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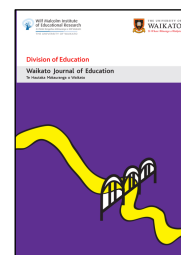
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An old story, a new voice: Tertiary education in the Bay of Plenty region

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Keywords

Bay of Plenty; Tertiary Education Partnership; University of Waikato; Toi Ohomai; Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi; neoliberalism; tertiary education

Abstract

In this article, I first critique neoliberal effects on the Aotearoa New Zealand tertiary education sector and then provide a close-up look at tertiary education in the Bay of Plenty region. Information is based on aspects of my doctoral research which was located across three tertiary education organisations comprising the Bay of Plenty Tertiary Education Partnership: The University of Waikato, Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology and, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. The findings of this research examine connections across the partnership, delving into relevant aspects of universities, polytechnics and wānanga. I evaluate the historical, geographical, political and socio-cultural context of all three institutions. Lastly, I discuss campus connections between the partnership organisations. The emerging picture reveals an old story of expansion and growth with a new voice of tension between collaboration and competition in the face of a neoliberal education context. This article offers timely implications for contemporary and future University of Waikato campus connections and may appeal to academics, graduate students, policymakers and the general public.

Introduction

The education sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is on the brink of potentially major reformation following the 2018 education consultations (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2018). Reformation recommendations are wide-sweeping across all education sectors, including proposals to reform vocational education, review the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) system, make significant changes to the compulsory education sector as per the Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce report and instigate other initiatives found in the early learning strategic plans and education work programme (MoE, 2018).

Though the reformation recommendations traverse a range of education sectors, this article focuses on the tertiary education sector. This sector is considered by the MoE to comprise all forms of post-secondary school education including vocational and higher education (MoE, 2015). In 2016 the MoE



began referring to all post-compulsory education as ‘further’ education on their website (MoE, n.d.), however most of their communication literature and many New Zealanders still commonly refer to this sector as ‘tertiary education’, as do I in this article.

The MoE’s reformation plans happen to coincide with the University of Waikato opening its new campus in central Tauranga in early 2019. The intersectionality of these two significant occurrences sparked the subject of this article. The aim of the research was to understand the past and present evolution of the Bay of Plenty Tertiary Education Partnership (BOPTeP) organisations (of which the University of Waikato is a partner). The findings may have significance for educators and researchers in the Bay of Plenty and Waikato regions; the research reveals concerning effects of neoliberalism on collaboration and competition on the tertiary education landscape in this region. In this sense, the research may also have significance for educators and researchers both nationally and internationally where similarities exist, leaving it to the reader to determine the appropriateness of the findings to their situation.

The key method used for this exploration was a review of literature and a document analysis (Bowen, 2009) of public records (e.g., organisations’ annual reports, mission statements, policy manuals, strategic plans, curriculum and syllabi documents, websites), academic literature (e.g., journal articles, books, doctoral theses) and physical artefacts (e.g., flyers, posters, and handbooks). Ethical consent for the research was not required given that all documents are publicly available; no confidential documents were included in the sample set. All materials accessed were in the English language—this may be a limitation of the research, especially in areas of documentation regarding Māori historical records.

Analysis of the reformation proposal documentation exposed that one of the key goals is to address the gap between the performance of students who are (dis)advantaged. Furthermore, the vocational education proposals intend to salvage a financially crippled polytechnic sector and unify the vocational education funding system into a sole organisation. These and other such recommendations will have flow-on impacts for tertiary education organisations such as universities and wānanga (state-owned Māori teaching and research institutions similar to a university, explained in detail later in the article), since, as Johnston (2015) proposes, the education gap where socio-economic (dis)advantage remains a strong determinant of (under)achievement is most starkly noticeable at university level.

In this context, Tauranga (a fast-growing city with a rising population) is likely to see an increase of numbers of students seeking access to tertiary education opportunities in the Bay of Plenty. Papamoa alone is predicted to grow by 74 percent between 2013 and 2023 (Infometrics, 2019). In the face of a neoliberal context where the control and directives from the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) have increased inter-institution competition, the Bay of Plenty Tertiary Education Partnership (BOPTeP) was reaffirmed in 2018 through the signing of a new Deed of Cooperation agreement among participating institutions (UoW, n.d.). To avoid a ‘paper partnership’ and instead achieve a ‘co-operative partnership’ in a competitive educational market presents an inherent tension for all three organisations to succeed in their mission to deliver wide-ranging tertiary education opportunities to Bay of Plenty students.

Tertiary education in Aotearoa New Zealand

Universities

Currently, eight partially state-funded universities provide tertiary education at degree and postgraduate level. Between them, they enrol 172,100 students or 132,000 Equivalent Full Time Students (EFTS) forming 48 percent of total EFTS in the tertiary sector (NZPC, 2017). Almost three quarters of university provision is at Bachelor’s degree level (NZPC, 2017). Bowl (2018) proposes that universities employ a discourse of ‘distinctiveness’ to denote their academic superiority over other tertiary education institutions (for instance polytechnics, wānanga and competing universities) in order to promote

themselves as successful global competitors to reap rewards from a competitive educational market vying for student enrolments.

There is wide acknowledgement of the marketisation environment which has caused universities to become more image-conscious with branding, self-promotion, impression management and competition for research funds (Bowl, 2018; Rowe-Williams, 2018). One example of marketisation is the obsession with the global ranking of universities across the world. Yet, at a national and more local level, governments and policy drivers also espouse social aims around access to tertiary education for under-represented social groups. This sometimes results in conflict for universities who must promote their institutions as worthy contributors to the knowledge economy and also respond to requirements of widening the social base of those accessing higher education opportunities.

Wānanga

Wānanga are considered to be teaching and research institutions essentially similar to a university. Their ‘distinctiveness’ is that the learning occurs through a Māori pedagogy; that is, a Māori preferred way of teaching and learning. The concept of a wānanga in Māoridom dates back well before European settlers arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, indicating a complex education system that retained, maintained, developed and transmitted Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) (Durie, 1998; Nepe, 1991; Pihama et al., 2004; Reremoana et al., 2016; L. Smith, 1986). According to Zepke (2009a), though reflecting Māori knowledge and traditions, contemporary wānanga differ in that they are framed in Western traditions of delivery, qualification structures and funding measures.

Three wānanga operate in New Zealand – they are state-owned Māori teaching and research institutions offering certificates, diplomas and degrees, and one wānanga up to doctorate level (New Zealand Qualifications Authority [NZQA], n.d.). Eighty percent of wānanga provision is at certificate level one to four; presently, wānanga enrol approximately 37,300 students, of whom around 60 percent are Māori (NZPC, 2017). The total population of tertiary students in New Zealand is approximately 416,000 students (Education Counts, 2017). Like other tertiary education organisations, wānanga must meet the Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) priorities. Therefore, wānanga have dual (and sometimes conflicting) priorities of both supporting advancement of Māori knowledge and application of Māori custom, and also of preparing students to contribute to the economic productivity of the nation as per the Government’s neoliberal mandate that tertiary education is the vehicle for economic transformation. Zepke (2009a) suggests that though these two focuses may not necessarily contradict, they do bring considerable tensions.

Vocational Education

The third type of education under the umbrella of tertiary education is vocational education, currently offered by 16 polytechnics, 11 Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) and approximately 200 Private Training Establishments (PTEs) (MoE, 2019). The Reform of Vocational Education proposal (MoE, 2019) to merge all 16 polytechnics into a sole national institution alongside significant reformation of all ITOs, intends to address falling enrolments and multi-million dollar deficits particularly among polytechnics (Gerritson, 2019). Recommendations include ITOs being replaced with Industry Skill Bodies but retaining some existing functions such as developing qualifications and having a stronger say over standards and teaching content.

Paring back the role of ITOs to set standards and qualifications, but not deliver training, denotes a move back to the provision of work-based industry training provided by polytechnics. Even though there has been more recent involvement of polytechnics in offering degrees and higher level qualifications since the 1990s, recent research (Amundsen, 2019) suggests that the status of polytechnics ‘below’ universities in the tertiary education hierarchy has not really changed. Bruce-Ferguson (1999) suggests polytechnics have struggled with perceptual issues of being less academic than universities because of the history of the polytechnic sector providing vocational skills above academic skills. As part of the

reformation proposals, it is likely that the polytechnics ‘distinctiveness’ will become more cemented as industry training providers.

Neoliberal influences in Tertiary Education Aotearoa New Zealand

Whether a university, a wānanga, a polytechnic (or any other type of tertiary education), in Aotearoa New Zealand, the tertiary education landscape is influenced by international trends. For instance, the Washington Consensus stated specific ideas of globalisation influencing political, economic and educational agendas since the mid-1990s (Harvey, 2007). Neoliberal discourses (Gamble, 2019; Glenn, 2019) derive from these western world ideologies and have steadily railroaded tertiary education institutions to operate in a competitive global marketplace to attract students for survival (Saunders, 2010). According to Gamble (2019), neoliberalism first gained prominence in the 1970s, then emerged as a dominant western ideology following Europe’s communism collapse in the 1990s, and has since remained a strong ideology and policy system in Western countries. Glenn (2019) further elaborates that the rise of neoliberalism entailed retrenchment of the welfare state, advancement of economic rationality into the administration of society, and most of all, involved a very permissive environment for economically speculative aims of producing global capital.

Aotearoa New Zealand’s insistence on progressing with neoliberal policies since 1984 (Ballard, 2012) has resulted in high levels of income inequality and poverty, and a reduction in fairness and social cohesion (Krugman, 2009). For instance, Aotearoa New Zealand has exceptionally high rates of child poverty, with significant and persistent inequity between Māori and Pacific child poverty compared to non-Māori (Duncanson et al., 2017). Similarly, education inequities are another source of concern (MoE, 2018). Most shockingly, Aotearoa New Zealand has the highest youth suicide rate in the developed world (UNICEF, 2017). As Giroux and Giroux (2008) propose, such harm and injustice is not inevitable; existing social structures contribute to these issues of social inequality.

Many commentaries on tertiary education in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 2000s discuss connections with neoliberal ideologies in less than positive terms (Ballard, 2012; Findsen, 2016; Rowe-Williams, 2018; Zepke, 2009b). Specifically, in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, neoliberal education strategies are criticised for driving society to value formal and credentialed education as requisites for gaining job opportunities (Strauss & de la Maisonnette, 2010). This is evidenced by the situation pointed out by Rowe-Williams (2018) in which students are “increasingly encouraged to view themselves as ‘fully financialised subjects’ in which tertiary education is considered an ‘investment’ into one’s future self” (p.41). Gradually, the neoliberal aims of successive New Zealand governments have led to the reshaping of tertiary education directly in relation to financial terms – a mission enforced by the TEC and adopted by tertiary education providers. As the TEC has steadily drawn together numerous education avenues under its control, the post-2000 tertiary education sector in Aotearoa New Zealand has undergone significant neoliberal reforms. The TEC’s tightening control over funding and operational rules have been felt nationally and regionally, through increased inter-institution competition, staff reductions and mergers within and across regions. A case in point is the Bay of Plenty region.

Tertiary education in the Bay of Plenty region

Like other regions in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Bay of Plenty has been influenced by the TEC’s neoliberal aims determining how and why tertiary education is monitored, regulated and delivered. In the face of a neoliberal marketplace forcing institutions to compete with each other for students and funding to survive, each tertiary education institution has carved out their ‘distinct’ niche market regionally and nationally. Examples of this include wānanga promoting their superiority of Māori knowledge and pedagogy, the polytechnics cementing their role in offering vocational and industry training and the universities vying to protect their academic superiority over other institutions (Bowl, 2018). Other survival methods have included reducing staff and pooling resources (e.g. sharing campus facilities) to assist in reducing their own costs and to improve the delivery of, and access to, their share

of the market of tertiary education students. As part of formalising the process of pooling resources, a Bay of Plenty Tertiary Education Partnership (BOPTeP) was established in 2006 (University of Waikato, 2018a).

Initially, BOPTeP was created between the former Bay of Plenty Polytechnic and the University of Waikato. A third partner, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi in Whakatāne joined in 2010 and then a fourth partner in 2014, the former Waiariki Institute of Technology in Rotorua. The Bay of Plenty Polytechnic and the Waiariki Institute of Technology merged in 2016 becoming a new organisation named Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology (Toi Ohomai, 2016). In 2018, the BOPTeP was reaffirmed in the signing of a new Deed of Cooperation agreement among the three participating institutions: the University of Waikato, Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi (UoW, 2018b). Each of the three participating BOPTeP institutions has responsibility for delivering various and differing types of tertiary education to students across the Bay of Plenty region.

However, it is likely that the BOPTeP will undergo yet more changes under the Reform of Vocational Education as the existing Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology will be impacted by the move to align all vocational education under one funding system whereby, “regional stakeholders would be able to access a sustainable, stable and supportive network of regional campuses as part of a New Zealand Institute of Skills & Technology” (MoE, 2019, p.28).

Led by the University of Waikato, the BOPTeP began creating a new shared tertiary education campus. However, in 2016, the university renegotiated funding arrangements for the Tauranga Campus Development Project resulting in the campus being university owned from the start of construction, rather than leased (UoW, 2016). Located in the centre of Tauranga city, the new University of Waikato Tauranga campus opened in early 2019 (See Figure 1). Connections across the BOPTeP institutions have been influenced by each organisation’s ‘niche’ in the marketplace, but also (and perhaps more influentially) by unique geographical, political, socio-cultural and historical contexts. Consideration of these factors are now outlined for each of the three BOPTeP organisations; first the University of Waikato, second Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi and third, Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology.

Figure 1. The University of Waikato’s new Tauranga campus



Source: Author’s photo taken 7 March 2019.

The University of Waikato: Hamilton

The University of Waikato is a young institution compared with the universities of Otago (established in 1869), Canterbury (1873), Lincoln (1878), Auckland (1883), Victoria (1897) and Massey (1927) (Te Pōkai Tāra, 2018). It wasn't until 1964 that the University of Waikato was established in Hamilton (Alcorn, 2014).

A suitable location had to be selected in order to develop the University of Waikato's Hamilton campus. Land in Hillcrest (upon which the campus is situated) was previously used for dairy farming by European settlers (Robson, 2017). Dairy farmland was part of the Waikato Land Confiscation in December 1864. Tainui land confiscations were re-distributed as military land grants in one acre allotments to the members of the 4th Waikato Regiment who had fought in the Waikato region (Robson, 2017; Stokes, 1990). Officers were awarded larger lots. Land that was later to become the Hamilton campus site was awarded to several officers including John Peacocke and Isaac Coates (280 hectare Ruakura farm). Robson's (2017) research reveals that Peacocke's farm of 250 acres at Hillcrest was subsequently sold to Samuel Seddon who established a 350 acre farm including Raynor's land and Ruakura. Seddon named his farm, "Knighton".

Following a series of land surveys and several subdivisions into smaller lots from 1905 to the 1950s, Seddon's and others' farms were carved up and on sold into 50 acre farmlets (Robson, 2017). During the 1950s, Hamilton residents began launching a petition for a university in their region. In tandem with a teacher shortage, both occurrences prompted consideration of a teachers' college by the New Zealand government (Day, 1984). Farmland in Hillcrest - at that time on the city's outskirts - was an appropriate location having plenty of space for a joint campus between the Hamilton Teachers' College and the UoW (which began as a branch of Auckland University) (Day, 1984).

Hamilton's campus grew throughout the decades. Looking to expand provision and meet student demands in the neighbouring Bay of Plenty region, the UoW formed an alliance with the Bay of Plenty Polytechnic during the 1990s (Alcorn, 2014; Toi Ohomai, 2018). Professor Peter Ramsay from the UoW's School of Education in Hamilton was appointed director of Tauranga, charged with the task of finding suitable teaching premises (Alcorn, 2014). In 1998, the first university courses to be taught completely face-to-face outside of Hamilton were offered at the polytechnic's Bongard Centre campus in Tauranga (Alcorn, 2014; UoW, 2018a). The next year, Ramsay leased premises from 1999 in Durham Street (Alcorn, 2014) where the UoW began building up programmes in education, social sciences and marine studies. The first cohort of Tauranga-based students graduated in 2001. As mentioned earlier, the next step became the formalised BOPTTEP deed of co-operation with the Bay of Plenty Polytechnic in 2006.

The University of Waikato: Tauranga

Since the 1990s, when Ramsay first found suitable teaching premises for the UoW in Durham St, Tauranga, offerings of Tauranga-based programmes have increased. Programmes available include undergraduate degrees in arts, business, engineering, sport and human performance, law, science, social science, social work and teaching. Graduate and post-graduate options also extend to psychology, teaching, business, digital business, education, health, sport and human performance as well as various doctoral study options (UoW, 2019). Such increases combined with Tauranga's rapidly growing population contributed to the reasons that the University of Waikato established a new "downtown" campus that opened in early 2019.

Tauranga is the fifth largest city in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the largest city in the Bay of Plenty region, with a current population estimate of 131,500 people (Tauranga City Council, 2018). The name Tauranga means an anchorage, resting place or fishing ground (McLintock, 1966; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Historically, the Tauranga harbour provided a resting place for numerous waka (canoes) and kept Māori replenished with kaimoana (seafood) (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Māori were attracted to the Tauranga coastline for its temperate climate and plentiful food (Belich, 1986; Stokes, 1990). Fish, eels and whitebait were bountiful, kumara (sweet potato) grew well, and the inland mountainous ranges offered nutritious berries and birds, as well as providing timber for buildings and waka (Stokes, 1990; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Because of the Bay of Plenty region's rich resources, it has been occupied, and sporadically fought over by Māori tribes for over seven centuries (Stokes, 1990).

Tainui, Te Arawa, Takitimu and Mataatua are the canoes

The earliest known people in Tauranga Moana are Nga Marama. Though later conquered by other groups, all present-day Tauranga Māori trace their descent back to Nga Marama (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Amidst the great voyaging fleet of waka (canoes) from Hawaiki (Māori ancestral homelands), the first to visit Tauranga was Tainui, whose people rested, then left to settle in Kawhia. Close connections to the Bay of Plenty region have continued with Tainui. After Tainui came Te Arawa. They predominantly settled south of Tauranga, except for Waitaha who occupied some of Tauranga central. Third, Takitimu arrived at Mauao (Stokes, 1990; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). The Ngāti Ranginui tribe descends from the Takitimu waka. Conquering Nga Marama people, Ngāti Ranginui inhabited land west of the Waimapu River. Waitaha, who had fought with Ngāti Ranginui, took the land to the east of the Waimapu River (Stokes, 1990; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). A fourth waka, Mataatua, arrived in Whakatāne whose people settled east and west along the coastline of Whakatāne.

Mauao is the Mountain

Māori (and non-Māori) groups who have moved into the Tauranga area have all formed strong associations with Mauao (Mt Maunganui); this legend is renowned.

At the southern entrance to Tauranga Moana is Mauao (Mount Maunganui), which stands alone, dominating the surrounding landscape. According to legend, this hill was originally located by the mountain Otanewainuku to the south. Mauao was in love with a neighbouring mountain, Pūwhenua, but she was pledged to Otanewainuku, so the lovelorn maunga decided to drown himself in the ocean. He enlisted the help of the supernatural forest-folk, the patupaiarehe, who dragged him to the sea. When they reached the shore, however, the sun rose and the patupaiarehe, who could not stand the sunlight, fled back to the forest. As a result, the hill was stranded in his present location, and was given the name Mauao, indicating that he had been caught or fixed in place by the dawn. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, pp.27-28)

Waimapu is the River

Beyond the life force of water provided by the Waimapu river, the significance of the river lies in the boundary it formed of subsequently confiscated land, being part of the story of the site where today's Toi Ohomai (and the University of Waikato's previously shared) campus stands at Windermere. The Waimapu sub-catchment is south east of Tauranga Harbour and flows from Otanewainuku, north, to the harbour between Windermere and Greerton for about 21 kilometres in length including 236 kilometres of stream and 3 kilometres of harbour margins (Bay of Plenty Regional Council [BOPRC], 2012).

Ngāti Ranginui and Ngai Te Rangi are the Tribes

A major iwi (tribe) arriving in Tauranga Moana were Ngai Te Rangi. Various hapū of Ngai Te Rangi (who claim descent from the ancestor Te Rangihouhiri and the Mataatua waka) established dwellings around the edge of the harbour east of the Waimapu River, at Otumoetai, Ongare, Otawhiwhi, Te Puna through to Katikati and on the islands in the Tauranga Moana region (Stokes, 1990; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Clearly, by the late 1700s there were two main tribes deeply established right along the eastern coast and inland of the region now called Bay of Plenty (Belich, 1986); these were Ngāti Ranginui of Takitimu descent and Ngai Te Rangi of Mataatua descent.

What about the land?

Initial European contact when Captain James Cook sailed across the Bay of Plenty harbour in the Endeavour in 1769 (Wilson, 2016) did not bring immediate European settlement. That began in the 1820s with Arthur Brown and Henry Williams choosing the Te Papa site for Tauranga's first Mission Station, resulting in the purchase of the first block of land by Brown for the Church Missionary Society in 1838 (Elms Foundation, 2017). In October 1838, for the Mission Station of 12.5 hectares, Brown paid not in cash, but with 20 blankets, and 10 each of spades, adzes, axes, hoes, and iron pots (McCauley, 2018). The next year, to purchase a further 240 hectares of land from the Te Papa peninsula south to Pukehinahina (Gate Pa), he paid with items such as blankets, axes, shirts, trousers, pipes, tobacco, scissors, razors, fish hooks and one calf (McCauley, 2018).

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed however, by 1864 unrest was growing. Following on from the Waikato land war in 1864, significant battles between the British military and Māori took place in the Tauranga region at Pukehinahina on 19 April and at Te Ranga on 21 July in 1864 (McLintock, 1966; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Names around the Tauranga region reflect the history of land wars during the 1860s. Take for instance, "Durham St". Around 1864, the 43rd Monmouth and the 68th Durham Light Infantry (British foot army) regiments arrived in Tauranga (Tauranga.kete.net.nz, 2016) by government order to stop supplies intended for the Waikato 'rebel' tribes passing through the Tauranga district. A convenient high knoll was fortified as a redoubt to assist the Durham regiment in guarding the western approaches from Otumoetai and Bethlehem across the Waikareao Estuary. Furthermore, adjacent land on the west (now part of the Tauranga Domain) served as a useful parade ground for the foot army. According to McCauley (2018), following the land wars, Mr and Mrs Dalziel used the buildings from the redoubt as a school and although no signs of the redoubt remain today, the name 'Durham Street' which runs south from where the redoubt was established, is a remaining link to that piece of history. Durham Street is where the newly created University of Waikato Tauranga central campus now stands.

Raupatu (Confiscation) of land

Other effects of the land wars concerned raupatu (land confiscation). On 18 May 1865, by an Order in Council legitimised under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, 214,000 acres of Tauranga land was confiscated from Māori and passed into the hands of the Crown (N.Z. Gazette 1865, in Stokes, 1990). This raupatu subsequently extended to 290,000 acres by the Tauranga District Lands Act 1868 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Ultimately, the Crown surveyed and returned portions of land to Māori, retaining an area of approximately 50,000 acres, minus 8,700 acres of reserves for Māori which were located mainly between the Waimapu and Wairoa Rivers, including the Te Papa peninsular on which Tauranga city has been developed (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004).

Among the raupatu and subsequently returned land, lay the site of a traditional wānanga which was located in a cave in the eastern banks of the Waimapu River at the base of the hill where Greerton meets Poike (Windermere). The area of land nearby was named Poike, derived from the Māori words *Po* and *ike* meaning to arrive late at night. "This was recognition of the significance of this piece of land because it was where the many hapū (sub-tribes) of Ngāti Ranginui would hold their meetings, which took place at night" (Toi Ohomai, 2018, p.3). These meetings were known to be about higher learning dedicated to perpetuating mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).

The Poike block originally held by Ngati Ruahine after the Crown returned the land following the raupatu was subject to mammoth and irreparable shrinkage. The state highway and residential growth forever impacted upon Māori land ownership in this area. Raupatu aspects of all Tauranga Moana claims were addressed in hearings held between February 1998 and January 2002. The Wai 362 and Wai 215 reports (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004) findings stated the insufficiency of the Crown's land acquisition procedures resulting in the Crown's compensation for grossly inadequate historical payments of the Poike acquisitions. Despite the historical land acquisition process, this site is where the present-day Toi Ohomai (and previously the University of Waikato's Tauranga flagship campus) now stands.

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Whereas the University of Waikato in Tauranga and Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology have their main campus locations in Tauranga (the Bay of Plenty region's largest city), Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi has its main campus located in the mid-sized town of Whakatāne. This is in keeping with the other two existing wānanga in Aotearoa New Zealand. For instance, all three wānanga are dispersed across several campuses with their flagship campuses located outside main cities; all three wānanga have the same priority of serving post-school educational interests of Māori (Zepke, 2009b). Yet all three wānanga differ in size and focus.

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi is unique because it is the only wānanga granting doctorates. “This accent on higher qualifications is captured in the title by the use of the term ‘Whare’ to describe this institution as a higher house of learning similar to the ancient whare wānanga academies” (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi [TWWoA], 2018, p.10). An explicit goal of Awanuiārangi is to ensure that programmes have transformational approaches for students who enrol so that their education leads to tangible growth and development in the communities from which they come (TWWoA, 2018).

In Māori philosophy, 12 domains exist within the spiritual realm (Pihama et al., 2004). Io (The Supreme Being) placed Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) into nga kete wānanga (three baskets) and two sacred stones (Hikutai and Rehutai) (Merritt, 2005; Weimer, 2003) which were brought by Tāne to the earthly realms (Pihama et al., 2004). These three baskets and two stones contained the knowledge of both celestial and terrestrial realms - knowledge protected for formal teaching within earthly whare wānanga (Merritt, 2005; Pihama et al., 2004; L. Smith, 1986). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1986) explains that formal knowledge was protected and appropriately transmitted through whare wānanga in order to serve collective interests.

The Last Known Tōhunga in Tauranga

Responsibility for formal education of knowledge was given to tōhunga (experts) (L. Smith, 1986). Tōhunga, experts of particular crafts, were named accordingly, for instance, tōhunga wahitanga were carpenters, tōhunga whaikairo expert carvers, tōhunga ta moko tattoo artists, tōhunga makutu priests or shamans (Woodard, 2014). Furthermore, tōhunga were largely known for their extensive range of healing systems (rongoa, mirimiri, karakia, waiora – pharmacological, massage, prayer, water and herbal therapy) (Durie, 1998).

The Ngāti Ranginui Tutara wānanga, a wānanga in the caves on the east bank of the Waimapu River in the Poike area of Tauranga (discussed earlier) had two stones at its entrance, *Hikutai* and *Rehutai*: the mauri of the whare wānanga – the mauri of learning (Winiata, 1954). Maharaja Winiata (1954) traces many generations of tōhunga who were entrusted with the responsibility of protecting and disseminating Mātauranga Māori. Notably, Tata (2018, personal communication) suggests that Te Whiringa is thought to be the last tōhunga of this Ngāti Ranginui Tutara wānanga before the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act forbade tōhunga to continue their practice.

Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology

Like wānanga, polytechnics operate under a similar mandate from the TEC to meet governmental imperatives of upskilling the present and future workforce to achieve economic transformation for the country and for its citizens. In line with neoliberal aims, the government has directed successive polytechnic mergers from 25 polytechnics in 1990 to 16 polytechnics in 2018 (Amundsen, 2019) and now the proposed unification into a sole national organisation (MoE, 2018). After the Bay of Plenty Polytechnic and the Waiariki Institute of Technology merged to become one new organisation in May 2016, they were subsequently gifted a new name by regional iwi of ‘Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology’ (Toi Ohomai, 2016) containing references to common iwi ancestors across the region. Toi Ohomai has a student enrolment of approximately 14,000 students, 1,000 staff (academic and non-

academic) and provides 150 programmes (Toi Ohomai, 2016). Toi Ohomai is the largest provider of tertiary education in the Bay of Plenty region.

Similarly to the University of Waikato, over past decades in response to programme demand, growth of the polytechnic in Tauranga occurred. Beginning with the first proposal of a technical institute around the 1970s (Easthope, 2004), ultimately, the technical institute was formalised and officially opened at Poike Road (Toi Ohomai, 2018) through the establishment of the Bay of Plenty Community College (BoPCC) in 1982 (Easthope, 2004; Toi Ohomai, 2018). Employing a small staff of 15 people, the BoPCC offered secretarial and administration programmes, apprenticeships (carpentry, electrical, automotive engineering) and agricultural courses. Additionally, horticultural students comprised about one third of the enrolments, reflecting regional needs (Toi Ohomai, 2018) which was becoming a leading kiwifruit production area in New Zealand.

With the expansion of new programmes, (for instance, textiles, tourism, television training) more amenities developed. Notions of a community college were abandoned, and, in 1988, “the organisation’s name changed to Bay of Plenty Polytechnic in line with the nationwide move to adopt a common term” (Toi Ohomai, 2018, p.6). It was a similar story for many places throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Rotorua followed a comparable pattern. Although the Waiariki Community College (WCC) opened on Mokoia Drive in Rotorua in April 1978 (Toi Ohomai, 2018), like the BoP Polytechnic, WCC aligned itself with national priorities changing its name to Waiariki Polytechnic in 1987 (Toi Ohomai, 2018). Likewise, the Waiariki Polytechnic experienced growth in student enrolments, staff, programmes and establishment of a satellite campus throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s.

Toi Ohomai qualifications are primarily offered at sub-degree level, although degree programmes exist. Whilst some degree programmes may be completed in their entirety at Toi Ohomai, many are designed for students to pathway into the University of Waikato (UoW) for their final year(s) of the programme as part of the BOPTeP collaborations and resource pooling efforts. Enabling seamless transitions between existing Toi Ohomai and UoW programmes brought into focus the need to redevelop some current pathway programmes and to continue developing new pathways for students between Toi Ohomai and UoW qualification for 2019 and beyond (Toi Ohomai, 2016; UoW, 2018a). Recently re-confirmed, the BOPTeP affirmed UoW’s position as the preferred partner for Toi Ohomai to pathway students into university programmes in Tauranga and the wider region, ensuring a significant number of student enrolments for both organisations. This is one example of how the BOPTeP works as a collaborative partnership in a competitive marketplace.

The geographical, political, socio-cultural and historical contexts of each of the three BOPTeP institutions reveal their susceptibility to governmental aims and funding prerogatives for their health and survival. Since the 2000s as Aotearoa New Zealand’s tertiary education sector has been forced to operate in a competitive marketplace to attract students as ‘clients’, there has not been much room for collaboration. Yet, despite this, the BOPTeP has continued its partnership, partly by each institution marketing its distinctiveness in relation to the other and partly by pooling resources and offering pathway programmes.

Conclusion

The BOPTeP organisations can avoid falling into the trap of a ‘paper partnership’ and instead continue learning from one another through engaging in honest sharing of past and present experiences. Although each BOPTeP organisation operates individually and competes for student enrolments and funding, the overall partnership aims to work cooperatively for the purpose of increasing tertiary education opportunities in the region. The aim of this research was to understand the past and present evolution of the Bay of Plenty Tertiary Education Partnership (BOPTeP) organisations. In light of the present and future university campus connections between Hamilton and Tauranga, as well as upcoming education reformation changes (MoE, 2019), this article is timely. Revealed here, is an old story of growth, change and expansion with a new voice of the tensions of collaboration and co-operation in the face of the present neoliberal competitive tertiary education context. Future research should continue exploring the complexity of historical and contemporary factors impacting upon effective tertiary education delivery

and campus competition and collaborations. These matters concern a diverse range of people, including academics, graduate students, policymakers and general public.

Since the late 1980s, Aotearoa New Zealand has increasingly progressed with neoliberal policies resulting in a society with unacceptable rates of child poverty, youth suicide and persistent serious inequity between educational outcomes of dominant and minority cultures. Aotearoa New Zealand's significant 2019 education reformation proposals are situated in historical, geographical, socio-cultural and political contexts. It is evident that neoliberal ideologies continue to reinforce the drive for student enrolments within the tertiary education sector, and equally for students to believe their tertiary education qualification is an investment into their future self. While the *Reform of Vocational Education* (MoE, 2019) proposal aims to salvage polytechnics from going broke through a fundamental re-design of how vocational education is delivered, there is an explicit assumption that the purpose of education is to prepare people for the workforce. The stated goal is to develop a system where on-the-job and provider-based learning is seamlessly integrated, "a system of training and skills development that is more flexible and more nimble, so we can get people with the right skills into the right jobs much faster" (MoE, 2019, p.4). The reformation recommendations are underpinned by neoliberal ideologies driving society to prioritise formal and credentialed education for employment opportunities at the expense of relegating education for local citizenship, global understanding and pure leisure to a forgotten story without any voice at all.

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