Kurahautū
The Archbishops' Wayfinder Unit

# Reconciling Schooling

## Selected Thinking in Conversation with an Anglican Indigenous Worldview

Created for
ANGLICAN INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE

**Tena ko te tangata e inu ana i te wai e hoatu e ahau ki a ia, e kore ia e mate i te wai a ake ake; engari te wai e hoatu e ahau ki a ia, hei puna wai tena i roto i a ia e pupu ake ana, a te ora tonu ra ano.**

**Those who drink of the water that I will give them will never be thirsty. The water that I will give will become in them a spring of water gushing up to eternal life**

John 4:14

# He Kupu Whakataki | Introduction

Indigenous academics have long understood that schooling has been a site of struggle and resistance to colonisation.

What should have been a life-giving exercise of sharing and learning for new generations instead became an exercise in control and assimilation.

Church schools were no exception. In North America and Australia they became sites of terror, grief and loss, and their impact and terrible legacy is still coming clear today.

However, indigenous people endured. Some sites of loss and pain became sites of resistance and growth. Attempts to eradicate culture did not work completely, and indigenous spirits survived.

Some schools were even sites of flourishing. Te Aute and Hukarere Colleges in Aotearoa produced generations of leaders who would make sure Māori flourished as Māori. From there our language and culture not only survived but thrived, and an indigenous Anglicanism emerged that continues to shape us as a people of faith.

This reader contains stories of education. It contains stories of pain. And somewhere in there, God continues to provide stories of hope.

*September 2023*

# Education for Indigenous Children

**A partial timeline**

**1814 |**
Governor Macquarie opens a school for Aboriginal children at Parramatta called the 'Native Institution' to "civilise, educate and foster habits of industry and decency in the Aborigines". The local Aboriginal people (Koori) remove their children from the school after they realise that its aim is to distance the children from their families and communities.
[Aboriginal timeline: Education – Creative Spirits: https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/australian-aboriginal-history-timeline/education]

**1830 to mid-1840s |**
Period of high interest by Māori in schooling follows [the arrival of missionary printing presses] and lasts throughout 1830s and into early 1840s. Mission day schools teaching in the Māori language. Many Māori setting up their own schools.
[*Ngā Kura Māori,* p.xv]

**1840 |**
The public school system was established in Hawai'i by King Kamehameha III. Pupils were primarily taught in the Hawaiian language.

**1844 |**
A training college for 'native' teachers was established by the London Missionary Society, Methodists and the Marist Brothers and Sisters in Sāmoa, to meet Sāmoan demand for teachers at village schools.
[O.F. Nelson, *The Truth about Samoa*, 1928, p.4]

**1867 |** The Native Schools Act passed in New Zealand. This led to the 'establishment of a national, state-controlled system of village primary schools for Māori, under the supervision of the Native Department. English to be the medium of instruction. Each Native School to be initiated by members of a Māori community forming a committee and requesting the school, supplying the land, half the cost of the buildings and a quarter of the teacher's salary.'
[*Ngā Kura Māori*, p.xvi]

**1896 |**
Following the overthrowing of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 by the United States, the Hawaiian language was banned as a language of instruction in Hawai'i in 1896. This would affect the schooling of Hawaiian children for most of the twentieth century. (Hawai'i State Department of Education)

**1909 |**
The NSW Aborigines Protection Act is introduced. The Act made it illegal for 'half-castes' to live on reserves. In 1915 and 1918 amendments to the Act gave the NSW Aborigines Protection Board greater powers to remove children from their families for training as domestic servants. Aboriginal schools were established in NSW. Exclusion of Aboriginal children from public schools followed requests by the

white community. In NSW there were 22 Aboriginal schools in 1910, 35 in 1920 and 40 in 1940. The syllabus stressed manual activities and the teacher was usually the reserve manager's untrained wife.
[Aboriginal timeline: Education - Creative Spirits]

**1920 |**
Legislation was passed in Canada mandating all Aboriginal children aged 7–15 must leave their communities to live in residential schools run by the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches and the United Church of Canada. 'During the 1980s former students began making allegations of sexual and physical abuse inflicted on them in the schools. In 2006, a class-action suit resulted in the awarding of the largest financial settlement in Canadian legal history.' The Anglican Church was named in approximately 18% of legal claims.
[*Christian Century*, July 15, 2008, pp.18–19]

**1953 |**
The last Protestant missionaries were expelled from China, following the 1949 revolution.

**1969 |**
At the beginning of the year, the remaining 105 Māori Schools were transferred to education board control, and the Māori Schools system was officially disestablished.

**1971 |**
Principals in schools in NSW were no longer able to exclude Aboriginal children from public schools due to community objections or their home environments
[Aboriginal timeline: Education - Creative Spirits]

**1978 |**
The Hawaiian State Government legislates that: '"The State shall promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history and language…in the public schools."

**1982 |**
The first five kōhanga reo
[Māori-language and values-led preschools] were established in Aotearoa with funding from the national government of New Zealand.

**1985 |**
Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi opened in West Auckland, New Zealand, as a Māori-language and Māori-led primary school. From 1989, kura kaupapa were formally supported by the New Zealand Government under the Education Act (1989).

**1996 |**
The last residential school in Canada closed.

**2016 |**
Aboriginal languages become a new HSC subject, seven years after the NSW Aboriginal Languages Policy was introduced.
[Aboriginal timeline: Education - Creative Spirits].

# Ngā Kura Māori

**Te Puna | Resource**
Professor Hirini Moko Mead, 'He Kupu Whakataki: Foreword', in Judith Simon, ed, *Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System*, 1867–1969, Auckland, 1998, pp.viii-xi.

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Sir Hirini Moko Mead (b.1927, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāi Tūhoe and Tūhourangi) is a New Zealand anthropologist, historian, artist, teacher, writer and prominent Māori leader. Initially trained as a teacher and artist, Mead taught in many schools in the East Coast and Bay of Plenty regions, and later served as principal of several schools. After earning his PhD in 1968, he taught anthropology in several universities abroad. He returned to New Zealand in 1977 and established the first Māori studies department in the country. Mead later became a prominent Māori advocate and leader, acting in negotiations on behalf of several tribes and sitting on numerous advisory boards. He has also written extensively on Māori culture. He is currently the chair of the council of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

Māori Schools were an important part of the education of a large number of Māori men and women, and over a significant period of time. Those of us who attended what was then the local Native School knew no other system of education. Our parents believed it was our school and therefore we had to listen to the teachers. There seemed to be a lot of attention given to listening to the teachers, which implied that our parents knew and believed in the philosophy of the Native School. [...] the Native School, in fact, began as a tool of government policy. It was more their school than ours. However, through the years the teachers were drawn increasingly towards meeting the educational, cultural and social needs of the Māori community.

Most of those who attended the Native School system at the turn of the [19th to 20th] century are gone. One shudders at the thought of being a pupil in their day. Those of us who remain today had a different experience because the philosophy of the schools had changed and had become more enlightened and aware of the cultural dimensions of learning.

By the time I became aware of what was happening to me the curriculum had been revolutionised by the inclusion for the first time of Māori music and what was then called Māori arts and crafts. This occurred in the 1930s. [...] I do have clear memories of Rangitahi where the curriculum was much more interesting and I suspect the teachers were more motivated and better trained to meet the needs of the Māori pupils. There was an element of luck in who the pupils got as a teacher.

At Rangitahi I was able to win a Government Scholarship which allowed me to leave the home and go to another world at St Stephen's School at Bombay. And another world it was. It was like a military outpost in Afghanistan. The school was under the umbrella of the Anglican Church and it was run by what seemed to

me to be a retired colonel from the African campaign. It was a dreadful place of learning and it was an experience better forgotten. Later when I became a teacher I could never understand how Pākehā inspectors could have condoned the teaching practices of that institution.

It was a great relief to be among the students who were transferred from St Stephen's during the war to Te Aute College in Hawke's Bay. This was also run by the Anglican Church, but Te Aute was a totally different experience with clear role models to follow; namely Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck and many others. One was proud to be at Te Aute.

This was the Māori School system that many of us experienced. For the women the expectations were the same; leave home and go to a church boarding school such as Hukarere or St Joseph's at Greenmeadows or Turakina. That was how the system worked. Scholarships took the pupils away from their homes and the church school did the job that the government of the day wanted done.
[...] The junior assistant was a remarkable institution. Usually untrained, young, female, Māori, she was like a liaison officer between the school and the community, did all of the odd jobs in the school and often became the de facto infant mistress who worked hard for the pupils. At many of the schools I visited the junior assistant was always present and very visible. One could not say the same for some of the other teachers. [...]

The book describes the policy of the Department of Education in appointing married couples to Māori Schools. My wife, June, was herself a product of the Māori Schools [p.ix] system which I have described. She and I became one of those couples. We served our apprenticeship at Minginui Māori School set in a remote timber milling village in the Urewera district. There we learned how to run a Māori School, how to deal with workbooks, schemes, cleaning schedules, keeping the toilets clean, ensuring there was wood for the pot-bellied stoves, lighting the fires in the winter, overseeing the distribution of malted milk, climbing up the tank to fetch fresh water, hosting school inspectors and, once a month, going to the nearest town to shop for one's family. It was a great experience.

From Minginui we then went to a coastal village in the Hawke's Bay and taught at Waimārama Māori School. It was there I began teaching te reo Māori at a Māori primary school and was questioned for doing so because it was not done in a Māori School. That was the first time I recognised that the Department of Education was not in favour of approving the teaching of Māori to Māori pupils in Māori Schools. The Waimārama School Committee and I won that battle. Now, of course, that is no longer an issue. We did our country service and at the same time did our iwi service.

My wife and I, as a Māori Schools couple, became committed to Māori Schools. Like many other couples. Thus the closure of the Māori Schools and their wholesale transfer to education board control came as a shock and a betrayal. The Māori Schools system was a cohesive and supportive institution. It was making

great progress towards serving the need of Māori pupils and the Māori community honestly and professionally. The last of the World War I veterans were retired and gone and a new breed of teaching couple, mostly Māori, emerged. The future looked promising.

One cannot help viewing the closure as a statement that the government had achieved its mission. Māori language and Māori culture had, in a metaphorical sense, been defeated and put on the defensive. Assimilation had, to a large degree been achieved and now the Māori Schools could be mainstreamed and no longer treated as a special service meeting the special needs of Māori.

That there was pressure from other providers of education services to take away from the Māori what seemed to them to be a special privilege there can be no doubt. Some of them thought that the mainstream system could provide just as well for Māori but history has proven them to be absolutely wrong. The Māori Schools system was actually on the right track but it needed to do far more for the needs of Māori than was being done at the time of the closure. The mainstream school system had a long way to go to achieve the same sort of results that the Māori Schools were getting.

The irony of the situation is that a Māori Schools system is being reconstituted and reborn at the present time. Now there are Kōhanga Reo, Kaupapa Māori Schools and Wānanga at the tertiary level. This new system is far more focused on Māori education than was the case with the old system. It is Māori driven this time, largely staffed by Māori, and the client group is almost totally Māori. It is a much better organised and more comprehensive version of the old model. [p.x]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- Mead's description of the Native/Māori Schools is complex. How does he view the relative 'ownership' of these schools and the relative power of teachers, the communities in which they were situated, the Anglican church, and the national government?

# A Civilising Mission?

**Te Puna | Resource**
Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds, *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System*, Auckland, 2001, pp.3-4, 10, 11.

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Linda Tuhiwai Smith, CNZM (b.1950, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou) is a professor of indigenous education, and author of the groundbreaking and seminal work *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999, 2012, 2021). Judith A. Simon was a part of the Department of Education at the University of Auckland when this book was published.

[...] the system has been established in accordance with the 'civilising' agenda of the nineteenth-century state, specifically to facilitate the 'Europeanising' of Māori. The Native School thus was intended as a structured interface between Māori culture and European culture—a site where the two cultures would be brought into an organised collision, as it were—with one culture being confronted by the other in a systematic way. Pākehā teachers appointed to these schools were expected to engage with Māori in specific ways designed to systematically undermine their culture and replace it with that of the Pākehā. While the overall goal of the state might be seen as the reinforcing of Pākehā dominance in the structural relations of Māori and Pākehā, the process itself involved Māori-Pākehā relations at a personal level. As agents of the state, the teachers were expected to carry out their professional tasks in ways that would assist the fulfilment of the state's structural goals. However, the dynamics of personal as well as professional relations and the ways in which power operated within them could allow for numerous factors to intervene in and influence the process.

Pākehā 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 also had their own understandings and expectations about Pākehā teachers (and about Pākehā in general) and of the role of the Native School. Such variations could allow for a range of possibilities in the ways relationships between Pākehā teachers and Māori communities developed. The geographical isolation of a Native School community could also significantly affect the dynamics of teacher-community relations. Not only would the Pākehā teacher and family represent a very small social minority within such a community but their survival in that environment would sometimes be reliant on the goodwill of their neighbours. Thus, while the Native School as an agency of the state might have been expected to reflect the dominance of Pākehā political power within the Māori community, the 'lived reality' in terms of the relations between Māori and Pākehā teachers could be far more complex and contradictory in character.

A further complexity in the Native Schools system, in terms of its Europeanising goal, was that Māori teachers were also employed in the schools. Few of them, however, [end of p.3] were in charge of schools before the middle years of the twentieth century.' [p.4]

[...] For the first 70 or so years the Native Schools system was restricted to just primary schooling. However, it provided for scholarships to enable 'the most proficient Māori children' who had completed all the standards of the Native School to have two years secondary schooling at the denominational boarding schools for Māori. The idea behind this was to develop a Māori elite who would eventually return to their kāinga and, in taking up leadership roles there, spread the gospel of assimilation. In 1941, however, in line with the Labour government's concern to make secondary schooling available to all children, the Native Schools system ventured into secondary schooling, with the establishment of the first Native District High Schools. These were intended for those Māori who were not able to attend the denominational secondary schools. [p.10]

In his Foreword to Ngā Kura Māori, Hirini Mead noted that whereas the Native School began as a 'tool of government policy', over the years the teachers 'were drawn increasingly towards meeting the educational, cultural and social needs of the Māori community'. This observation highlights the dynamic and often contradictory nature of the Native Schools system. There were differences between official and community perceptions of the role of the Native School differences in the relationships established between teachers and communities, and differences not only in how teachers interpreted their own roles but also in how they responded to both official policies and community expectations. As a consequence, the outcomes of policies could be, and often were, very different from the original intentions of policy-makers. Policies were also modified and changed over the years in response to social pressures—including those from Māori communities. [p.11]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- What does this brief history of Native schools suggest about the relationships between the government and the Anglican church as educational leaders in Aotearoa?

# Indigenous Transforming of Education

**Te Puna | Resource**
Graham Hingangaroa Smith, 'Kaupapa Māori Theory: Indigenous Transforming of Education', in Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones, eds, *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori*, Wellington, 2017, pp.79–94. (excerpt from pp.82, 92–93.)

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Graham Hingangaroa Smith, CNZM FRSNZ (born 1950), is a Māori academic and educationalist of Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Kahungunu descent. He was CEO and Vice Chancellor at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, a tertiary institution with campuses in Whakatāne, Te Tai Tokerau and Tāmaki Makaurau.

**The centrality of education as a site of struggle**
Education and schooling are important sites of struggle given they have traditionally been key agencies in promulgating the ongoing colonisation of Māori. Education and schooling have damaged the validity and practice of Māori language, knowledge, and culture. However, education and schooling are also locations to be struggled over as they have the potential to be reformed as sites that can deliver Māori aspirations. The transforming potential of schools and education was the hope that underpinned the 1980s revolution and the emergence of the Māori alternative educational models.

As well as the underlying 'thinking' revolution and the 'freeing of the Māori mind' to reimagine different ways of being, some other important educational concerns of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis are:

- the revitalisation of Māori language, knowledge, and culture;
- the validity of Māori language, knowledge, and culture;
- the need to develop a buy-in by Māori communities to a shared vision;
- the need to develop critical understandings of how colonisation is reproduced;
- the need to be intentional about transforming social, cultural, and economic positioning;
- the need to support cultural values, practices, and pedagogies;
- the need to regenerate extended family values and practice.

This list might be read as a summary of the gaps in 'mainstream' options. But more positively, Māori want these concerns to be central to a reclaiming of education and schooling. The struggle to reclaim education and schooling is critical to a broader intention to transform the disproportionately high levels of social and economic under-development that have accrued to Māori. Given the levels of under-development, Māori will not have a sustainable social, cultural, and economic transformation without a simultaneous educational revolution. I am not just talking about *fitting into* the existing system and improving access, participation, and success, which is what most people measure as Māori 'progress'.

Māori want an education system that fits their language, knowledge, and cultural aspirations rather than one that educates Māori away from their heritage language, knowledge, and culture. [p.82]

[...] Education has been a major factor in embedding indigenous inferiority. We must reclaim the power of education to act in our interests. An important de-colonising act therefore, is to struggle over the *meaning* and [p.92] *intention* of education and schooling. It needs to serve *all* peoples and not simply be a means to reproduce dominant cultural expectations at the expense of indigenous and Māori interests.

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- In what ways can we take up Smith's call to decolonise education?
- What new criteria might be used to assess whether educational offerings are best supporting Māori and other indigenous peoples?

# Civilising the Māori with school and church

**Te Puna | Resource**
Ani Mikaere, 'Te Harinui: Civilising the Māori with school and church', in Jessica Hutchings and Jenny Lee Morgan, eds, *Decolonisation in Aotearoa: Education, Research and Practice*, Wellington, 2016, pp.48–57.

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Ani Mikaere (Ngāti Raukawa) is the Pou Whakatupu Mātauranga at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, where she teaches Māori Laws and Philosophy.

[...] Marsden was [...] responsible for the establishment of the first mission school in 1816, thereby signalling the start of a lengthy missionary campaign to 'civilise' Māori through a zealous combination of schooling and church. [...] by the 1830s Māori enthusiasm for literacy had translated into significant growth within the mission schools. Keith Sorrenson describes the Māori demand for the printed word as "insatiable", noting that by 1845 approximately half of all adult Māori had acquired a degree of literacy (Sorrenson, 1981, p.168). [...]

For their part, Māori parents saw no reason to limit their children's education to Christian texts or to te reo Māori. On the contrary, they were anxious for their children to acquire European knowledge and fluency in English so that they would be better equipped to deal with the threats being posed by a rapidly increasing Pākehā population and its obvious hunger for land. It is important to note, too, that the parents saw the acquisition of such abilities as complementing Māori language and knowledge rather than replacing it. [...] [p.50]

[...] At about the same time as the state began to subsidise the mission schools [1847], several church boarding schools were also established. These provided secondary education for those pupils deemed more promising and were aimed at removing them from "the Māori environment" of the village day schools (Sorrenson, 1981, p.171). They included St. Stephen's in Parnell (established in 1846) and Te Aute (established in 1854).

During the land wars of the 1860s Māori enthusiasm for Pākehā education plummeted, leading to the collapse of many of the mission schools (Simon, 1998; Sorrenson, 1981). In their place a national system of village primary schools was established. The Native Schools endured for over a century, from 1867 to 1969. However, it was not until 1941 that the first Native District High School was established to meet the needs (as judged by the Department of Education) of Māori secondary school students. Until that time, those who could not afford to attend the denominational schools took their chances at state schools or simply stopped attending school altogether.

For a lengthy period, then, aside from those who attended the denominational schools, all Māori students received a secular education. It should be noted, however, that by this time schools were no longer required as tools for conversion.

Sorrenson notes that by the early 1840s most Māori had become, at the very least, "nominal Christians", adhering more strictly to Christian obligations (such as observing the Sabbath) than their Pākehā neighbours and frequently assembling in large gatherings for worship (Sorrenson, 1981, p.171). So pervasive was the influence of Christianity that, over time, Christian principles became heavily intertwined with tikanga. A contemporary example of this phenomenon is the surprisingly common practice of opening a pōwhiri with a Christian karakia, after which the whaikōrero is allowed to begin.

During the 1980s Māori rebelled against the assimilatory thrust of the state education system, setting up kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura. The Education Act 1989 eventually caught up [p.51] with Māori demands, providing for kura kaupapa Māori (section 155) and also for kura-ā-iwi (as special character schools under section 156). As state schools, kura kaupapa and kura-ā-iwi are obliged to offer a secular education at primary level. This does not mean a complete ban on all forms of religious observance or instruction, but there are conditions that must be met. While stating that teaching must be secular during the hours that a school is open for instruction (section 77), the Education Act 1964 also allows a school to close for up to one hour a week for religious instruction or religious observance (section 78). During such times, children must be free to opt out of these activities (section 79). Boards of trustees may choose to include religious instruction at secondary school level (section 72) but the obligation to comply with the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 means that any such activity must be offered in a non-discriminatory way, with students free to opt out if they wish.

These provisions suggest that Christian religious observance should play a minimal role, particularly at primary school level, within kura kaupapa and kura-ā-iwi. [...] However, as a parent with some 25 years' experience of children attending kura kaupapa, kura-ā-iwi or belonging to whānau units within Pākehā secondary schools, it is clear to me that Christianity masquerading as tikanga has pervaded these spaces to an alarming degree.

In all of these environments Christian prayer former part of their everyday routines, opening and closing all gatherings and events. Not only were my children in attendance during such rituals, but they were regularly expected to participate in the recitation of lengthy prayers and the singing of hymns. All of them performed in school kapa haka groups, whose brackets typically began with a suitably Christian song as the choral item. My daughter was even corrected by her teacher when she suggested that their karakia should be addressing "ngā atua" (the gods) rather than "Te Atua" (God). [p.52] [...]

Something that has changed since my children began their journey through the compulsory education sector is a revival of interest in karakia Māori: it has become increasingly common to hear karakia Māori used as part of the daily routines within kaupapa Māori educational spheres. While this revival of enthusiasm is encouraging, caution is still called for. I fear that many of the assumptions

underpinning Christianity have become so deeply ingrained in our thinking that we are at risk of reinventing karakia Māori in a way that simply reinforces some of the most harmful aspects of Christian thought.

The main tension, as I see it, stems from the fundamental clash between, on the one hand, a theory of existence that is centred on whakapapa and, on the other hand, the dictates of monotheism. Reliance on whakapapa as a central organising concept means conceiving of the whole of creation as an intricate system of relationships. These relationships must constantly be negotiated, nurtured and developed to meet changing circumstances. Whakapapa is dynamic, flexible, complex and non-hierarchical. Monotheism, on the other hand, is rigidly hierarchical and compartmentalised. It is dogmatic, asserting one truth and permitting no other. It normalises the concepts of dominance and subservience, ranking the whole of creation in relation to the supreme power of the One God, who sits in divine isolation, demanding obedience from his subjects and punishing those who err. [p.54]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- Do you agree with Mikaere's characterisation of monotheism, as it exists within the contemporary Anglican churches?

- What can we learn from Mikaere's writing?

# Gods and Kaupapa Māori Research

**Te Puna | Resource**
Garrick Cooper, 'Gods and Kaupapa Māori Research', in Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones, eds, *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori*, Wellington, 2017, pp.147–159.

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Garrick Cooper (Ngāti Karaua (Hauraki) and Te Pirirākau (Tauranga Moana) is a senior lecturer in Aotahi, the School of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Canterbury. He is interested in practices of 'decoloniality' in Aotearoa.

When we engage with science as Kaupapa Māori scholars, and are critical of the knowledge that science produces, this activity has beneficial effects for Māori, as Kaupapa Māori researchers point out. But Kaupapa Māori, in engaging with science, has perhaps been more infected with scientific assumptions than we realise. Our increasing tendency towards secularism is an example of our taking-up of a form of knowledge, a logic, that positions the unknown, the unknowable, the mysterious, on the outside of legitimate Kaupapa Māori knowledge.

And when we position Christianity as the opposite of secularism, we might be tempted to reject Christianity, saying at the same time that we are engaging in our decolonisation. But by rejecting Christianity as western thought (and therefore inimical to Kaupapa Māori thought), we simplify in a western way. Our tūpuna did not simplify or narrow things down; they always expanded [p.156] thinking, kept new ideas constantly in engagement with the existing ones, and did not settle on 'truths' that could be understood separately from the conditions in which they found themselves. Māori always had a sense of the divine, of the unknowable, the gods, which always-already existed in all knowledges. In taking up a Kaupapa Māori that finds this complexity too hard, we unwittingly reproduce the very forms of thought we seek to critique. Science, and the Kaupapa Māori that finds an acceptable place in the academy, becomes decadent, rigidified, and closed to new ideas and other knowledges, wherever they might originate. The stories of the intellectual curiosity and flexibility of our ancestors might guide us out of this closed system into more vivid and radical forms of Kaupapa Māori thought and action. [p.157]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- What does Cooper suggest the inclusion of Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori brings to the practice of science in Aotearoa?

- How does he perceive the potential for relationships between Christianity, kaupapa Māori and scientific exploration and discovery?

# Churches in Canada after Residential Schools

**Te Puna | Resource**
Jean-François Roussel, trans. by Ruth Wilde, 'Churches and Theology in Canada after Residential Schools: The Difficult Path of Truth, Reparation and Decolonization', in Daniel Franklin Pilario, Susan Ross and Solange Lefebvre, eds, *Minorities*, London, 2017, pp.113–120.

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Jean-François Roussel is part of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Montreal. His research focusses on the religious representations of the Indigenous world, the history of Residential Schools for indigenous people, and the prospects for transforming relationships between First Nations, churches and society in Quebec.

The Canadian Residential School system was built on a partnership between the Canadian government and the churches. It gave a governmental structure to an educational and missionary model that already existed and was run by the churches. The creation of the Residential School system came a few years after the creation of modern Canada (1867). Children were removed from their families and communities (by force if necessary from 1894 onwards), and interned in schools run by church employers. This system was abolished in 1969, although some institutions continued running until 1998 outside the governmental framework. It is estimated that 150,000 First Nations children (Native American, Inuit and Métis) were [p.113] sent to Residential Schools. The schools were part of a colonial policy, also applied elsewhere in the world, that aimed to eliminate the 'Indian problem' by eradicating First Nations people themselves as a cultural group in order to prepare them to assimilate and become fully Canadian. The primary goal of the churches was to Christianize the indigenous children, far from the influence of their families and communities – which was perceived as detrimental.

In 2006, after a long political and legal struggle, a legal agreement called for the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It was mandated to examine the history and legacy of the Residential Schools. The injustice that was examined included physical and sexual abuse; the elimination of indigenous languages; harm to family and community ties; repression of 'pagan' spiritualities; and 6,000 deaths due to unhealthy living conditions, physical abuse, absconding or suicide. The legacy is multi-generational: parental disabilities, cultural uprooting, suicide, drug addiction, sexual violence, and more. It is a lingering, painful legacy, despite the resilience demonstrated by many indigenous peoples.

[...] For some indigenous thinkers and activists, the reconciliation project is simply a 'political distraction'. In their view, it is unacceptable because reconciliation with Canada under the unchanged conditions of territorial [p.114] dispossession, and resulting cultural and spiritual disconnection, is the same as reconciliation with colonialism. From a perspective of transitional justice, some propose alternative ideas: restitution of what has been taken away, reparation of wrongs if restitution

is impossible, and reframing or rewriting history to deconstruct the false colonialist narrative (reframing, re-storying).

Reconciliation appears in this case as a distant and uninspiring objective – a major contrast with the Christian value placed on reconciliation as another word for salvation and the realization of love. However, an increasing number of voices and groups in the churches recognize that real reconciliation requires reparation, conversion and decolonization on the part of the churches. Their former influence in society made them proxies for a project of acculturation into the dominant society. How can they now repair, restore and break with the false colonial narrative? [p.115]

[...] For the foreseeable future, after the closure of the Residential Schools and the light shed on the churches' role in them, their credibility is compromised: this is as true in the eyes of indigenous people as it is in the eyes of young people in particular, and in fact of the entire Canadian population. At the same time, the churches no longer exercise the social and moral influence they had in the past, despite the high number of citizens claiming to be Christian in Canada. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is therefore a test of truth and steadfastness in a new context of social, cultural and ethical marginalization. Confronted with the challenge of their ongoing role and existence in Canada, will the new and committee minority of Christian communities remain steadfast in their pastoral commitment to reparation and solidarity, with nothing to constrain them except diminished resources?

How can churches contribute to the revitalization of the First Nations [p.118] communities? How can theology work alongside the churches and the broader society, by supporting the emergence of a praxis of decolonization? How can it be a part of the movements in broader civil society, to which it belongs in its own way, and make a contribution to the multidisciplinary research into the legacy of residential schools? The present humbling of the churches forces them to live through an experience of death, which can enable new practices and actions to emerge in shared solidarity with indigenous peoples. [p.119]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions:**

- Roussel suggests that the churches in Canada once occupied a place of centrality and power and now contend with 'diminished resources'. To what extent does that seem a fair summation of the current circumstances of the Anglican church within Canada today?

- Does Roussel's depiction of 'humbling' of the church as 'an experience of death' resonate? What are some of the benefits or drawbacks to perceiving churches' reckoning with their own flawed pasts in terms of death and rebirth?

- Roussel leaves many of his questions unanswered. How might we start answering them?

# Healing from Residential School Experiences

**Te Puna | Resource**
Tracey Carr and Brian Chartier, 'Healing from Residential School Experiences: Support Workers and Elders on Healing and the Role of Mental Health Professionals', in Aimée Craft and Paulette Regan, eds, *Pathways of Reconciliation: Indigenous and Settler Approaches to Implementing the TRC's Calls to Action*, Winnipeg, 2020, pp. 189–201. (Excerpt pp.193–195.)

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Carr is a psychology lecturer at the University of Saskatchewan, and Chartier is a clinical psychologist who has presented part of a graduate seminar for psychology students at that same university. In this study, they interviewed a small number (11) of Elders and support workers at the Resolution Health Support Program (RHSP) in Saskatchewan in 2015 who had been former attendees at residential schools.

A dominant theme in how participants described healing was Connecting with Culture. Many participants described the need to overcome drug and alcohol addiction in their communities, families, and themselves. Recovering from addiction often strengthened a renewed connection to culture.

After attempting to heal through church attendance, one participant described how he sought healing through his heritage:

> I was an addict and…I had to find ways to heal myself. And I couldn't find that healing in the churches. So I thought, I'm going to come back and learn about my heritage. Go back to my heritage and see if I can find healing there and I did! I did. But I had to do a lot of travelling. I've got to do a lot of research! You know, talking to different Elders, going to different ceremonies, participating in ceremonies. In the sweat lodges, the sun dances, *fasting*. You know, fasting for knowledge. And learning about Creator. You know, learning about the creation belief. [p.193]

Similar to other participants in this sample, he found recovery and healing by returning to Indigenous ceremonies and actively relearning his culture.

The second dominant theme was Support Programs. Such support programs took several forms: the RHSP itself, self-help groups, and sharing circles. As support workers, when participants listened with a commitment to confidentiality, they felt they could potentially empower former IRS students. As one participant stated: "I really pride myself in my ability to maintain confidentiality.... I sit with people and I listen…I'm a good listener.... And I let people get to trust me…I work to empower people. To help people to *empower* themselves." Another participant described the need for the RHSP to exist in all communities: "You know and I think if anything, there should be resolution health support and Elders, working specifically or supporting residential school survivors in *every* community…I know in mind we don't have—in [community name]…there's no support." Groups with a self-help focus were also fulfilling communities' healing needs: "We have a women's group out there and…where I am now…they have AA groups, NA groups,

you know—that helps a lot too." Similarly, this participant identified the healing potential of family circles: "I think family circles help a lot. I've worked with family circles. I work with group circles. Like women's circles, men's circles, I think they help a lot...[in] bringing...that stuff out."

It appears that a group setting, whether with family, other former students, or people with comparable problems, may contribute to healing among former IRS students and their families.

The third key them to the healing process was Forgiveness. Participants described how forgiving themselves and those who had harmed them was central to their healing efforts. The following participant articulated how forgiveness of herself and those who harmed her initiated her own ongoing process of healing:

> I had to deal with my issues. In order to go on, I had to forgive myself. Because that was one of the things that held me back for a long time—I hated myself and I hated my body. ... To deal with that issue...by *forgiving* I was able to go on. Those different things I took to help me heal and I'm still *healing* today. You'll never quit healing until you die. Because as an Elder I have to really dig deep...inside, in my heart, and forgive the people that had harmed me. And also to forgive myself—that was the only way I could go on. [p.194]

This participant characterized forgiveness as "amends": "[I] started making amends to myself with all the anger and bitterness that I had towards the world and to the white people."

Forgiveness as a path to healing was a two-way street in these participants' minds. They first had to acknowledge what had happened to them and the pain they had suffered. With this pain in mind, they then had to forgive themselves. Second, they had to forgive those people who had harmed them. Thus, healing for these participants involved connecting back to their cultural roots, engaging in support programs (such as the RHSP itself, self-help groups, and sharing circles), and being willing to forgive—but not necessarily forget—what had happened to them at IRS. [p.195]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- Carr and Chartier enumerate three potential pathways towards healing from the trauma of attendance at Residential Schools, based on survivors' testimonies. To what extent are their insights helpful in charting a way forward for churches to aid in survivors' healing?

# Bending to the Prevailing Wind

**Te Puna | Resource**
Peter Bush, 'Bending to the Prevailing Wind: How Apology Repetition Helps Speakers and Hearers Walk Together', in Aimée Craft and Paulette Regan, eds, *Pathways of Reconciliation: Indigenous and Settler Approaches to Implementing the TRC's Calls to Action*, Winnipeg, 2020, pp.205–220. [Excerpt, pp.205–207, 210, 214, 215.]

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Peter Bush is a Presbyterian minister, who has written 'about the Presbyterian Church in Canada's involvement with Indian Residential Schools and served as a contract researcher with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission working on a project "How the Church got to Sorry."' (p.313)

We call upon church parties to the Settlement Agreement to develop ongoing education strategies to ensure their respective congregations learn about the church's role in colonization, the history and legacy of residential schools, and why apologies to residential school students, their families, and communities were necessary.
— Call to Action 59 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call of Action 59 highlights the church community's need for apology repetition: that is, for ongoing education regarding the apologies, and an invitation to reflect anew on what they did that requires apology. Knowing what one's denomination did is to know what the church did in one's name; the sins of the collective are the sins of the individuals who make up the collective. Hearing of the churches' role in colonization and the residential school system once more invite the question: "Should we not again say, 'We are sorry'?"

Church apologies have been repeated in a variety of contexts: at national gatherings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC); at school commemoration events; during hearings in the Alternative Dispute Resolution Process that preceded the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), and in the subsequent Independent Assessment Process itself, where church representatives could speak if a Survivor asked them to do so; and at internal denominational gatherings when Indigenous issues are [p.205] addressed. In these and other contexts, the words have been spoken aloud to former residential school students, their families, and communities.

Combining historical analysis and theological inquiry, this essay considers the ways apology repetition shapes the relationship between churches and Indigenous people so they might walk together. Just as the prevailing wind bends trees to lean in the same direction, so too does the repetition of apologies bend churches and Survivors, Indigenous people and settlers, toward reconciliation. The repetition of the apologies fuels the work of reconciliation, for speaking the

apology anew can act as a renewal of the commitment to the serious action of reconciliation. [...]

"Apology repetition" in this essay does not mean a reciting of the exact words of the apologies originally given twenty or more years ago. Rather, as the churches have sought to show that the words of their original apologies were sincere, they have come to recognize new depths and enlarged meanings in their words, meanings not fully appreciated when first spoken. Reflecting on their church's apology in preparation for repeating them to Survivors and their families, church spokespeople gain deeper insight into the words, hearing them at a different point along the pathways to reconciliation.

Further, as research uncovers new truths about the relationship between Indigenous people and settlers, apology repetition takes this new information into account. For example, Ian Mosby's research regarding the nutritional [p.206] experiments in the schools was not available in the 1980s and 1990s when church apologies were first issued. Mosby discovered that a variety of government-funded experiments took place in some of the residential schools, which ranged from determining what was the least amount of food children needed to be able to study through to determining the impact of various additives in bread on the children's health. Anyone speaking apology following the publication of Mosby's article would be wise to reference the nutrition experiments in their words. Apology repetition builds on the original words with enhanced knowledge and insight. Knowing the spirit and intent of the original apology, the speaker improvises on the text in the same way a skilled musician improvises on an old standard, enriching the original. [p.207] [...]

Repeating apologies reminds the speaker and those they are speaking for that a wrong was done; the apology confirms a commitment to live differently now and in the future. The repeated apologies are a prevailing wind shaping settlers' attitudes and actions, bending them towards reconciliation.

In preparing its membership for the 1986 "Apology to Native Congregations," the United Church of Canada explored the "theology of apology." Apology has three stages: (a) knowing about the wrong done and recognizing the action as wrong; (b) feeling an aversion to "disliking" one's actions, be they personal or corporate, also known as guilt; and (c) willingly choosing to "disown" the sin and seeking to live a different way. This framing is helpful in thinking about how apology repetition fuels reconciliation. [p.210] [...]

The prevailing wind of apologies repeatedly shapes not only speakers but hearers as well. Oral apologies are also aural. This truism is central to the work of walking together, since, as authors Tracey Carr and Brian Chartier found in their work as mental health professionals [...], forgiveness can play a strong role in the healing process. While forgiveness through apology is not guaranteed, and neither should it be demanded or expected, it nonetheless can be hoped for. Even if the words of apology are not fully trusted or accepted, they may kindle enough [p.214]

openness in the hearers for reconciliation to begin. Apology lives in hope that the hearer will also be transformed. Even as apology recognizes that hearers may not want to reconnect with the church as a member or adherent, apology offers a place where Indigenous people can articulate their hopes for what a mutually respectful relationship can be.

Apology repetition also gives permission to the hearers to hold the speakers to account. In the apology the speaker promises, “This is the new way I want to live. I am giving you permission to hold me accountable for living in ways that walk towards reconciliation.” The churches’ apologies set out terms that the hearers can use as benchmarks to determine whether or not churches are fulfilling their promises. The apologies are issued with no expectation of hearing the words “I forgive you.” In fact, in the cases of the 1986 United Church apology, the Anglican Church apology, and the Presbyterian Church statement, the original hearers did not indicate acceptance of the apologies until years later. In all cases acceptance was withheld until the original hearers saw evidence of changed attitudes and actions in the churches. [p.215]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- Is it useful to understand apology as a promise to change? What are the options if apologies are not adhered to (i.e. if the speakers do not live in a 'new way')?

- Does the dichotomy between 'churches' and 'indigenous people' in this chapter adequately acknowledge those who belong in both groups?

- How effective is the metaphor of 'the prevailing wind', used in this chapter?

# Life with Truth, Reconciliation and Calls to Action

**Te Puna | Resource**
Eugene Arcand, 'Life with Truth, Reconciliation and Calls to Action' (Part 4 of a five-part publication compiled by Bob McKenzie), published online by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation at the University of Manitoba, https://nctr.ca/news-and-events/news/781-a-story-of-sports-and-survival-in-canadian-residential-school/part-four/

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Eugene Arcand is a member of the Cree Nation. The below first-person account details his experience

[...] it took until 2005 — a good 15 years after I was sitting in that bar with Ted — for something, or someone, to force the government to address residential school survivors.

That is when Phil Fontaine, then the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, launched a billion-dollar class-action lawsuit against the federal government. It was way back in 1990 when Phil (then the Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs) first revealed in a CBC interview with Barbara Frum that he was physically and sexually abused in a residential school. It generated national headlines.

Before Phil made that revelation in 1990, it was in the 1980s when Ted Quewezance became the first Chief in Saskatchewan to publicly reveal he, too, had been abused at residential school. And that was the start of a snowball of Canada's darkest secret coming to light. But it took the class-action lawsuit launched by Phil Fontaine and the Assembly of First Nations 15 years later to make something happen. The government didn't want to go to court because it knew it didn't have a leg to stand on. In 2007, the government settled, and the billion-dollar Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) was reached. The government was forced to distribute more than $2 billion to residential school survivors.

As the process of the IRSSA unfolded, I applied for a job with the Assembly of First Nations. As part of that job, I went to every reserve in south Saskatchewan and north to the Saskatoon area. I had community meetings with survivors, explaining what the agreement was all about and how you had to choose to either opt in or opt out.

Of the 150,000 children that went to residential schools, 90,000 of us applied for what was called the Common Experience Payment. That amounted to a $10,000

payment plus $3,000 for each year spent at residential school. For my 11 years, I received $43,000. The price we paid — the destruction of our lives we experienced — was worth far more than that. But happiness can't be bought.
As part of my job, I also visited the jail in Drumheller, Alta., Regina Correctional Centre, and the women's jail in Nekaneet. Ninety-five per cent of the people in those jails were of Indigenous ancestry, mostly residential school survivors or the children of survivors. That's when the hereditary dysfunction of our people became really apparent to me.

That was when I began this horrible but, for me, necessary journey of reconstruction. Part of the IRSSA included a formal apology from the government, but what it really meant to a lot of us was that we would be re-victimized. We were being forced to remember in a very short period of time what we spent a lifetime trying to forget.

I had to dig out these darkest demons, these darkest secrets, not only to expose the perverts and the deviants who traumatized us, but to expose my own spirit. The night before the official apology from Prime Minister Stephen Harper, I was in Ottawa, and I had a serious meltdown. I was crying like that little five-year-old boy from Duck Lake who was hyperventilating and bawling his eyes out when he experienced that ice-cold shower.

I phoned home to my wife that night. I was a mess. I told her I didn't want to be there. Why? Because I knew I was going to be lied to again. And the next day, on June 11, 2008, when Mr. Harper apologized, I have to say it was the phoniest apology I ever heard. The only time I heard any emotion from him was when he talked about his own children. The rest of the time it was cold, calculated propaganda.

I say that because a few weeks after the apology, an equal amount of money was committed to build and renovate more jails in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. I'm not that smart, but it didn't take me long to figure out who was going to occupy those jails and institutions. The conclusion I've come to regarding the apology was that it was for the media. It was to try to make Canada look good.

The IRSSA should have been a positive thing, but for many of us it was a horrible experience. As part of the settlement, there was something called the Independent Assessment Process (IAP), which could provide additional compensation for those abused at residential school. We were told residential school survivors would get the benefit of the doubt in the IAP process. That was another lie. A big one.

The IAP process starts with discovery, which is when you lay out your darkest secrets to your lawyer. It was horrendous. The second phase was your hearing. I waited two years between discovery and my hearing, so it was two years of dread for me.

We didn’t get any benefit of the doubt. We were called liars. We were called out for making up stories. It was a really hurtful process. Many of my people broke. They either didn’t go (to their hearing), or they just couldn’t do it. The system broke them.

I managed to get through it, but I wouldn’t wish it on anyone. You have to relive all your trauma again. It made me feel like the interrogators and people working for the IAP were perverts and deviants themselves. They wanted to hear the graphic nature of what we experienced, even though there was no need for it. They wanted to know how many times you were sexually assaulted; how many times you were penetrated. It was a process of re-victimization to the max.

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- In what ways does Eugene's account intersect with, deepen and complicate Peter Bush's calls for repeat apologies from Canadian churches for the experiences of children at residential schools?

# The Social Gospel at St. Hilda's School for Girls

**Te Puna | Resource**
Judith Liu, '"A Nation Cannot Rise above Its Women": The Social Gospel at St. Hilda's School for Girls, Wuchang, China, 1929–1937', in Wai Ching Angela Wong and Patricia P. K. Chiu, eds, *Christian Women in Chinese Society: The Anglican Story*, Hong Kong, 2018, pp.37–58.

**He Kupu Whakamārama | Description**
Judith Liu is a professor of sociology at the University of San Diego, California, where she received her PhD. Her publications include books, chapters, and articles on multicultural education, education in the People's Republic of China, women and HIV/AIDS, political and civic responsibility, and community engagement.

Because missionaries arrived concomitantly with the agents of Western imperialism, in many Chinese minds, the two became inseparable. While missionaries preached that Christianity transcended Western culture, gunboat diplomacy was nevertheless the primary means for achieving a foothold in China. The inseparability of Western missionaries from Western imperialism [p.37] made the Christianization of China a problematic enterprise. Christianity was so allied to Western imperialism that the two took on the appearance of a system of total cultural imperialism. Further, this inseparability challenged Chinese ethnocentrism by being at odds with Confucianism—the major moral code of the society, the educational basis of the governmental bureaucracy, and, inevitably, the cultural justification for dynastic rule. Many Chinese responded to these cultural challenges by becoming more nationalistic in their tone and more hostile in their actions. The brunt of this entire anti-Western animus tended to fall upon the missionaries. In fact, it was not until the abolition of the separate missionary school system in the late 1920s that missionaries and missionary schools ceased to be the major focus of nationalistic movements such as the anti-Western Boxer Rebellions of 1900 or the Anti-Christian Movement of 1922. [p.38]

[...] There was a significant difference between these women [American women, who joined in the late 1920s and 1930s the staff of St. Hilda's, a Protestant school founded in Wuhan by American Episcopal missionaries in the late nineteenth century] and their predecessors: whereas many of their predecessors were the wives of ministers, which made the teaching a mere adjunct to their lives, most of these women graduates came specifically to be teachers whose own education in the United States was inspired by the social gospel that was a prevalent movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in America.

Basic to the concept of the social gospel is the belief that social service is a legitimate means of evangelism and that evangelism can be an effective instrument for social change as well as for salvation. While previous attempts at evangelism dealt with the notion of personal salvation, the social gospel was directed towards the transformation of this world. But exactly how to link personal and social salvation required specific conditions. At St. Hilda's, this linkage was possible through the belief that a fellowship could exist between God and man and that this fellowship can be attained through the cultivation of correct attitudes and the development of right skills. [...] While the spiritualism of pure evangelism went unheeded, the fusing of spiritual with secular in the social gospel as it was practiced at St. Hilda's had an explosive impact on these girls.

The secular aspect of the social gospel legitimated the nascent nationalistic views held by these girls and, in a sense, broke the element of cultural subversion that hindered the spiritual side of the missionary movement. At St. Hilda's, by secularizing the religious message, the social gospel transcended the sectarianism inherent in pure evangelism, thereby separating the moral basis of Christianity from its sectarian shackles. As a consequence, between 1929 and 1937 St. Hilda's produced a significant number of Christians over and above the 78 percent who were nominally Christian in 1930. By the same token, however, it produced very few Episcopalians. [p.43]

**Ētahi Pātai | Questions**

- What does the 'social gospel' and its impact on Chinese school students at St. Hilda's in the 1930s and 1940s indicate about the power of cultural responsiveness for religious institutions?

# Notes

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