori Studies that a Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) conduct a feasibility study on the establishment of a wānanga (which would establish a Māori-focused curriculum and degrees). The Vice Chancellor directed that the Pro-VC (Māori) only consider the feasibility of any proposal after it had been developed by others (Mutu, 2012).

²⁷ See minutes of the Rūnanga contained in Senate agenda papers.

²⁸ See the website of the Rūnanga at

<http://www.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/home/about/maori-at-the-university/ma-runanga/ma-membership>

²⁹ Staff do occasionally give guest lectures in each others' courses but attempts at more meaningful collaboration in the past have been unsuccessful.

³⁰ See the Department of Māori Studies website at

<http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/home/about/subjects-and-courses/maori-studies-1>

³¹ Until the restructuring of the Faculty of Arts in 2014, there were 16 departments with full-time equivalent staff numbers ranging between 29 and five, and averaging 16. Effective full-time student numbers in departments range between 815 and 116, and average 367. (Source: Faculty of Arts, 2012).

³² My thanks to the Deputy Dean (Māori), Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences, Associate Professor Papaarangi Reid, for the information in this section.

³³ Te Kupenga Hauora Māori comprises the Office of the Tumuaki: the Deputy Dean (Māori); the Department of Māori Health; a program called Vision 20/20, which is a faculty-wide commitment to improving Māori and Pasifika Health Workforce development that aims to increase the number of Māori and Pacific health professionals to 10 per cent of the health workforce by 2020; a Māori recruitment project, which is externally funded and targets young Māori in secondary schools to encourage a career in health; the Māori and Pacific Admission Scheme (MAPAS), which provides both admission into and support for indigenous Māori and for Pacific Islands students during study in the nursing, pharmacy, medicine, and health sciences programs of the faculty; the certificate in health sciences, a one-year foundation program aimed at boosting sciences for Māori and Pacific Islands students from secondary school study or from the community in preparation for year one health sciences studies; Tōmaiora Māori Health Research Unit, which is the research focus of Te Kupenga Hauora Māori. See <http://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/faculty/tkham/default.aspx>

³⁴ In 2014, the Department of Māori Studies combined with the Centre for Pacific Studies to form Te Wānanga o Waipapa: The School of Māori Studies and Pacific Studies. It is a very small school along with three other very large schools in the Faculty of Arts.

³⁵ My thanks to the Head of School, Te Puna Wānanga, The School of Māori Education, Faculty of Education, Dr Jenny Lee, for the information in this section (personal communication, May 16, 2013).

³⁶ In early 2014, Ngā Pae was informed that government funding would cease in 2015. Letters of protest from Māori and other Indigenous researchers around the world resulted in the government undertaking to fund a Māori centre of research excellence, although not necessarily Ngā Pae.

³⁷ See the website for Te Whare Kura at <http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/te-whare-kura>

³⁸ See the *Current Situation—Research* section.

³⁹ See the website for the centre at <http://www.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/home/about/maori-at-the-university/james-henare-maori-research-centre>

⁴⁰ See the website for the centre at

<http://www.business.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/home/about/our-research/bs-research-institutes-and-centres/the-mira-szaszy-research-centre-for-maori-and-pacific-economic-development>

⁴¹ See Note 33 and <http://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/faculty/tomaiaora/default.aspx>

⁴² See the website for the group at <http://www.law.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/ca-tth>

⁴³ See Note 26.

⁴⁴ See the *Current Situation—Research* section and Note 17.

⁴⁵ Letter from the Vice Chancellor to Professor Margaret Mutu, July 10, 2013.

⁴⁶ Associate Professor Papaarangi Reid, Deputy Dean (Māori), Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences (personal communication, April 29, 2013).

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