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CONTENTS

THE MAORI RESPONSE TO EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

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INTRODUCTION

European expansionism into the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century saw Anglican missionaries establish themselves in New Zealand in 1814. For the missionaries, conversion of the indigenous Maori population to Christianity was synonymous with transforming the Maori from barbarism to civilized life. Maori practices and social usages were regarded as abominations to be extirpated.

The missionaries were the advance party of cultural invasion which in Friere's analysis "involves a parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one world view upon another. It implies the superiority of the invader and the inferiority of those who are invaded."[1]

The Pakeha* invader was not slow in reifying his sense of superiority by building it into the institutional structures of the new society. The mission schools taught only the standard subjects of the English school system, namely English, reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism.

Governor Grey who saw assimilation as resolving the position of the Maori in the new society strengthened the mission schools. His 1847 Education Ordinance earmarked one tenth of government revenue to subsidise church schools which would take children away from "the demoralising influences of their villages".[2] Clearly education was the instrument by which the Pakeha was to subvert Maori culture and establish a monocultural social order.

In 1867 Grey established the Native Schools system for Maori communities. Essentially the Native Schools used the same syllabus as the public board schools. The one concession to Maori pupils was the expectation that teachers in junior classes would have sufficient knowledge of Maori to induct new entrants and establish school routines. Thereafter English as the medium of instruction was to displace the Maori language altogether.

Progress in Maori education was slow. In 1897 the Native School Inspector attributed lack of progress to difficulty with the English language. The fault lay with the Maori and not with the educational provision. This shifting of blame validates Friere's contention that "for cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority."[3]

After 1900 the authorities took a hard line against the native tongue. Children were forbidden to speak Maori within the precincts of the school. Over-zealous teachers administered corporal punishment to children who failed to comply with the unwritten regulation. Gradually this repressive policy began to take effect. In 1900 over 90% of school entrants spoke Maori as their first language. By 1960 this had fallen to 25%.[4] In 1930 an attempt by the New Zealand Federation of Teachers to reverse this policy of language suppression by having Maori included in the curriculum was blocked by T B Strong, the Director of Education. In Strong's view "the natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss to the Maori."[5]

In extending his analysis of cultural invasion Friere sees the elite leaders of the dominated society to a large extent acting as mere brokers for the leaders of the metropolitan society.[6] Certainly Ngata, perhaps the greatest Maori leader of this century, acted as broker in the manner described by Friere. At a Maori Welfare Conference in 1936 he said that if he were to devise a curriculum for Maori schools he would make English four out of the five subjects of instruction.[7] Three years later, Ngata changed his mind. He concluded that there was nothing worse than a person with the physical identity of a Maori but could not speak his own language.[8]

Thus, Ngata as a man of vision perceived as did Friere thirty years later that "at all stages of their liberation the oppressed must see themselves as men engaged in the ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human."[9]

Although Ngata's perception changed, the subversive role of education towards Maori culture and identity was firmly entrenched by what Friere terms the "depositing myths" indispensible to the preservation of the status quo.[10] For example Maori language was held to be inferior because it had no "literature"; English was the language of commerce so there was no "use" for Maori. At a more insidious level these myths established the superiority of the Pakeha and inferiority of the Maori. Thus Maoris were told they were good with their hands, therefore they made good carpenters and truck drivers. The effect of these depositing myths is that the invader "imposes his own contours on the vanquished who internalise this shape and become ambiguous beings 'housing' another".[11]

A study by Vaughan using pictures and dolls to establish ages of ethnic awareness showed that Pakeha children had sorted ethnic categories as early as five and six years of age.[12] Maori children on the other hand identified themselves as Pakeha up until the age of seven and in some cases as late as nine. Vaughan reasoned that this phenomenon of cross-ethnic identification is not a misperception of reality but an indication of a desire to become like the Pakeha. By that age children have learned (from the invader's depositing myths) that minority status is

*the Maori term for white man or stranger

inferior. Eventually they realise that the task of transcending social, cultural and ethnic boundaries (except in the case of gifted individuals under appropriate circumstances) is almost impossible. They then accept their identity as Maoris. It is at this time during the middle elementary school years that Maori children become withdrawn and troublesome. By the time they reach high school, absenteeism and truancy are well established patterns of adjustment to the uncongenial nature of schools.

TRANSFORMATION FROM MONOCULTURAL TO BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Friere's view that "knowledge of the alienating culture leads to transforming action resulting in a culture which is being freed from alienation"[13] is borne out by the Maori experience. The basic philosophy for this transformation was laid down in a poem penned in a child's autograph book by Ngata. Although some of the imagery is lost in translation it does convey the concept of cultural synthesis as discussed by Friere.

> Grow tender shoot for the days of your world!
> Turn your hand to the tools of the Pakeha for the
> well-being of your body.
> Turn your heart to the treasures of your
> ancestors as a crown for your head.
> Give your soul unto God the author of all things.

Ngata himself initiated the long fight for cultural recognition to have the Maori language introduced into the New Zealand University Colleges. After a twenty year battle Maori studies was established at Auckland University in 1951. To refute criticism from the professor of Romance Languages that Maori did not merit elevation to the status of academic study because there was no literature, Ngata collected the oral literature of the Maori and published the two volume work Nga Moteatea (songs and poems).

In the meantime other forces were at work which were to have a profound effect in transforming the education system from its monocultural assimilationist philosophy to recognition of biculturalism. The primary variable was the rapid recovery of the Maori population from the trauma of colonisation. From its lowest point of 45,549 in 1901 the population almost doubled to 82,326 by 1936.[14] By the 1971 census the Maori population was 227,414, close to 10% of the total population.

The second significant variable was the urban migration. Up to 1926 only 9% of the Maori population lived in towns and cities. By 1956 this had increased to 24% and by 1971 over 50%.[15]

By 1958 the rural-urban shift meant that 71% of Maori children were being educated in public schools.[16] These schools were not equipped with teachers to deal with Maori children. The education gap between Maori and Pakeha which had hitherto been masked by the capacity of the tribal hinterland to absorb the failures could no longer be ignored. In 1960 the Hunn Report identified a statistical "blackout" of Maoris in higher education.[17] At secondary school only 0.5% of Maori children reached the seventh form compared with 3.78% for Pakehas. Maori representation at university was only one eighth of what it should have been.

Maori people responded to the findings of the Hunn Report in a dynamic manner. They launched a vigorous fund-raising campaign in 1962 for the Maori Education Foundation proposed by the report. One of the effects was heightened interest in education. Maori Education Advancement societies were formed in Wanganui, Bay of Plenty and other places. Maori Leadership conferences organised by Auckland and Victoria Universities used the Hunn Report as an important study document to promote interest in Maori education. At this time the play centre movement was launched in New Zealand and Maori people accepted it whole-heartedly because it revolved around parental involvement and community control.

The lowering of entrance qualifications from matriculation to school certificate in the immediate post-war years for teacher training together with the institution of a Maori quota had a profound effect on the teaching profession. Over a ten year period close to 400 Maoris were trained as teachers before the quota system came to an end with the abolition of the Maori schools in 1969. Thereafter as teacher training intakes were oversubscribed, qualifications were raised and fewer Maoris gained entry into teaching.

The Maori teachers began transforming the education system by increasing the Maori cultural content of their social studies programmes and pressing for other reforms as well. In 1960 Maori studies courses were established at Auckland and Wellington teachers' colleges. Up to this time the Education Department was a monocultural Pakeha preserve. The secondment of the late Mr J Waititi to the Department to write a Maori language text established the first foothold. Waititi, like Ngata before him, immersed himself in the task of transforming the education system.

Increasingly the Officer for Maori Education and the Inspectors of Maori Schools found themselves consulting Mr Waititi on Maori education. Mr Waititi's efforts at consciousness-raising within the Department culminated in his appointment in 1963 as assistant to the Officer of Maori Education.

The Hunn Report together with growing Maori consciousness stimulated a fertile period of reassessment of the suitability of educational provision for Maori pupils. In 1967 the New Zealand Education Institute's report on Maori education reflected the growing awareness of biculturalism:

> A modification of opinion and policy has slowly upgraded the place of Maoritanga* in New Zealand society. This reversal has been brought about by the Maoris themselves, but many present ills are the direct result of misguided past policies. It must be remembered that the Maori is both a New Zealander and a Maori. He has an inalienable right to be both and to be consciously both and he is likely to be a better citizen for being both.

An even more potent report was produced by the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education in 1971. The report established what Maori people wanted from the education system.

1. That cultural differences need to be understood, accepted and respected by children and teachers.
2. That the school curriculum must find a place for the understanding of Maoritanga, including the Maori language.
3. That in order to achieve the goal of equality of opportunity special measures need to be taken.

Half the members of the committees that produced the NZEI and NACME reports were Maori, thus validating Friere's view that the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well.[21]

Maori assertiveness for cultural recognition was difficult to deny. Existing strategies of cultural denial had obviously failed to promote social equality by assimilation. In 1966 the report of the Maori Education Foundation noted that 85.5% of Maori pupils left school without any recognised qualifications. By 1969 the figure had been lowered to 79% (see Table 1). But this was not a substantive gain as the figure was lowered by recognising one and two subject passes in school certificate and not by complete passes.

TABLE 1

ATTAINMENTS	NUMBER		PERCENTAGE	
	Non-Maori	Maori	Non-Maori	Maori
University Scholarship	134	-	0.3	-
University Bursaries examination	2,163	8	5.0	0.2
Higher School Certificate	2,564	53	6.0	1.0
University Entrance	5,011	73	11.7	1.4
Endorsed School Certificate	4,277	273	10.0	4.7
School Certificate, 3 or more subjects	6,039	218	14.0	4.3
School Certificate, 2 subjects	2,510	189	5.8	3.7
School Certificate, 1 subject	2,634	293	6.1	5.7
Other	17,685	4,034	41.1	79.0
	43,017	5,105	100.0	100.0

Source 1969 Report Maori Education Foundation

The statistical blackout of Maoris in education identified by Hunn was still there after a decade of effort. The stage was set in the seventies for the acceptance of new strategies. Attention was drawn to the denial of Maori identity as perhaps the most important single factor within the school situation that incapacitates a child's ability to relate himself to school.[23] This observation has been made elsewhere by Foote that "when doubt of identity creeps in action is paralysed. Only full commitment to one's identity permits a full picture of motivation. Faith in one's conception of one's self is the key which unlocks the physiological resources of the human organism, releases the energy (or capacity as Dewey would say) to perform the indicated act."[24]

Fortunately Maori assertiveness and proposals for the adoption of alternative strategies in education for Maoris coincided with the advent of liberal men in the hierarchy of the Education Department. Even more fortuitous was the appointment of a liberal Minister of Education in the 1972 Labour Government. The Minister of Education in the 1975 National Government was equally liberal and actually took the trouble to learn the Maori language and sit the school certificate examination.

The 1970s were marked by rapid reforms in education that substantially reversed the former policy of assimilation by cultural denial. By 1973 all seven teachers' colleges had established courses in Maori studies. In 1974 the Education Department in response to the challenge of Nga Tamatoa (Young Warriors)* to broaden Maori language teaching in secondary schools by instituting a one year training course for native speakers of Maori, established the programme with an intake of 46 adult students in the first year. Since that time more than 170 teachers of Maori have been trained under the scheme.

* Maori identity and culture

* A Maori activist group formed at the 1970 Young Maori Leaders' Conference at Auckland University

Within the Education Department itself, five new positions for specialist advisers in Maori education were established in 1973. A further position for the South Island was established in 1975 as a consequence of the southward migration of the Maori population.

Maori studies and Maori language courses now became fasionable in both primary and secondary schools. In response to the demand the Education Department created thirty new positions for Itinerant Maori Teachers (ITMs). Each ITM was responsible for advising on course development in seven primary schools in a given area.

The impact of Maori language teachers, specialist advisers in Maori education and Itinerant Teachers of Maori has been remarkable. Prior to 1970 only ten secondary schools taught Maori language. Nine years later Maori language was being taught in 171 secondary schools to 15,000 pupils*. Bicultural education is so much in vogue that close to 50% of these pupils are non-Maori. At the primary school level where the growth is even greater the ITM staff has been expanded to 40. There are 250 primary schools offering Maori studies to 50,000 pupils.

School field studies to both rural and urban marae* are now commonplace. Annual oratory contests in Maori language, cultural competitions and festivals are promoted between schools on both a regional and national basis. The value now placed on Maori identity and culture in schools is reflected in the growing pride of Maori children and the widening respect for biculturalism in the general community.

CONCLUSION

In the last century the English colonists who settled New Zealand sought to impose their culture on the indigenous Maori population. Institutional structures were transplanted from England to New Zealand with little or no attempt made to accommodate them to the needs of the Maori people. Indeed, the education system was not only monocultural but actually used as an instrument to subvert Maori culture and implement the policy of assimilation.

Maoris resisted education. Although much of their traditional culture was eroded, sufficient of it survived the trauma of colonisation so that Maori people remain culturally distinct from the Pakeha New Zealander. Associated with the population recovery after the turn of the century was a vigorous regeneration of Maori culture. That regeneration of Maori numbers and cultural aspirations made itself felt in the education system in the 1960s. Maoris transformed the education system to recognise and accommodate to the fact that there were two main cultural streams in New Zealand society.

The inclusion of Maori language and culture in the education system after more than a century of exclusion is a remarkable reversal of policy. That transformation was accomplished by Maori infiltration of the teaching profession and then the Education Department itself. A similar transformation has occurred in the Department of Maori Affairs where Maoris now hold the senior positions.

As Maori people approach the 1980s, the task ahead is to transform other bureaucracies such as the departments of Justice, Welfare and so on, to reflect the bicultural and multicultural nature of New Zealand society. The transformation of the education system provides the model. It is an encouraging start and indicates that minorities are capable of ordering their own destiny and maximising their own choices and life chances.

* There are 397 secondary school in New Zealand
* The traditional courtyard and ancestral meeting house together with its ancillary dining hall and recreational facilities which comprise the focal point of Maori traditions, customary usages and community life.

THE IDEOLOGICAL RATIONALE FOR THE DENIAL OF MAORITANGA

Judith Simon

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principle of social control. (Bernstein, 1971)

In this paper I hope to show how ideology functions within the New Zealand education system to subvert the aims and aspirations of Maori educators and, in so doing, to reinforce Pakeha dominance within New Zealand society. In preparing the paper I have been very conscious of the fact that what I have to say regarding policies and teachers' attitudes in Maori education, contains little that is new for Maoris. However, my intention here is to highlight and discuss the ideological dimensions of these features of the education system and to consider the implications they have for future policy.

I am using the term 'ideology' in its restricted Marxist sense to mean a particular kind of distorted consciousness which functions to maintain a structure of dominance within a society.[1] As interpreted by Larrain (1979), ideology is a 'solution in the mind' to contradictions in social relations, which fulfils its role by concealing the true relations between groups and explaining away the relations of dominance and subordination. In this way social relations are made to appear harmonious and individuals go about their work without disruption. Because it legitimates the structure of dominance in a society, ideology always serves the interests of the dominant group.[2]

The education system in New Zealand is structured around Pakeha interests and Pakeha-determined goals. Maori interests which aim at a greater share of the power in the society at large, can be seen to represent a challenge to the dominance of Pakeha interests. Hence Maori in-roads into the education system - into whatever part - must be seen as a threat by those intent on maintaining Pakeha dominance in the society. These factors represent the conditions which produce ideology and hence ideology is to be found in policies on Maori education.

Maori education policies can be seen as ideological either in the ways in which they have been formulated or in the ways in which they have been interpreted or implemented. The 'deficit' policy of the 1960s was ideological in that it focussed on the Maori child as a 'problem' for education whilst concealing the bias in favour of Pakeha dominance that was inherent in the education system itself. Well-intentioned efforts to remedy this injustice by asserting that Maori children should be viewed instead as 'culturally different' did little, if anything, to alter the situation. The term 'culturally different' soon became merely a catch-phrase eagerly taken up by teachers in making spurious claims that Maori educational needs were being recognized and catered for. Thus it served only to conceal the continuation of the 'deficit' view. Within this view, Maoritanga could never be more than a mere appendage to the regular school programme and as such served to reinforce the belief that the Pakeha-oriented curriculum was the 'real' curriculum.

The NACME policy of 1970[3] asserted, however, that Maoritanga, including Maori language, should be an integral part of the school curriculum in order to, firstly enhance the self-image of the Maori child and thus equip him to realize his full potential within the education system, and, secondly, develop in Pakeha children an awareness of Maori cultural values. As expressed more fully in the 1980 version, He Huarahi, the over-all aim was the development of a multi-cultural society.[4] The objectives of this policy, although formulated by Maoris themselves, have been subverted through ideological interpretation.

In my research during 1980-81, I found that the majority of the principals and teachers in my sample[5], when discussing the needs of their Maori pupils, revealed views that could be seen to be ideological, even though they were often well-intentioned. Notable about the views of these teachers was the extent to which they showed the 'deficit' theory was still prevailing - in spite of its having been supplanted officially by the NACME policy nearly a decade earlier. Poor achievement in Maori pupils is still being widely explained in terms of 'limited language' and 'limited experience' by teachers who are rarely able to substantiate their claims with specific evidence. This is ideology that has clearly descended to the level of 'conscious illusion, deliberate hypocrisy'. Besides providing teachers with a built-in excuse for ineffectual teaching, the perpetuation of these negative stereotyped views of Maori children, disadvantages Maori pupils further by inevitably producing low teacher-expectations that become self-fulfilling prophesies.

Within such a climate of thinking there is no possibility of the NACME objectives being realized. Where 'Maoritanga' programmes are conducted in a school where the teachers hold strong 'deficit' views of Maori children, it is clear that a patronizing view towards Maoritanga is communicated to all pupils. Likewise, in those schools where Maoritanga is offered as a club option in competition with such activities as 'cookery', the message communicated to all pupils is that the status of Maoritanga in education is neither significant nor important. In some schools Maori teachers are attempting to plan and run effective Maoritanga programmes but only to have their efforts frustrated by the indifference - and even antagonism - of many of their Pakeha colleagues. These teachers not only fail to reinforce the Maori teachers' efforts but, in some cases, openly reveal negative views of Maoritanga to their pupils.

All these ways of including Maoritanga in the school programme serve only to denigrate Maoritanga whilst affirming the legitimacy of the Pakeha-oriented curriculum. Rather than enhancing the self-images of the Maori pupils they are likely to have the opposite effect whilst at the same time reinforcing ethnocentrism in Pakeha pupils. Maoritanga is thus expropriated by ideology to serve Pakeha interests, affirming Pakeha cultural dominance by further concealing the inequities that continue to exist within the education system.

Because of this situation some Maori teachers are reluctant to have Maoritanga included 'officially' within the school curriculum. These teachers recognize that whilst failure to acknowledge the cultural heritage of the Maori child in the education system is a gross injustice, to focus on that

heritage and then treat it with contempt is a greater act of violence.

Ideological explanations by teachers for not taking account of the cultural background of Maori children tend to find expression in a limited set of themes. Many teachers are quick to insist that they make no distinction between the needs of their Maori and Pakeha pupils. These claims are usually supported by statements such as 'We are all New Zealanders' or 'We are all one people' and 'I don't think in terms of "Maori" or "Pakeha" - they are all "children" to me.' Sometimes these claims represent well-intentioned attempts to counter the negative stereotypes of the 'deficit' ideology and in such cases seem to be based on naive and ethnocentric assumptions that the school operates within some culturally-neutral territory. Frequently, however, these views are articulated together with claims that any adjustment to the curriculum for the benefit of Maori pupils - such as the inclusion of Maoritanga programmes - amounts to 'separatism'. In such cases they are defensive responses to perceived threats to Pakeha cultural dominance. A further variation of this view is the insistence that the child should be viewed not as a 'Maori' or 'Pakeha' but as an 'individual' or a 'person'. These claims need to be examined carefully in the context of other views with which they are expressed. Sometimes, especially when used by Maori teachers, they can encompass the 'Maoriness' of a child, but, too often, they are articulated merely to justify ignoring it and, in such cases, are ideological.

The egalitarian ideology is revealed also in the claim made by some teachers that the inclusion of Maoritanga in the school programme amounts to favouring Maori children at the expense of children of other cultures and, therefore, is morally wrong. This argument is sometimes extended into the realm on practicability. Then it is claimed that if Maoritanga is included for Maori pupils, equivalent programmes should be included for children of all other cultures represented in the class, but that since this is clearly 'impractical', it is 'fairer' to have no 'cultural' programmes at all. This rationale thus allows Pakeha culture to reign totally unchallenged.

Another stance often adopted by principals and teachers is one of agreeing that Maoritanga should, ideally, be included in the school curriculum but claiming that there is not enough time available in the school day since so much time needs to be devoted to dealing with problems in other areas of the curriculum. Besides raising questions about what is meant by 'Maoritanga' and how it can function within the school curriculum, this view denigrates Maoris and their culture by inferring that Maoritanga is less significant and less 'real' than Pakeha culture.

Whilst the views discussed here would probably be those held by the majority of teachers in our education system, they do not, of course, represent the full range of teachers' views and classroom practices. A minority of teachers are struggling, often against difficult odds, to cater for their Maori pupils in ways that reflect the spirit of the NACME policies. The fact remains, however, that the objectives of those policies have been subverted through their implementation within the education system. A brief examination of the way these policies have been formulated can show why this is so.

The NACME policies appear to be based on the assumption that schooling is a powerful determinant of society's values. Because they have failed to recognize the relationship between schooling and society as dialectical, the policy-makers have overlooked the fact that any effort to change society would be met, inevitably with a strong counter-challenge from those intent on maintaining the status quo. In prescribing the inclusion of Maoritanga in the school curriculum, they have assumed that those to implement the Policy would share their aims and aspirations. They failed to take account of the nature and implications of the values and aspirations of the teachers who mediate between Policy and pupils, and to cater for these. Those who formulate future policies in Maori education need to consider these factors if their policies are to fulfil their aims. Hence those policies need to be structured to ensure that there are adequate safeguards for their objectives against the risks of ideological subversion.

NOTES

1. In using a Marxist concept, I am in no way suggesting that Maori-Pakeha relations should be seen simply in terms of a class struggle, (although I tend to agree with those who argue that race relations in a society cannot be analysed in isolation from its political economy.) However, it is because Maori-Pakeha relations in New Zealand involve power relations of dominance and subordination that I believe that a critique of ideology can make a valid contribution to their analysis.

2. I acknowledge that this explanation of ideology is barely adequate. For a fuller explanation, see Larrain, 1979:35-67.
A clear illustration of ideology is the Hunn Report's explanation in 1960 for the change in New Zealand's racial policy aims from 'assimilation' to 'integration'. As all Maoris know, the 'integration' policy serves merely to perpetuate the 'assimilation' policy but does so within a new rationale - that of egalitariansim. By concealing the asymmetrical power relations of Maori and Pakeha whilst claiming to espouse egalitarianism, 'integration' as a policy, is a mere 'solution in the mind' to social contradictions not solved in practice. However, to recognize this today is not to assert necessarily that the Hunn Report or those who concurred with it, deliberately set out to mislead or to practise deception. Ideology, particularly in its early stages, can be offered and accepted in good faith by members of both dominant and subordinate groups. It is only after the contradictions continue to emerge and become more readily apparent that ideology descends to the level of 'mere idealizing phrases, conscious illusion, deliberate hypocrisy.' (Larrain, 1979:49).

3. The Report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education. This report was adopted as official policy by the Department of Education in 1974.

4. The term 'multi-cultural' as used in He Huarahi, takes its meaning from the definition offered

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by Joan Mege in 1979. This sees 'multi-culturalism' to involve, ...placing an unequivocally positive value on cultural diversity and actively working to create a society in which respect for other cultures is accepted as a basic premise and the majority of citizens are familiar enough with at least one culture other than their own to be able to interact comfortably with its members on the latter's terms. Such a society, consisting not merely of many cultural groups but of bi- or multi- cultural individuals, would be multi-cultural in the fullest sense of the word. (NACME, 1980:65).

5. The research was conducted in primary schools in the Auckland and Manurewa areas in which Maori pupils made up at least 25% of each roll. 13 principals and 44 teachers were interviewed. (Ref. Simon, 1982)

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A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Rev M Marsden, Te Kopuru

Extract from an address at the opening of Tutahi Tonu carved meeting house at Auckland Teachers' College 19 November 1983.

In my association with educational theory, the impression I gain is that whilst educational theory is in a continual state of flux and continually changing its theoretical ground, one of the unchanging constants is the idea that the most important thing in life is achievement.

Nowadays, we no longer ask 'who a person is' - but what is his work, his calling, his status and position. The preoccupation is with externals; to the exclusion of the inner personality - who or what a person is.

This modern approach to life and economy is essentially a Western idea, now also espoused by members of the Socialistic Eastern Block and increasingly by the Third World. Its roots are to be found in the Post-Reformation beliefs and ideas of duty that developed out of Calvinistic teaching on Predestination - that some are elected to eternal life and others to eternal damnation. Thus the stress was laid on everyday works, on the duty of one's calling and the success in these things as the proof of one's election.

With the development of the Industrial Revolution this intensive piety and business acumen were conjoined first in the churches and sects and extended later into the secular world. This attitude became pervasive, and the more the modern economic system prevailed the more did unremitting diligence, strict discipline, success and achievement became the virtues of secular man. All-round ability became the supreme virtue; profit, the object of worship; success, the goal of all endeavour; and achievement, the law of the modern efficiency orientated society.

Self Realisation Through Achievement

In a dynamically developing world and society man attempts to realise himself through his own achievements. By achieving something a person in Western Society is regarded as something. Work, a career, making money - producing, expanding, consuming - growth, efficiency, improvements in living standards, perfection - and now the new dimension of 'Think Big' - all this is the meaning of life. Values that revolve around economics have come to rank as uppermost in the system of values. Mammon has now replaced Providence.

The Threat

But this way of thinking becomes a serious threat to man's humanity. Not only does man lose sight of the higher values and a comprehensive over-view of life, but he loses himself in the anonymous, impersonal mechanised techniques, powers and organisations of the system. The greater the progress, so much more firmly is he enmeshed in the spiderweb of the socio-ecomomic process.

The network of norms and sanctions evolved by the system conditions and then controls man mercilessly in his calling, his work and even in his leisure. Prohibitions, laws, precepts and sanctions continue to flourish like weeds after the rain to meet the demands of a life thoroughly organised, regulated, bureaucratized and computerised. So man loses his autonomy, his spontaneity, his initiative and his humanity. His life has become an achievement game under relatively rigid constraints. He begins to experience in modern form what St Paul called the 'Curse of the Law'. This deep but unrecognised unease makes him justify his existence in terms of achievement and performance before his boss, his society and tragically, before himself rather than before the judgement-seat of God. Only by achievement is he something; only by achievement in that role assigned to him by his society can he receive the esteem that he needs. If it is true that only by love (agape) can a person continue to grow in himself, the denial of esteem must therefore spell death to his personality.

Under these tremendous pressures which dictate the goals towards which he must strive or be overwhelmed he must either succumb and submit, or opt right out of the system. Is it any wonder that so many opt out to seek an alternative life-style. He is labelled either as a radical, an activist, a non-conformist, even eccentric, or in the case of many - as criminals. In many cases, the real truth is that these people are seeking their real selves; for under these unremitting pressures their identities become so diffused that a crisis and even a loss of identity results to the end that they are alienated from themselves. It reminds one of Humpty Dumpty. All the king's horses and all the king's men; plus the modern Court-magicians (the psychiatrists) cannot put him together again - until the outer is harmonised with the inner life and not the other way round.

Can you wonder then why so many young people and children from a Maori cultural background with a different orientation and system of values rebel either early or late and reject the system and thereby condemn themselves to the processes of the judicial system which reinforces the norms of the wider system and guards its sanctity.

The question we must ask is, "Can man be happy with such attitudes and under such a system?" Frankly, I don't believe that he can be. TV programmes such as Dallas, Falconcrest, Peyton Place etc which reflect this achievement syndrome demonstrate that a person can be a marvellous organiser, manager, professional or skilled worker and still fail completely as a human being.

So, what I am really saying is this, that whilst achievement may be important, it is not decisive. It is not what counts in the last resort.

The Educational System

Pakeha education as part of the system has been both conditioned by the system and in turn helps to promote and reinforce those self-same attitudes. What from my point of view is more reprehensible is that 100 years of Pakeha education has finally produced many brown-skinned Pakeha. They think and act Pakeha but they can't disguise their ethnic background because of their skin colour. But because they are not accorded the esteem and recognition that they need and deserve, even though they may successfully fulfil the role which society has assigned to them in terms of achievement, skin-colour militates against them receiving the rewards that are their just due. Is it any wonder that so many young Maori who have gained the highest academic honours are in the vanguard of our Protesters and Militant Activists. I wonder what future harvest this nation is going to reap for disregarding the legitimate claims of the other ethnic groups to be recognised for what they are rather than for what they do in conformity with Pakeha mores.

Theological Perspective

Jesus was not against achievement as such - whether moral, ritual or legal. But he was firmly opposed to making achievement in itself the measure of being human. The proud Pharisee who thought that his achievements counted for something in the sight of God and man, and therefore to be justified both in his existence and position as a teacher and authority on Mosaic Law, went home unjustified. God is not so much concerned with externals but with the inner state of the person. On the other hand, the sinner who made no claims concerning himself in the sight of God went home justified. He recognised that he was a recipient; that what he was and had, he owed to others. In that recognition and humble acceptance of his state, his personality became open to receiving grace. The Crucified One did not claim any special privileges because of who or what He had achieved. He let God justify him, in the face of the defenders of pious works. Jesus is God's sign that the decision depends not on man and his deeds but on the grace of God who expects an unshakeable trust from man in his own passion.

St Paul's View

St Paul did not reject achievement for he could boast that he had done more than his fellow-Apostles. But of those achievements he could say, "It was not I, but the grace of God which was with me."

So achievement is not decisive. What is decisive is faith - that faith which is commitment expressed in action and moving towards achieving those qualities and values that are eternal rather than external.

At the same time the Christian message does not provide justification for doing nothing. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling for it is God who works in you to will and to do his good pleasure." And since God is love, what he does on man's behalf is the very best possible that can happen for He orders 'All things to work together for good to those who love God, to those who are called according to his purposes.'

Conclusion

The foundation then for authentic existence, and the criterion for facing God is not an appeal to one's achievements and cannot be by any self-assertion or self-justification but by a dependence and trust in God.

In conclusion, I believe that there is a message here for the teaching profession as well as for the rest of us.

For the teaching profession plagued by a system that demands that a child be assessed primarily on academic achievement as the justification for his or her existence and presence in school must never forget that there are values of a higher order which must be promoted that the foundation for inner liberation are thoroughly laid down - (and by this I do not mean some sort of wishy-washy liberal studies) - and an authentic basis for self-realisation is established. Let the teaching profession be concerned not so much with impregnating the child with those attitudes and preconceived ideas inherited through conditioning by the system, but rather with seeking out and actualising the latent abilities, talents and positive qualities inherent in the individual child remembering that he is made in the divine image and that confirmity to the image of Christ as the prototype is the ultimate ideal. To recover the image of the divine as opposed to conformity to the image of the world is the highest task to which the teaching profession can address itself.

For the rest of us, especially those of us who want to get out of the rat-race, be not concerned with becoming something other than what you are not in your human essence, but just be what you are under all that external artificial trapping imposed upon you - trust that the God that created you is Himself the greatest teacher of all and in Him you will find your true self. As Teacher may He grant you the inner revelation that 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.'

EXPRESSION OF TAHA MAORI THROUGH ART

F V Kawharu

For a people who had no written language, it is not surprising that the Maori developed a rich and meaningful oral literature, to weave the patterns of their past to the present, and give substance to a world view incorporating spiritual and secular life. Language as a means of communication, interpreted the ethos of the poeple's ritual and belief whether in oral form, or in the symbolism and imagery of that which we can refer to as the visual arts - although the Maori traditionally had no word for art. For art, as religion, knew no compartmentalisation separated from other aspects of life and as such was undertaken as a means of enhancing the community structure of the kin group. Writing of the social framework of primitive art, Raymond Firth noted that, "the system of symbols, corresponds to some system of social relations." If the relationship of symbols pertaining to art and social structure had relevance traditionally, the relevance of the relationship must also have validity in the expression of cultural interpretation in today's world.

In making some kind of statement on art, the minds of most New Zealanders would no doubt turn to that art of the western world, enshrined in the cultural norms of a European tradition, from whence came their origins. Works to admire, to find aesthetically pleasing, to provoke and stimulate, to question, perhaps even to arouse the passions of those who reject out of hand the artist's interpretation of the exploration of an individualistic and solitary working out of a mind's eye view. For the parameters are those only of the mind of the individual creator, constrained or enhanced as the case may be by the nature of the materials used, and the methods used to control the media. Further, the places in which the art forms themselves are likely to be viewed are in art galleries, which while open to the public at large, are not likely to reverberate with the feet of Maoridom, or indeed with the totality of the wider community. Art, then, in these terms could be considered elitist, commanding the attention of an elitist group, although being wide ranging in its interpretation. How, then, does this scene relate to the expression of taha Maori through art?

Originally, as a tribal people with an oral tradition, a philosophy of life, could only be generated by face to face contact. Each member of the group furthermore had a function and role only insofar as it related to the group structure. Art forms expressed a symbolic structure in a dimension other than verbal, perpetuating tribal lore and ideology. Although there was room for the individual to "make his mark" in artistic endeavour, it was in a controlled framework where, as in carving, the finished works would serve to act as a tribal signature rather than that of the individual's. Note, for instance, the sinuous sculptural forms of the north, compared to the geometric stance of carved figures of the central north island region. Particular forms of expression tended to be used for specific purposes, so that, for instance, whilst the phallus as a generational symbol was quite properly used in the male restricted and sanctified domain of carving, its symbolic representation in the women's arts such as weaving, were prohibited. For both men's and women's endeavours, as in other aspects of interpreting the cultural norm, sanction, concerning the work itself as well as materials used, were controlled by the law of tapu applied.

Apart from the requirements of spiritual and secular needs, material goods, crafted by the people themselves, satisfied the demands of man's basic needs for food, shelter and clothing. Here, too, decorative elements allied with ritual propriety, transformed in the hands of the experts, the merely functional to aesthetically pleasing objects. In this area some distinction should be made between the work of artisan and artist. The former though highly skilled as a craftsman in the techniques and use of materials concerned, need go no further than tried and true formulae already established. There is room for change, as our history shows, but in aeons of traditional time change is gradual. The artist on the other hand imbues a feeling of his or her own with a sometimes subtle quality that transcends that of craftmanship no matter how skilled.

The pre European carvings of Te Kaha and Northland give examples of the richness and beauty of works of art executed in a stone age technology. Later the 19th century works of Wero and Rukupo, both of whom were apprenticed in the stone tool tradition, showed how adaptive they were to change, in the freedom of expression of the new steel tool era. In more recent times, the brothers Taiapa, Pine and John, having mastered the art, found no restrictions in creative outlet. Though apprenticed in the same school, the work of each showed an individuality pertinent to their own personalities. John's, gentle and reflective, Pine's, bold and vigorous. Is it a mark of the quality of the artist that Pine (in private conversation), was to echo the same sentiments as expressed by Michelangelo centuries before? "I am the mediator... to bring out what is already there in the wood." Mention might also be made of the recent (and present) work of Rangimarie Hetet, and her daughter Digger Te Kanawa, both of whom have been dedicated to the cause of maintenance and preservation of the art of cloak-making. It might seem an anachronism that the energies devoted to production of such goods, which in material terms no longer have a daily functional use still survives. Yet considering that the use or wear of such garments is now reserved for only very special occasions, adds pertinence to the fact that mana for the occasion and the bearer, is reinforced. It might be recorded here that though a traditional skill, innovative methods of use allied with an artist's eye and feel for the material, has made this work truly an artistic expression of our time, rather than a repitition of a reflection from the past.

Maori people today though subject to influences and change outside and within their culture, still find the need and relevance of drawing upon the richness of their own heritage to gain an identity as Maori in the modern world. As a focal point, the marae remains the fulcrum for tribal life, and the place where group enterprise can give substance through the arts to that identity. The influence of such master carvers as the Taiapa brothers, Henare Toka, Bill Poutapu and others is still being felt although they have long gone. Through their apprentices and others who worked with them on many marae projects around the country and were influenced by them in meeting and discussion, the work continues. Many of them now master carvers in their own right, directing a new generation to uplift the chisel, paint the panel and strip the fibre to weave in deft and beauteous harmony.

The aforementioned carvers were among the first to be trained at the then newly instituted Rotorua school of the late 20's and early 30's. Many have followed in their footsteps at the present Institute for Maori Arts and Crafts, but whether the work carried on there is still relevant to today's needs is a subject for conjecture and discussion. There is a feeling amongst some, that it is no longer enough to learn technique and style, in repetitive works that a burgeoning tourist trade has no trouble in disposing of. This is not to say however, that students trained there, may not in time develop a meaningful dimension to their work.

From the period of the 1950's and 1960's, an increasing number of young Maori students, showed a growing awareness and appreciation of artistic form, not necessarily related to the traditional. Some sought to further their individual interests by going to either of the two art schools in the country, others by completing third year art specialist courses, after selection as talented and promising young students' from teachers' colleges'. Many after graduation became art teachers' at both secondary and primary schools, the latter as intinerant art specialists.

Gordon Tovey as National Advisor of Arts and Crafts, did much at this time to promote a form of discovery learning through creativity with pupils at selected Maori schools in the North Auckland region. Art, song, dance, mime, poetry, creative writing and even maths, were taught using and developing an understanding of the pupils' own environmental and cultural background. It was an exciting time that Maori itinerant specialists had much to contribute to, and children took pride in using and developing their skills with things familiar to them culturally, which also enabled them more readily, to relate to the bases of education through the state school system. In conjunction with Pine Taiapa and Gordon Tovey, selected Maori itinerants also worked at means of introducing Maori Arts and Crafts into primary schools, although the emphasis still remained in practice with those schools catering mainly for Maori children. Art teachers at the secondary school level, whilst trying to develop amongst pupils an appreciation of a broad visual arts programme, did not as a matter of course include areas of the Maori arts and crafts, although some few of the Maori teachers did incorporate some aspects of such work into their general programmes.

The influence of many of the artist/teachers trained during this period has had an effect educationally in Maoridom, although not through programmes adopted on a national basis as a part of the education system. Of note has been the work of such artists and teachers as Para Matchett and Cliff Whiting. Both have worked with various Maori communities, helping provide a stimulus and rejuvenation in reinterpreting traditional symbols and motifs in works of power and delicate beauty, such as in the murals designed for Whangaparaoa and Kimiora (Ngaruawahia), where elements of painting, weaving and carving have been incorporated. Traditionalists have not always taken kindly however to such innovative works.

In the schools, although provision has been made for "Maori Art" within courses on New Zealand art at a senior school level, there is little that relates it culturally at other than a superficial level. Trying to overcome this handicap single-handedly is Arnold Wilson, another Maori teacher/ artist and fine arts graduate from the mid 1950's. Since 1975 he has been involved as director with the promotion of the Cross Cultural Community Involvement Arts Programme, which sets out to foster cross cultural understanding through the arts to enable Maori and Pakeha to learn more of their heritage and positive values of their society. As seen by Peter Boag, at the time Assistant Director General of Education, who set it up, it is a means for using another language, another total educational experience, a catalyst for achieving a whole range of education aims. It enables appreciation of cultural diversity rather than strict adherance to the status quo of mono-cultural bias in education, in itself reflecting society at large.

Selected pupils, together with teachers from Art and English Departments from usually 5 regional schools are taken to selected marae. The tangata whenua are approached for their views on an art marae experience and so a basis is established for an exchange of ideas and communication between people who previously have often had little in common to share. Over three days, histories, myth and legend pertinent to the area are related and discussed. These form a basis for murals which will be commenced on the marae, finished at the respective schools, and then returned with much ceremony to be presented to the tangata whenua and the marae. Material will be provided by the schools, equipment by the Education Department, and hospitality and manaakitanga by the hosts. Other areas of expression are also encouraged through dance, drama and creative writing. Much more will have been learnt than the weaving together of materials. The occasion will have provided the means for dialogue between people of different cultural experience in mutual aroha. Out of difference something new and exciting is produced that is a permanent reminder to participants and those who visit the marae.

If any educational programme is to incorporate something of taha Maori through art, it must be within a framework related to its source. It is not enough to present pattern and motif and say "This is Maori Art". If schools are to be responsible for educating children in this area it must be done with sensitivity and in context. Arnold Wilson's programme indicates that it is possible. Yet more needs to be done in educating those who will in turn become educators. Courses at all teachers' colleges involving art and Maori studies departments, with traditional and contemporary aspects of Maori Art, should be available. Additionally a continuing dialogue between artist teachers and the Maori community should not be neglected, lest that which is there in richness and diversity shall not be found.

THE FRUSTRATIONS OF BEING A MAORI LANGUAGE TEACHER

Maiki Marks
HILLARY COLLEGE

The frustrations of being a Maori language teacher are the same as being a Maori in our education system. To show you what I mean, when I was first hired as a high school teacher, I was not given a Maori language class. I was given a class of shattered youngsters to care for.

It seems to me that there are two big problems facing any Maori teacher who see their taha Maori as absolutely crucial to their students' development. The first big problem is that schools basically are designed to teach Pakehas, and middle class ones at that. Bringing the system across half the globe hasn't altered that in any way. So a Maori teacher and a Maori student is compulsorily part of a system designed to treat her as if she is Pakeha. And if she shows signs of forgetting that, to treat her as someone requiring to be made Pakeha, to be assimilated. Whatever term you want to use, it means the system wants Maoris to forget that they are Maoris while they're in school. And when they leave school, too.

The second big problem facing a Maori teacher - or any teacher who wants to make changes - is that schools are divided up into 30 students with one teacher, each in their own room. For teachers to cooperate, plan together, evaluate together, plot revolution together is utterly exhaustingly hard work. Furthermore, what the teacher is, is what the students get. The teacher's limitations are passed onto the students, circumscribe what the kids learn. If the teacher is monocultural - and almost all of them are - then so is the class's work.

Now the situation facing a teacher specifically hired to be a Maori language teacher is even worse. This teacher is expected to teach Maori language as if it were dead. That is, to teach it academically, to prepare their students for the exams of SC and UE.

If the teacher is given any extra role in the school by the principal, that role is likely to be to hand on gimmicks and tricks to her Pakeha colleagues on how to control Maori kids.

The Maori language teacher is in a very delicate situation which makes it easy for that teacher to be sucked into keeping the system going. The Maori teacher is a highly visible part of the staff. The school's public relations and the head's 'mana' in part depends on the school's success in the inter school Maori and Polynesian contests. Furthermore, isolated as she usually is from other Maori colleagues, the Maori teacher is likely to find it easier to take on protective 'colouration' by adopting or pretending to adopt her Pakeha colleagues views and attitudes towards students in general and Maoris in particular. In this situation, Maori teachers now exert far too little influence upon their colleagues, such as in the PPTA or NZEI. Even committees set up to look at Maori 'problems' are probably stacked with middle class Pakeha for whom it's all just another academic exercise.

That Maori language teacher may see that the school is actually working not to save Maori language or Maoritanga but to preserve them in the same way as Latin and Greek are preserved - as academic studies that do no one any harm because they can challenge no one's thinking and self, because they are treated as irrelevant to real life.

To sum up, then, the Maori language teacher is likely to be feeling frustrated by being a member of a system she seems to be able to do very little to change. And even where the school has a taha Maori, it's probably merely a Maori Club or timetables periods for language and arts and crafts. But the school is most unlikely to have changed its self so that it actually FEELS good to Maoris and actually works to give them an equal chance. Not an equal chance at Pakeha education only, but the same chance that Pakeha students get for their culture for their own culture.

The Maori language teacher every day faces the victims of the system. I want to talk especially about the Maori girls. These are the saddest victims. It's often said that the worst sins in New Zealand society today are to be young, to be Maori, to be female, and to be the child of working class parents. I see these girls coming into high school with their selves battered and bruised after eight years in the system I've just described to you. They have little confidence. Their behaviour often reflects their inner pain and confusion. And all the school does is to yell at them, to punish them, to expel them. However, it is also true that some, a few, of these girls, are even at the third form level starting to work it out for themselves who they are, who they want to be. And to be proud. These are the girls who get on well with others, these are the elder sisters, the helpers, the hostesses. This is not necessarily to say that they are the students, the teachers like. Their inner confidence may lead them to reject the school and its inherent racism. But these girls, too, are easily knocked down. And they have a huge variety of strategies to cope with rejection, boredom, confusion, ranging from inattention to dropping out. And, of course some girls succeed in using the system to their advantage. I'm one of them. And you have to be hell of a strong to do that. The frustrations of being a teacher of Maori language are just the same as those of being a Maori in New Zealand society. The frustrations of being a Maori language teacher are essentially summed up in the feeling that the education system has invited you to be a mourner at the tangihanga of your culture, your language - and yourself.

PROPOSAL TO THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT FOR NEW OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL

Dr R J Walker
Chairman
Auckland District
Maori Council

INTRODUCTION

In 1974 the Auckland Secondary Schools Principals Association in conjunction with the Auckland District Maori Council advanced a proposal to the Education Department for a New Opportunity School. The proposal was an innovative response to the problem of large numbers of children who were defined as being "at risk" in secondary schools across the Auckland Metropolitan area. "At risk" meant children who were truanting, facing suspension or expulsion and not benefitting from conventional school programmes. At that time, a cursory survey revealed that there were 272 children who came into the category (see appendix for the original proposal).

The Department accepted the proposal but implemented it in a considerably modified form as a single Opportunity Class in an existing school rather than as an independent school. Seddon High School was selected as the location for the Opportunity Class. After two years of operation, the class has proved that the philosophy and educational theory underlying the proposal are sound. An added spin-off is valuable experience gained by two teachers working an innovative programme with recalcitrant "at risk" children. The teachers have learned many lessons from operating the programme under the constraints of a pre-existing institution. They feel that a stage has now been reached where the Opportunity Class should be extended and separated out from Seddon High School as an Independent New Opportunity School.

Recent events in South Auckland where charges have been made of racial discrimination in the suspension and expulsion of children indicate that the problem of "at risk" children is still with us. The lessons learned from the Opportunity Class Project now need to be more widely applied than they are at present.

We believe that the dysfunction of schools for large numbers of children are structural and personal in nature. When these matters are resolved as they have been in the Opportunity Class, truanting and aggressive behaviour are reduced and children make more positive adjustments to learning, even to the extent of remaining at school or returning to normal programme.

Although the Opportunity Class is a success, teachers have philosophic doubts about the validity of their role in the project. Their personal commitment is to creativity and educational innovation. To provide for the social, emotional and educational needs of children. But in pursuing these aims they run the danger of being seen as an ambulance operation, putting bandages on children who have been hurt by teachers or the system. It is for these reasons that in Independent New Opportunity School is seen as desirable.

A TENTATIVE PLAN FOR A NEW OPPORTUNITY SCHOOL

STUDY GROUP Messrs A Tahana, T Curtis, R Kora, R Walker

1. STRUCTURE

(a) PROJECT DIRECTOR — Mr R Scott, Education Department

(b) ADVISORY COMMITTEE — R Walker, V Penfold, T Curtis, A Tia, E Wineti, D P Walker

(c) CONTROL — Project Director to be chairman of the Advisory Committee. Teaching staff to have direct access to the Project Director or his deputy. The Advisory Committee to be in loco Board of Governors.

(d) STAFF — Four teachers - two male and two female. The senior teacher to be at PR1 or PR2 status, the others at assistant level. Staff selection is crucial to the success of the project and should be engaged before the school is established. The following criteria should be kept in mind in the selection of staff: male - female balance, academic balance, i.e arts and science, community strength i.e. ability to work with the community. Ability to establish rapport and empathy with Polynesian students; some work experience outside of education; flexibility as a teacher i.e. ability to teach a range of subjects.

A 1:20 teacher-pupil ratio is suggested for the first four teachers. After that an additional teacher should be appointed for every 15 pupils added to the roll.

2. SELECTION OF PUPILS

It is claimed that potential "at risk" children can be identified at intermediate school. If this is possible then they should be admitted to the school at the third form before they become casualties of the conventional system. So that the project is not to be seen or used as a sin bin for recalcitrant children, casualty or "at risk" children from the third or fourth form nominated from contributing schools in the projects catchment area should be carefully screened. The screening process should filter out mentally retarded children or children with deep-rooted psychological disturbances. At risk children who are not benefitting from conventional programmes but with some unrealised potential are suitable candidates for admission. Experience with the Opportunity Class at Seddon has shown that senior teachers have conceptual and status misconceptions about the appropriateness of referring children to the

Opportunity Class. Remarks such as "he's too clever","he's not that bad" or "he won't get a 'proper' education" indicate the difficulty some teachers have in making the conceptual shift from conventional to alternative education. The consequence of a close identification with a conventional school is that a considerable amount of teacher energy is drained off in'public relations', justifying the project, answering questions or allaying criticism.

3. ADMINISTRATION

Depending on its location a New Opportunity School should come under the administration of a Secondary School Board of one of the contributing schools in its catchment area. Although that school should have responsibility for payment of salaries, secretarial services and the administering of incidental expenses and special grants, the project should not be merely an extension of that school. These administrative arrangements are suggested as a matter of convenience, or as an interim measure until a more suitable structure is evolved.

4. COST

Beside the main cost of salaries a special setting-up grant is suggested. Once the project is established then it should function on normal secondary school grants.

5. LOCATION AND CATCHMENT AREA

The study group has looked at the Bayfield School site now occupied by the Polynesian Advisory Centre. Unused classrooms at this Centre may serve the purpose of the project supplemented by two relocatable buildings on the grassed area in the rear. This location would have in its catchment area a substantial Polynesian clientele (though not exclusively so) from Seddon High School, Mt Albert Grammar, Auckland Girls' Grammar, Avondale College and perhaps Mt Roskill Grammar.

6. EQUIPMENT

Student benches and stools for group and individual work purposes, teacher desks, six typewriters, six tape recorders, two record players, three radios, six guitars, one photocopy machine, one slide projector, one film projector, six instamatic cameras, two banda duplicators, one gestetner, full supply of art material, household utensils, pots, pans, crockery, cutlery, two stoves, one refrigerator, two telephones, one overhead projector.

COMMON ROOM

A common room to serve both staff and students and to double as an informal seminar room and a place for meeting with parents should be furnished with settees and easy chairs as well as tables and chairs.

7. AIMS

(a) To provide an alternative education for children "at risk" in conventional schools.

(b) To develop educational programmes arising out of the needs of children and the realities of their life experience.

(c) To relate children to the broader community outside their home and school where they will fulfill themselves as future citizens.

8. PHILOSOPHY

This school will begin with what the child brings from his home and life experience to the learning situation. With this as the starting point it is possible to establish a school based on a philosophy of success for all. In conventional schools, many children withdraw or opt out because of constant failure. They have low morale and self esteem and build a defensive wall of "can'ts" about themselves. They have a lack of conviction in their ability to control their own lives and destiny.

With an alternative school such as the one envisaged it should be possible to develop educational methods and programmes consistent with the home backgrounds of the children. The school will also enable an important conceptual shift to be made from the individual competitive exclusive mode of behaviour emphasised in European society to the cooperative inclusive mode of Polynesian society. This inclusive emphasis will move outwards from the primary group of the school to bring in the parents and ultimately to embrace the whole community.

Parental involvement is crucial to the educational success of children either as models or as supporting participants. At present Maori and Pacific Island parents think they have done their duty by sending their children to school everyday. They expect them to gain school certificate with no other contribution from themselves. Therefore the inclusive philosophy will aim to create a whanau (family) and marae type situation where parents come into school so they can appreciate the difficulties children have of coping with mathematics, English, science and so on. This way they can develop more realistic expectations for their children.

9. PROGRAMME

Assuming that the largest proportion of children for whom the present school system is dysfunctional will be Maori, Polynesian and disadvantaged Pakeha children, a tentative programme based on their social, emotional and cultural needs is offered. The programme

must be tentative since it can only be planned in its final form after some experience with the children.

(a) IDENTITY AND SELF IMAGE

Children who are likely candidates for the New Opportunity School have a high probability of suffering from low self-esteem, a negative self concept (I'm only a dumb Maori) and perhaps an identity problem. Consequently considerable emphasis will be placed in the programme on the development of a positive self image. Bicultural and multicultural values will be emphasised to counter low self esteem arising out of marginal or minority group status. To this end, parents, successful adult models and resource people in the community will be brought in to contribute to the programme whenever possible.

(b) MYTHOLOGY, TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

Maori and Polynesian mythology, traditions, customs, marae etiquette, music, speech-making and language will be taught as important aspects of identity and social well-being. Where possible, resource people from within the community will be brought in to contribute to the programme.

(c) MAORI CRAFT

The significance and symbolism of Maori carving and decorative arts such as tukutuku panelling will be included in the programme to add to the development of cultural identity and a sense of personal worth. Practical work in basketry, weaving and carving especially as they relate to urban marae projects will form an important part of the programme.

(d) ART AND SELF EXPRESSION

The programme here will include dancing, painting, poetry and prose writing, acting and music. Adult models with whom the children can identify will be brought in where possible to contribute to the programme.

(e) ENTERTAINMENT

A good deal of Maori talent finds outlet in the entertainment field. Although professional entertainers are not accorded the same degree of prestige as other professions, it is a well paid career and should not be ignored as a potential career.

(f) GROOMING AND DEPORTING

As a preparation for entry into the world of work, pupils need training in grooming, manners, charm and deportment.

(g) LAW AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Children need to know how to survive in modern society, they need to learn about civil rights, the judicial system, legal , the laws regulating contracts such as hire purchase agreements, time payment, insurance etc.

(h) TRADE UNIONS

Most of the children for whom this programme is envisaged are about to enter the world of work. A good many of them will probably take up semi-skilled or unskilled work, therefore they need to know something about the trade union movement, industrial bargaining, the arbitration court, wage orders, conditions of work etc.

(i) CONSUMER RIGHTS

Pupils on the threshold of adult life need to have competence in budgetting, form-filling, opening a bank account, buying a house, Rent Appeal Boards, buying a car, insurance, mortgage, interest rates, credit unions, bulk-buying, co-operatives etc.

(j) BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Occupational opportunities, personnel selection, the structure of a business corporation, Opportunities for promotion.

(k) SEX EDUCATION

The programme in sex education will be left to the discretion of the teacher.

(l) RECREATION AND SPORT

In addition to the benefits of a healthy body and a healthy mind, sport is one area where success can enhance the self-concept of the individual. Although there is little opportunity for professional sportsmen in New Zealand, amateur sport does provide a wide range of social contact that sometimes affect the life-chances of the individual.

(m) FIELD STUDIES

A suitable orientation for pupils entering a New Opportunity School can be provided by living on a marae for a week. Such asn experience will help resolve identity problems and establish the relevance of the Maori language. Follow up field studies will give pupils the opportunity to take responsiblity for planning, raising money, managing financial arrangements, writing letters, keeping records, etc. One of the aims of such field studies will be the

social aspect of giving and receiving visitors and learning the value of reciprocity. Whenever possible pupils will be taught to reciprocate, to give something back to the community in cash or kind, e.g. painting and renovating a marae, tree planting and beautifying a marae, etc.

(n) WORK EXPERIENCE

As part of their preparation for life, students will be given work experience in as wide a range of occupations as possible. To this end there will be liaison with schools and teachers who at present operate work-experience schemes for slow learners. By the time he leaves the New Opportunity School it is to be hoped that the student can exercise some degree of choice as to the occupation he will follow.

(o) ASSESSMENT

Since this programme aims to socialise students rather than to equip them with credentials, the programme will have to be assessed differently from the conventional method of testing and examination. Students will have to be assessed on qualitative criteria such as sociability, cooperation, stability, independence, initiative, work habits, reliability, punctuality, attendance and the development of social skills of looking, listening and speaking.

(p) RETURN TO MAINSTREAM

The minimal aim for all children will be functional literacy and use of number. However, challenging programmes will be devised for children capable of doing more. For those that show development in an academic direction there will be provision to return to the academic mainstream if it is desired. But the point of reentry has to be chosen with care. Experience with the Opportunity Class at Seddon High School indicates that children returning to the mainstream for selected subjects reencounter former difficulties. These include alienation, teacher personality clashes, loss of group support etc. Perhaps a system of visiting specialist teachers to the New Opportunity Class may resolve the difficulty. This way the child's environment remains stable while the teacher moves from one place to another.

REPORT ON THE OPPORTUNITY CLASS 1975

A Tahana
Seddon High School

INTRODUCTION

This class was established in September 1974 as a result of submissions made to the Department of Education by a joint study team comprising the Auckland Maori District Council and the Auckland Principals' Association. The aim of this class was to help 'pupils at the point of crisis' which the study group defined as "those pupils who are not benefitting in any way from the education programme offered by the school. Furthermore "children at the point of crisis" were defined to means those children about to be suspended from school and about to enter the grey area between school and work where they are unable to fit into either category.

SELECTION OF PUPILS

All pupils are referred to the class via the Guidance network. Initially they are referred to the Deans and to the Guidance Counsellor by form or subject teachers. Failing successful counselling or the unsuitability of other alternatives (e.g. change of form or subjects or placing in a remedial class) they are then recommended for the Opportunity Class. In general, the criteria by which they are accepted are:

1. Average to above average ability.
2. Poor social relationships and attitudes.
3. Non-attainment in school subjects.
4. Non attendance.
5. Potential to benefit from the type of education offered by the Opportunity Class.

Pupils undergo a probationary period on acceptance - this is primarily to see if the type of programmes etc., offered meet their needs and secondly to see if they can fit in with other members of the class. They then become full members of the class and may stay till they complete school, though the option to return to normal classes is always kept open should it be felt that they would benefit more from such a move. In practice some pupils stay till they are fifteen or till they can get a job, others treat it as their normal schooling.

ORGANIZATION

The class operates on a home room type system with one teacher responsible for the majority of the programme. In addition, however, outside resource personnel are frequently used as well as the class being taken out into the community. The timetable is kept highly flexible to allow for this.

AIMS

(a) To develop programmes relevant to the immediate realities of the life experience of these children. This involves a number of things:
  (i) Teaching them their own culture and language.
  (ii) Preparing them for work - a civics programme - taxes, unions, superannuation etc.
  (iii) Introducing them to a variety of occupations.

(b) To provide a programme based on a philosophy of success for all. This means in effect, going beyond the normal type school programmes into areas in which pupils have or can experience some form of success.

(c) To emphasise group values of communication, sharing, giving and participation, thus establishing a sense of community and a committment to the norms of that community.

PROGRAMME

As a result of experience with this type of pupil, the following principles have been found to provide a sound basis for curriculum selection and teaching methods.

1. Self Esteem

Low self-esteem is common to all pupils in this class. In some cases this is due to the home, in others the school, but in many, a combination of both. Such low self-esteem is reflected in negative attitudes to anything new or different. Their immediate reaction is usually "I can't do it." They constantly depreciate themselves in all spheres including some in which they have the ability to succeed. The immediate objective therefore is to place pupils in situations whereby they can achieve some degree of success and then, through gradual progressions make the work more difficult so that pupils will have to strive and in so doing derive more intrinsic satisfaction as well as a greater sense of personal worth.

2. Self Identity

This is a very important motivating factor among these pupils and in fact all pupils have at some time expressed aspirations in this direction, viz, to know more about their race, its history, traditions etc. and in particular, where and how they themselves feature in the scheme of things. This is evident in the manner in which they discuss matters pertaining to Maoris and Islanders, and also in the enthusiasm shown towards the learning of Maori language.

It also accounts to some extent for the inferiority complex (or low self-esteem) of many pupils. If Maoris and Islanders are always reported negatively, as in the press, then it is little wonder that these pupils also regard themselves negatively.

Where you have different cultures brought together, the question inevitably arises, "Who am I?".

/...

Where different values confront the individual, he faces conflict which may so bewilder him that he chooses the worst of both, or one to the detriment of the other.

The programme then must resolve this conflict firstly by teaching pupils what it is to be Samoan, Maori etc., through knowledge of the language and culture of each race, and secondly by poining out the inherent worth of the values held by the respective races.

3. Communication

Inability to communicate easily and effectively is a further distinguishing feature. It is not simply a problem of poor English but something rather more complex involving the two factors already mentioned (esteem and identity) as well as other, for example a lack of familiarity in mixing with adults or in adult like situations. As for speech itself, it is frequently interspersed with phrases such as 'you know', 'um, er', as well as gestures.

4. Self Expression

Along with poor communication is pupils' inability to express themselves, especially in socially-acceptable ways. This is perhaps one reason for the general frustration of many of these pupils who can achieve little by way of self-satisfaction or who have no outlet for their feelings and ideas. Education in this area becomes increasingly important when one considers the greater amount of time available for recreation and leisure activities.

5. Relevance

Much of what the school has to offer has little relevance to the real lives of these children. School for most of them is what begins at 9 and finishes at 3.30 so there is very little carry-over from school to home and vice-versa. Furthermore many of the pre-requisites to schooling, such as extensive reading, discussion etc. are not part of the pupils' home life. Thus they do not appreciate the need for the kinds of schools and knowledge that the school tries to pass on. It is not surprising therefore that their motivation is very low.

PHILOSOPHY

The principles just mentioned, on their own are insufficient to bring about the constructive development desired for these people. They need principles to be incorporated into an overall framework that integrates them, provides direction for their proper development and ensures some system of evaluation, this overall framework will also determine methods of teaching and learning, class tone, etc.

1. Cultural Differences

That cultural differences need to be understood, accepted and respected by children and teachers. This has previously been fully commented on

2. Social Orientation

That all activities be structured towards community betterment. Rather than individuals competing against one another for rewards, that each cooperates towards common goals which will ultimately benefit the individuals concerned.

3. Democratic Participation

That all pupils be responsible for the organization, planning, implementation and evaluation of class activities. There must be full consultation if the principles laid down are to be achieved.

4. Learning

That wider avenues than the traditional learning methods be used. This means such things as group projects, use of outside personnel and resources. etc.

SCHEME OF WORK

English
(a) for communication
listening/understanding/speaking, planning, letter wring, telephoning, interviewing, discussion, conversation etc
(b) for self-expression, creative writing, poetry and poetry writing, literature, song writing
(c) English as required in all subjects e.g. making and presenting reports
(d) Improving and extending reading - through use of the library, radio broadcasts, individualised reading programmes.

Maori
(a) Language - spoken and written
(b) Culture - customs, history, myths
(c) Present-day Maori life
(d) Maori - current events

Maths
(a) Social maths, percentages, interest, understanding of statistics, measurement, arithmetic
(b) Maths as it affects other areas of study - e.g. compass work
(c) Individual maths according to interest and ability

PE Health
Fitness, food, exercise, alcohol, drugs, smoking, hygiene, medical agencies
Leisure activities
Games, sportsmanship, tactics

/...

Social Studies: History and geography of NZ and the Pacific. See also Form 3 and 4 Syllabus as well as special projects. Current affairs

Music:
(a) Cultural
(b) Instrumental
(c) Music-making - songs - composing tunes
(d) Appreciation - introduce other music besides pop

Art & Craft: Drawing, painting, printing, modelling, carving

Civics: Taxation, budgetting, insurance, superannuation, accident compensation, consumer rights, real estate, trade unions, mass media, cars

Vocational: Introduction to range of occupations by Vocational Guidance officer plus selected work experience where available

Special Projects:

1. Outdoor education, e.g. Huia/Whatipu
2. Orakei Marae - regular weekly visits to learn tukutuku, kit making, kowhaiwhai painting, carving
3. Law and order and enforcement. The work of the police and other law agencies, the courts, penal institutions
4. Religions - a comparative study
5. Medical institutions e.g. Carrington hospital - its aims, methods and organization and how we can help
6. Trade Unions - their aims and organization - how they serve the employee
7. Mass media
   (a) Newspapers and how they work
   (b) Broadcasting - radio, TV - special services of Mr Haare Williams with the class making its own radio programme
8. Democracy
   (a) Local bodies - City Council, ARA etc., rates, town planning, conservation, services etc
   (b) Central Government - political parties, parliament, cabinet, select committees, legislation, regulations
   (c) Campaigning - elections, electoral roll
9. Government Departments and Semi-Government Corporations. How they work, field covered, how they relate to the individual, citizen.
10. The Volcanoes of Auckland, geology, history, utilization, conservation, Maori history associated with them
11. Other projects as decided upon in consultation with the class.

Kohanga Reo: The Foundation for Kaupapa Maori and Educational Change

T Roa
Otara

Te Kohanga Reo has to a great extent arrested the fear amongst a large number of Maori people that their language is dying. The fear that now arises, is where do our young go to from there. The present schooling process is clearly inadequate in developing further the linguistic competence of Kohanga Reo graduates.

Basic Statements:

1. The whole nature of schooling including staffing bureaucracy and red tape makes significant cultural change an extremely slow, frustrating, exasperating business.
2. It is the place of the school to transmit the culture of the nation. Maori is the other, often neglected main cultural heritage of New Zealand.
3. Schools should be places where human relationships are given priority.
4. The potential of young Maori is barely touched upon but is nevertheless very real.
5. By returning to many traditional Maori values in partnership with parents, kaumaatua and community perhaps young Maori potential can be realised.

Principles:

1. Maori means must be used to achieve Maori ends.
2. The mandate for all Maori programmes must arise from co-operation with parents, community and in particular, kaumaatua.
3. There must be parity in decision-making.
4. Maori attitudes; values; cultural skills and most importantly, language must be taught in a Maori way.
5. Priority must be given to developing Maori children's self-image and concept by bombarding them with success primarily based on achieving Maori things in Maori ways.
6. Programmes of work build on the strengths children bring with them to school by discarding racist models of cultural deprivation and linguistic deficiency.
7. The marae must be seen and used as a natural complement to the school (and, in extension to the total community).
8. Maori must be seen as part of the cultural heritage of ALL New Zealanders.

Recommendations:

Societal

That Maori be recognised in law as the other official, national language of New Zealand.

That the Media reflect more accurately the bicultural-bilingual nature of our society by:

- establishing a Television Production Unit to produce programmes in Maori (cf Te Karere)
- producing Radio and Television programmes which reflect Maori values and language in a style designed to capture children's imaginations (cf Korero Mai)
- producing Maori Radio stations in the major areas where Maori live.
- carrying a percentage of all news, advertising and features on and in Maori
- establishing Maori Advisory Units

That a permanent Trustee/Commission be established with responsiblity for preserving and promoting the Maori language.

That Maori people themselves be encouraged to use Maori language functionally in all areas of society and education.

That all possible efforts be made to encourage the majority culture to accept the bicultural reality of New Zealand society.

Schools

That the construction and decor of schools represent aspects of traditional Maori values, arts and crafts.

That ways and means of permeating Maori values, attitudes and language into all aspects of the life of the school.

That mature Maori be recruited and retrained to fill officially recognized and paid guidance and advisory roles.

That Form I - VII schools be established in place of the existing Intermediate-Secondary structure.

That the Area school concept of Infants-Form VII be experimented with in Urban areas.

Primary Schools

That the concept of the 'Native School' be reinvestigated to cater for graduates of the Kohanga Reo.

That 'Bilingual Units' be established in selected Primary Schools strategically located so that they are accessible to children presently attending a number of Kohanga.

That the Education Department establish a register of all those fluent in Maori who would be able to staff such units.

That these schools be designated 'Special Schools' under Section 98 of the Education Act 1964.

That where bussing is necessary, the Education Department pay for the service.

That staffing in these units be of competent, trained, successful teachers, fluent in Maori.

That parents, community people and kaumaatua fluent in Maori be actively recruited to assist in these units as paid teacher aides.

That a liaison/advisory service be established whose task is to liaise between Kohanga Reo, Primary Schools and Education services. Fluency in Maori is a prerequisite of the officers in this service.

That the officers of this service be responsible to the Kohanga Reo Advisory Board.

Pre-Schools (Specific Immediate Concerns)

That part of the Education budget be channelled toward Kohanga Reo comparable to that of the Kindergarten role.

That facilities be made available to train fluent speakers of Maori in principles of Early Childhood Care.

Ian Mitchell
Hillary College
OTARA

On 31 May 1983 The Hon Mrs Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan MP asked the Minister of Education this Parliamentary Question:
"Is he satisfied with the way the New Zealand education system is meeting Maori needs?"
Seven days later, on 7 June 1983, Mrs Tirikatene-Sullivan was favoured with this terse and angry reply from the Minister:
"Yes. Moreover, many Moari people have explained to me how angry they are with criticisms by the Hon. Member that Maori young people do not perform adequately at school".

Nothing could illustrate the dilemma of Moari people better than this: an educated, intelligent and deeply committed Maori politician finds that the Minister of Education

a) denies that the school system is failing young Maoris - when overwhelming statistical evidence proves that it is.
b) blames her for trying to get the system's inadequacies recognized.

What happened to Mrs Tirikatene-Sullivan in Parliament on 7 June 1983, happens to young Maoris in New Zealand secondary schools each year: they are failed by a system which does not recognize their culture or their needs - then they (and their parents) are blamed for failing. It is truly a classic example of the 'Victim Blaming Syndrome'.

It is very difficult to see how the Minister of Education could actually claim that he was satisfied with the way in which the education system was meeting Maori needs when the most cursory examination of the pass/fail statistics reveals a long-term and continuing record of abysmal failure. And these statistics are provided by the Minister's own Department.

In 1980 64.1% of Maoris left school with no qualifications. Only 27.9% of pakehas left without any qualifications.

In the same year, only 9.3% of all Maori secondary school students left school with University Entrance, or a higher qualification - 34.3% of all pakeha secondary school students left school with University Entrance or higher qualifications.

Put differently, the picture looks like this. In a rural secondary school of 790 students, 527 are Maori; 263 are Pakeha. 90 of the Pakeha students, but only 49 of the Maoris will leave school with University Entrance or higher - even though there are 264 more Maoris than Pakehas in the school. 337 of the Maori students in this school, but only 73 of the Pakeha students will leave the school without any qualifications at all.

Looking at the most recent School Certificate Examination statistics available, the results are even more horrifying.

In 1982, 69% of the Maori candidates for School Certificate failed the examination papers they sat. Only 43% of the Pakeha candidates failed the papers they sat.

Looking at individual subjects, the picture becomes even bleaker. In Geography 2693 Maori candidates sat the examination: only 689 passed - a failure rate of 74%. The Pakeha failure rate was much less - 45%.

In English, 6197 Maoris sat. 1,700 passed - a failure rate of 73%.
In Science, 2753 Maoris sat. 953 passed - a failure rate of 66%.
In Maths 4380 Maoris sat. 1583 passed - a failure rate of 64%.

And in the supposedly non-academic subjects, the pattern is worse, not better.
50 Maoris sat Agriculture. 8 passed - a failure rate of 84%
763 Maoris sat Home Economics. 121 passed - a failure rate of 84%
515 Maoris sat Engineering Shopwork. 93 passed - a failure rate of 82%
306 Maoris sat Clothing. 37 passed - a failure rate of 88%

It is unthinkable that the Pakeha majority in this country would tolerate failure rates like these. If Pakeha students got consistent failure rates of 82%, 84% and 88% in national examinations, the examination system itself would be very quickly blamed and either abolished, or adapted to ensure Pakeha success.

This situation is not new. Since the 1970's experienced secondary school teachers like Bernard Gadd of Hillary College, Otara, and concerned groups such as Auckland District Maori Council have been drawing public and political attention to the social harm that School Certificate is doing to New Zealand society as a whole. But despite the official Department of Education assurances that the Maori education situation is improving the annual School Certificate pass rates show that this is not so. There has been no overall or significant improvement in the past ten years.

This is tragically ironical when one recalls the Hon Ralph Hanan, then Minister of Maori Affairs, saying in 1962 on the establishment of the Maori Education Foundation, that his aim for the MEF was "...to have equality of educational attainment between Maori and non-Maori in this generation.

21 years later Mr Hanan's dream is still just that - a dream.

Nor is there likely to be an improvement because all School Certificate is, is a good measurement of cultural difference. It sorts out very well those students who do not share middle-class Pakeha cultural values and attitudes. Tama Werata puts this aptly in an article in the October 1983 edition of TU TANGATA.

> There are two main reasons (for the failure of Maori students in the School Certificate examination) The first is that the School Certificate examination papers are set as if everyone belonged to a conventional Pakeha family, one or more wage-earners, your own house and section, the family celebrating its birthdays, going off on holidays, buying expensive household equipment, reading magazines like the 'Listener', and spending its time chatting about these things and the experiences to do with this way of life.
>
> Hardly any of the exam papers even mention anything to do with Maoris or Polynesians. And if they do, it's just as likely to ask the candidates to do strange things, such as when and English exam asked students to write a story as if it were a radio commentary on a tangi...

However, Pakeha teachers and educational administrators will not accept the inherent cultural bias of the examination that allows the children of their culture to succeed. Instead they resort to the 'Victim Blaming Syndrome' mentioned earlier in this paper, and either state directly or imply, that Maori children fail School Certificate in such unacceptably high numbers because they are lazy, or linguistically disadvantaged, or poor learners - none of which, of course, is the least bit true.

Further, after ten years of fighting for, but failing to get, Maori underachievement in School Certificate taken seriously by the Department of Education and successive Ministers of Education, it is very tempting to accept the Marxist analysis that an "uneducated proletariat" is essential for the survival of the capitalist system; that the existence of such people makes possible the continued provision of a cheap labour force for labour-intensive industries, and that Maoris provide a convenient source of such labour, having been stamped "Failed" by a culturally foreign education system. Even though this analysis sounds extreme, it is difficult to see any other reasons for the persistence of an examination system which serves Maori needs so poorly.

It has also been extremely difficult to get the education establishment to acknowledge the harm being done to New Zealand society as a whole by the continued failure of such high percentages of Maori young people in national examinations each year. My contention is that the education system and the opportunities for success that it offers are so pakeha-oriented, that the Maori child is thoroughly locked into the failure cycle from an early age, and his early "failures" (as defined by the culturally-exclusive Pakeha system) become a self-fulfilling prophecy confirmed by the ethnocentricity of the School Certificate examination.

Certainly the statistics for child crime suggest alienation and demoralization. "For children under 17 years of age the rate of offending for Maori males is nearly six times that for non-Maori males, while the rates for Maori females are eight times greater than for non-Maori females. The unfortunate fact is that by the time they are 17 years old, over 40% of Maori boys come to the attention of the Children's and Young Persons' Court compared with only 10% of non-Maori boys."[1]

The state education system, geared as it is towards the failure of Maoris, must take major responsibility for these alarming figures. Put another way it means that Maori children are giving up and turning to anti-social behaviour patterns, because the educational system does not offer them a fair chance of succes - as it does their Pakeha sisters and brothers. For too many Maori children attending school merely provides them with a continual sequence of failure experiences, culminating in the annual national failure experience of the School Certificate examination.

If we accept that the School Certificate examination and the monocultural view of the world which it implies is responsible for what can only be termed a national crisis in Maori education, what are the alternatives?

The answer has to lie in kaupapa Maori (Maori philosophy) - in the increasingly prevalent statement being made up and down the country by young Maori parents: "Give us back our children. We'll educate them!"

The model is already there in the Te Kohanga Reo movement which has had unprecedented success in the area of Early Childhood Education. It is an entirely Maori initiative - being run by Maoris to meet Maori needs. It has come about through the energies and vision of the Maori people and, some claim, has embarrassed the Minister of Education by taking off without waiting for him! Maori pre-school education is now a glowing success story - once Maori people took responsibility themselves for organizing it for themselves.

The model of Maori self-determination in education needs to be extended beyond the Early Childhood area, and many Maori parents are now openly questioning the wisdom or necessity of sending their children on from Te Kohanga Reo to the failure-oriented Pakeha schools. Their reluctance is accentuated when they see the overwhelming success of people like Jerry Otimi in Mangere, and Rakaihikuroa Whaanga in Otara, of helping young Maori men and women become successful in terms of economic independence as self-employed workers and entrepreneurs (and all with youngsters who had previously been labelled as "failures" by the education system!)

The new demand of Maoris for the right to provide appropriate education for their own children can best be summed up in these words of Hilda Halkyard-Harawira[1]

> Next to white man's christianity, the Pakeha education system has been the most influential propaganda machine. It has helped blur our vision and has imprisoned us in a state of despair. Te matauranga Pakeha (Pakeha education) is so entrenched in our history and lifestyle its hard to shake off.
>
> We have a hope-hate relationship towards pakeha education. On one hand, we hope our kids will stick out school, we hope one of our kids will pass School Certificate.

> We hope that one day enough educated Maoris will influence change in all the institutions. We hope. We hope.
>
> On the other hand, we hate the Pakeha education system because its racist, it fails us, it demoralizes us, it brainwashes us, it makes us feel dumb, it tears away our self-respect and it belittles everything Maori.

The examination dominated, failure-oriented Pakeha education system is the social agent most to blame for the malaise among young Maoris. It has to go.

Kei te tutehua te moe a te Iwi, i te po, po raru ai.
Ka ao! Ka ao! Ka awatea!
(The people are slumbering in the night in which they were deceived. But now it is dawn: the daylight glimmers)

1. Hon Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan MP. Annual report of Maori Policy Council of NZ Labour Party Annual Conference 4 September 1983.

ENGLISH, SCHOOLS AND MAORI STUDENTS

B Gadd
HILLARY COLLEGE

The aim of all mass systems of schooling is to inculcate obedience to the ruling groups of a society and to teach conformity to their standards of social behaviour and to their major values. In overtly authoritarian nations you can see this clearly, for behind the teacher stands the man with the gun. In our country, behind the teacher stands not a soldier but the psychologist, social worker, policeman, borstal warden or the Social Welfare Department bureaucrat.

In Western civilization dissent and unorthodoxy are a recognised part of the whole. And our schools too provide some alternatives to the main schooling system. But what the school system will not tolerate are children whose backgrounds have equipped them with values and goals which flatly contradict those of the dominating social and cultural group.

All of that may seem a long and dogmatic introduction to the topic of English language teaching in the schools. It is not. The major means by which schools seek to manipulate and control the children of socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic minorities is to insist upon teaching them, and teaching them in, the language of the nation's ruling social classes.

Our society is one of those that has social classes. Each of us as individuals tends to mix chiefly with people of similar backgound and social status. These are the people we feel most comfortable with, these are the people who include our family, the people who don't have to have our needs and hopes spelled out to them, who appreciate our jokes and the meanings behind our spoken words. These are the people who share the vocabulary of our lives, who can punctuate our sentences with their experience. These are the poeple who talk with us, not at us. Of course, we all can communicate with other New Zealanders. But it's not always easy for them to get right inside our words or us to fully grasp theirs - as youngsters at their first job interviews discover.

Can you imagine for a moment that you are a child or adolescent again? That you live in a suburb which is wholely working class, mainly Maori and Polynesian? You do not speak Maori or a Polynesian language much, but you respect the languages, and understand some key words. When you encounter middle-class people it is usually outside of your home - teachers, shop-keepers, employers - or they are official intruders into your home - police, social workers, Plunket nurses - or they are on TV or the radio.

You grow up in a community rich in social contact and cultural variety, rich in the ideals of family life even if the family is widely scattered and the ideal is less often put into total practice. It is a life rich in the solidarities of family, friends, groups, churches, community. It is rich in participation. But it is not so rich in money or the hope that things will change greatly for the better for the community.

The English you learn is your major or your sole language. It fits your life exactly.

Now imagine that you go to school. The English you encounter there is the same language all right, but it fits another kind of life. It is a language that is rich in abstract thinking. It is a language that brings life to you not so much through people as through books and pictures and symbols. It is a language of individual striving. It is a language of polite behaviour, polite suppression of feeling, of quietness. It is a language that tells you to expect much boredom because life's rewards are not in the present but in some future time. It is a language rich in the vocabulary of things, of money, of power or the anticipation of power, of personal ambition.

It is a literary language yet which will not offer literature about the places and the people you know and love best. It is a language of tests. The TOSCA and the PAT tests sort out how educable you are in the system. The School C and UE tests decide what your future will be. You will have spent maybe 10 years at school all the time being told openly or silently by your teachers that your language means that you and your family and your culture and your community are not up to the education offered by the school. And so you are not terribly surprised when you find that the School C or UE have failed you and your mates, even though you've worked hard and speak and write your English well. But the English that you speak and write, right to the end of your schooling, will be strongly influenced by the English of home, of your family, of your community - just as is the English used by your teachers and examiners. The difference is that THEIRS is the sort of English the exams are designed to reward even though it is in no way better than yours.

Now, as parents and adults, you may wonder why if this is so schools do not teach your children the English that will win them these school qualifications. The answer is that there are no tricks, no school programmes - in spite of what some people would like us to believe - by means of which the English used by the more priviledged can by readily acquired. You cannot simply add layers of English language to yourself without at the same time altering your self. Because you cannot acquire facility with other kinds of English without moving emotionally or mentally or bodily outside your family, your home, your community, your background, your upbringing. When you change as a person, your English changes. When your English changes - and remember that we are discussing those who have virtually only English as their language - it is a sure sign of changes inside you. Language and self are indivisible. These are hard truths, but truths none the less.

Therefore, what Maoris have to ask themselves is, how much of our children's selves are we willing to pay out as the price of success in our present school system.

One can be Maori and succeed at school. One can be working class and succeed at school. But any success inevitably means that some assimilation towards the middle class and Pakeha school has occurred. The difficulty is for any individual to be self knowledgeable enough to discover just what the changes are that have occurred inside him or her.

Let me give a simple instance of the sort of thing I'm saying about the schools. Newspapers know that the average reading level of the adult population is about a 12 year old's. Newspapers write their stories at about a 14-16 year old's reading level. They deliberately exclude those whom they think won't have the money to buy the wares of the advertisers who keep the paper going. Our schools have a similar attitude. They will not adapt so as to cater equally for those children - the working class and the culturally different children - whom the educators predict are not so likely to do well in their system. The kind of failure rate one gets in School C and UE English exams, for instance, are not the products of bad children or poor homes or uncaring parents or bad English. They are results of a system that refuses to offer equality of education in any meaningful sense whatever to all its students.

When Ministers of Education repeat that it is a lovely system aiming to serve all pupils, they mean that they know - who better? - what the system is doing to Maoris , Polynesians and working class youngsters, and why and how - and they hope that you will not find out too!

English, then, turns out to be the main means by which schools aim to assimilate children into the so called mainstream of our society, and the chief means by which they are rejected if they prove resistent to that assimilation.

Long may the resistence last! The measure of that resistence is a measure of the enduring life of Maoritanga among our young people.

Bernard Gadd
HILLARY COLLEGE

INTRODUCTION

The School Certificate system of evaluation is a central element in the maintenance of institutional racism in New Zealand. The current PPTA policy on Forms 6 and 7 evaluation aims to confirm this contribution to racism, to make it sound respectable, and to give it the support and protection of the nation's secondary teachers. And as such, this policy utterly contradicts the PPTA statements of allegiance to the multi-cultural concept and opposition to ethnic discrimination in education.

EVIDENCES FOR ETHNIC BIAS IN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

Ethnic bias in School Certificate is readily demonstrated from official statistics, and is not denied officially.

1. The extent of the ethnic bias against Maoris can most easily be gauged by the percent of subjects passed

All NZ candidates	1972	51.3 %	1982	54.3 %
Maori candidates		26.3 %		31.2 %
gap		25 %		23.1 %

2. The persistence of this attainment gap and its increase in some subjects can be seen from a comparison between 1982 pass rates and those of 1968, the first year when Maori statistics became available.

		Maori	Non Maori	NM-M Gap
English	1968	25.4 %	54.6 %	-29.2
	1982	27.43%	53.39%	-25.96
Maths	1968	28.8 %	47.3 %	-18.5
	1982	36.14%	59.75%	-23.61
Geography	1968	27.4 %	52 %	-24.6
	1982	25.58%	55.12%	-29.54
Maori	1968	50 %	16.7 %	+33.3
	1982	41.17%	44.34%	- 3.17

3. Statistics for Polynesians sitting School Certificate are not available. The present Minister has refused every request to provide for securing such data. However, figures for the South Pacific Options, designed specifically for the Islands, make interesting comparisons with Maori pass rates in the New Zealand School Certificate examinations:

1982 Pass Rates in the Four Major Subjects

English	all NZ candidates	50.64%	N	54,842
	Maori candidates	27.43%	N	6,197
	SPO English	28.27%	N	9,749
Maths	all NZ candidates	57.53%	N	46,620
	Maori candidates	36.14%	N	4,380
	SPO Maths	51.82%	N	9,393
Science	all NZ candidates	59.06%	N	31,017
	Maori candidates	33.89%	N	2,753
	SPO Science	32.75%	N	1,151
Geography	all NZ candidates	52.13%	N	26,612
	Maori candidates	25.58%	N	2,693
	SPO Geography	30.51%	N	4,658

4. It is not merely the overall pass rates which show ethnic bias. The distribution of grades within subjects also show ethnic imbalance. All of these examples relate to the 1982 examinations and show percentage of candidates gaining A and B grades in the three most popular subjects:

		A grade	B grade
English	all NZ candidates	3.9 %	16.5 %
	Maori candidates	.79%	5.8 %
	SPO candidates	.78%	5.5 %
Maths	all NZ	4.7 %	17.2 %
	Maori	1.03%	6.8 %
	SPO	1.31%	9.73%
Science	all NZ	5.2 %	19.6 %
	Maori	.87%	7.4 %
	SPO	.7 %	5 %

WHY ETHNIC BIAS OCCURS

The reasons for ethnic bias in School Certificate relate to the purposes of the examinations and to the type of evaluation system. The examinations have since 1945 been devise to produce a high failure rate - 47% of all candidates failed to achieve a School Certificate (English plus three best subject marks) in 1945.

School Certificate marks are statistically manipulated into a normal curve of distribution or near enough. This implies that all candidates can be regarded as being uniform. Since every single School Certificate examination is primarily a reading test of being able to interpret instructions and layout, the examiners know before they set each year's paper that equity has already been breached. New Zealanders are not ethnically uniform and therefore are not linguistically uniform. The PAT tests given in Form 3 predict what will happen in School Certificate. For instance, the PAT tests in one multi-ethnic school in 1976 revealed the following:

PAT Test	Maoris			Polynesian			Pakeha		results
	n	mean	SD	n	mean	SD	n	mean	SD
vocabulary	137	19.06	16.5	78	18.69	16.83	86	30.22	24.07
comprehension	139	23.09	19.25	80	20.37	18.54	83	29.72	22.55

In this predominantly Maori-Polynesian and working class school, only about a quarter of the candiates passed in English, for instance, two years later in School Certificate.

In short, School Certificate reflects a school system which is mono-ethnic. Where youngsters are both working class and ethnically different, they are slated to fail School Certificate in appallingly high numbers.

SCHOOL CERTIFICATE AND SIXTH FORM CERTIFICATE

Sixth Form Certificate awards merely confirm the ethnic bias of School Certificate. And this in turn merely confirms the ethnic differences already observable in Form 3 PAT results.

The PPTA aims to permit School Certificate unprecedented domination of the secondary schools. The result can only be to produce further despair in many Maori and Polynesian and working class students and thus to compound the problems of teachers trying to serve all their students in equity and with justice.

TABLE OF SCHOOL CERTIFICATE PASS RATES IN AUCKLAND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Position	School	English %	Maths %
1.	*St Cuthberts College (Epsom)	92.5	88.2
2.	*Diocesan School for Girls (Epsom)	84.4	79.3
3.	*Baradene College (Remuera)	81.5	84
4.	Epsom Girls' Grammar	77.8	76
5.	Auckland Grammar (Mt Eden)	76.5	79.8
6.	MacLeans College (Bucklands Beach)	75.1	79.4
7.	*King's College (Otahuhu)	74.8	83.6
8.	*Carmel College (Milford)	73.3	82.5
9.	*Auckland Metropolitan (Mt Eden)	72	30.8
10.	Westlake Girls' High (Takapuna)	71.7	74.5
11.	Rangitoto College (Mairangi Bay)	69.2	72.3
12.	Edgewater College (Pakuranga)	67.8	71.4
13.	Mt Roskill Grammar	66.3	57.5
14.	Lynfield College	64.9	68.1
15.	*St Kentigern's (Pakuranga)	64.3	75.8
16.	*Rosmini College (Takapuna)	63.7	67.9
17.	Pakuranga College	62.2	63.5
18.	Takapuna Grammar School	60.7	70.2
19.	Howick College	60.5	78
20.	Green Bay High School	60	56.6
21.	*St Mary's College (Ponsonby)	58.7	65.7
22.	Glenfield College	56.7	70.2
23.	*Marcellin College (Mt Roskill)	56.6	61.2
24=	*St Dominic's College (Henderson)	56.2	61
24=	Papatoetoe High School	56.2	51.5
26.	*Marist Sisters (Mt Albert)	56.1	61.4
27.	Northcote College	56	66.3
28=	Westlake Boys' High (Takapuna)	55.6	77
28=	Selwyn College (Kohimarama)	55.6	62.6
30.	*Sacred Heart (Glen Innes)	54.9	63.3
31.	James Cook High (Manurewa)	54	65.4
32.	Auckland Girls' Grammar (Newton)	53.2	56.4
33.	*Corran School (Remuera)	52.5	32.1
34.	Massey High School	52.1	53.5
35.	McAuley High School (Otahuhu)	51.9	39.5
36.	*St Peters' College (Mt Eden)	51.3	57.4
37.	*Dilworth College (Epsom)	51.1	70.6
38.	Homai College (for the Blind)	50	
39=	Avondale College	49.4	61.9
39=	Long Bay College	49.4	56.2
41.	Rosehill College (Papakura)	49.2	64.3
42.	Glendowie College	48.7	66.3
43.	Manurewa High School	47.2	45.3
44.	Waitakere College (Henderson)	46	60.3
45.	*Liston College (Henderson)	43.9	66.1

46.	*Kristin School (Albany)	43.7	75
47.	Birkdale College	43.5	48
48.	Kelston Boys' High	43	62.9
49.	Onehunga High School	42.8	53.2
50.	Rutherford High School (Te Atatu)	40.6	52.7
51.	Aorere College (Papatoetoe)	40.4	59.2
52.	Tamaki College	40.2	22.2
53.	Penrose High School	40.1	58
54.	Henderson Girls' High	38.1	49.1
55.	Kelston Girls' High	38.1	44.2
56.	*Seventh Day Adventist (Mangere)	37.8	53.6
57.	Mt Albert Grammar	37.2	52.2
58.	Papakura High School	36.6	54.5
59.	Otahuhu College	36.1	42.9
60.	*De La Salle College (Mangere)	36	53
61.	*Queen Victoria School (Parnell)	34.1	34.6
62.	*St Paul's College (Ponsonby)	30.2	49.4
63.	Seddon High School (W Springs)	29.9	34.5
64.	Mangere College	23.7	45.8
65.	Nga Tapuwae College (Mangere)	24.2	50.7
66.	Tangaroa College (East Tamaki)	18.5	23.4
67.	Hillary College (Otara)	16.6	31.2
68.	*Hato Petera College (Northcote)	15.1	56.9

* Private or church school

This table demonstrates the correlation between socio-economic status and the pass-rates achieved by schools serving the elite of metropolitan society.

THE INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF MAORIS IN THE TECHNICAL INSTITUTE SYSTEM

C M Paul
Apanui Educatio
Centre

The Present Situation in Technical Institutes and Community Colleges

The Technical Institute system, although young and vigorous, and providing continuing education for far more New Zealanders than other sectors of tertiary education, has with few exceptions, made no provision for the emerging pluralism of New Zealand society. Some Institutes and Community Colleges have attempted to meet a percieved need by using a small part of their staffing entitlement for the fostering of bi-culturalism and multi-culturalism. The appointment of Louisa Crawly is an example of far sightedness on the part of Christchurch Polytechnic.

A large majority of Maori and Pacific Islander students in the institutes are there because they are being sponsored by the Maori Affairs Department.

Only about 40 tutors are Maori or Polynesian (less than 2% of the total) and not many of these are in administrative or senior tutorial positions.

Few of them are engaged in teaching Maori language or Maori cultural studies.

As a result of Maori initiative, intensive language courses were started at Wellington Polytechnic in 1973 and these are also held at Auckland Technical Institute, Waiariki Community College and Christchurch Polytechnic. Except for Hawkes Bay and Waiariki, Maori art is almost non-existent.

Only a few institutes have modules on Maori or multi-cultural studies for their full-time students.

Many Councils have no Maori or other Polynesian representative

Proposals

1. Councils:

   All Institute Councils should have a nominee of the regional Maori District Council. Furthermore in areas of high Maori population, and preferably in North Island Institutes, there should be a Maori woman councillor.

2. Staffing:
   - (i) Institutes should aim to obtain several Maori/Polynesian staff members
   - (ii) In appointing Maori/Polynesian staff there should be at least two regional Maori/Polynesian on the interviewing panel - one from Regional Maori District Council and from Regional M W W L.
   - (iii) Tutors in Maori/Polynesian studies should be appointed and there should be an allotment of special staffing in this area
   - (iv) Studies of multi-culturalism should be a compulsory requirement for those attending Tutor Training unit or undergoing other preparation for teaching in Technical Institutes
   - (v) In-service courses conducted by qualified tutors should be given to Technical Institute staff, who have had little experience at cross-cultural contact. This is particularly important for tutors of Maori vocational courses, those engaged in the Young Persons Training Programmes for the unemployed, and for all tutors in regions with a high density of Maori or other Polynesian population
   - (vi) Councillors and liaison officers should have special training and preferably be of Maori descent
   - (vii) Ex-Maori Trade Trainees who are now qualified tradesmen, should be encouraged to return as tutors in institutes

3. Students:
   - (i) Maori/Polynesian students should be encouraged to attend institutes and once there made to feel at ease in a tertiary learning environment
   - (ii) Modules in Maoritanga and multi-culturalism should be included in the course of all full-time students and apprentices on extended trade training
   - (iii) Cross-cultural experiences such as a marae-style welcome to the institute, visits to local marae, or the holding of classes on maraes, should be available to all full-time students and those attending YPTP and STEPS programmes

4. Environment:
   - (i) Institutes should aim to have a Wharenui or a room with a bi/multicultural atmosphere, e.g. kowhaiwhai and tukutuku patterns, carved pare (lintels) and samples of Pacific arts and crafts on display
   - (ii) Signposting in Maori and English and in other Polynesian languages where appropriate for example at Manukau Technical Institutes
   - (iii) The Library in particular should have books and displays reflecting the multi-cultural nature of New Zealand society and thereby enhancing its attractiveness to non-European students

5. Departmental Action:

(i) The appointment of a continuing Education Officer, preferably Maori, whose sole or primary duty is to act as a Resource person for both the department and institutes in this sensitive issue of promoting multi-culturalism

(ii) Compilation of a register of potential Maori/Polynesian tutors in specialist areas should be compiled and be available to institutes seeking suitable applicants

(iii) Provision of a special staffing allowance for all institutes based upon the proportion of Maori/Polynesian students within their catchment areas. (The recent allocation by the Department of allowances ranging from .1 to .3 was a welcome initial move in this direction). Unfortunately, some institutes did not avail themselves of the right to apply for this staffing and in any case the total allocation was too small to enable adequate coverage, particularly in the areas of greatest need, such as metropolitan Auckland, Waikato, Waiariki, Tairawhiti and Tai Tokerau. For example, Manukau Technical Institute should have at least two full-time tutors, one Maori, the other Pacific Islander, for this purpose.

A special staffing allowance for:

(i) Counsellors, where there is a high proportion of Maori/Polynesian students

(ii) Liaison with school and industry where the Maori/Polynesian population is greater than 5%

Conclusion:

Continuing education for the Maori is at present under-utilised, but must be rapidly utilised by him/her as a source of potential development from the existing high unemployment which he/she suffers. Greater pressure must be made by Maori communities through their Maori Councils to ensure that they have representation on institute councils, R E A P committees and Labour Department liaison committees. The initiatives must be articulated by Maoris in order to promote an awareness, amongst these councils and committees, that Maori taxes have contributed to the provision of continuing education and therefore such technical organisations should reciprocate by providing the necessary changes advocated herein.

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WA TATOU KURA MAORI

(MAORI EDUCATION IN CHURCH SCHOOLS)

PREAMBLE

It would appear upon examination that the introduction of Maori Church Boarding School irrespective of denomination, the intention was more for the spreading of Christianity than the development of a people who could contribute constructively and positively to the well-being of New Zealand society. In fact some critics saw Maori Boarding schools as part of Sir George Grey's armoury in strengthening the foundations of assimilation. A policy considered by him as the solution to the Maori problem. Grey subsidised the mission schools with his 1847 Education Ordinance in the hope of isolating Maori children from the -

> "demoralising influence of the Maori Villages" and thus,
> "speedily assimilating the Maori to the habits and usages of the European".

A number of commentators believed that assimilation had attained its peak because -

> Maoris were turned into brown-skinned Pakehas".

This policy or course of action was also supported by the view that the rapid decline in Maori population toward the beginning of this century encouraged forecasts of eventual extinction. Hence the abondonment of the cultural heritage of the young Maori was an inevitable outcome.

While these schools at their inception were not monocultural as far as developing Maori values, cultural expression and identity were concerned, the idea of a monocultural society was nevertheless firmly planted in the minds of decision-makers as exemplified by their policies. A society based on the values and culture of the dominant group, in short, the pursuance of a Pakeha life-style, was also the prescribed goal for Maoris. Today, while the religious objectives have remained embedded in various forms in these schools the monocultural expectation originally geared to subordinating Maori cultural values to extinction, has done a complete flip. Today this complete reversal has resulted in the Maori Boarding schools becoming the intermediate nurseries of Maoritanga.

RESEARCH IN MAORI EDUCATION

A plethora of material related to Maori Education surfaced during the early and mid-sixties. It is interesting to note that the bulk of such work was undertaken following the influential "Hunn Report" in 1960, the setting up of the Maori Education Foundation under the Act of the same name in 1961, and the "Report of the Commission on Education" 1962. Both the reports and the Act, strongly hinted at the special provisions needed for the Maori child to achieve at a commensurate level with his/her Pakeha peer.

Unfortunately many researchers interpreted the needs of the Maori as an inherent lack or deficiency. Thus, most studies concentrated on identifying this lack in order to define steps which could be applied to "plug the gap". Under-achievement then became the baseline or premise that prompted many a research study. It can be strongly argued that as a consequence of this deficit theory, a negative stereotype of Maori scholastic aspiration and achievement emerged. It is very difficult to achieve a positive result from a negative base!

Two decades later following the Hunn Report and despite all the so-called wonderful research that has been carried out the Maori pass rate into the sixth form still occupies the bottom of the heap. My question is simply this, why didn't research people take a more positive stance and study a "successful situation" that was current and obvious - like the Maori Boarding Schools? At the time many of the above studies were being written half these schools were enjoying unprecedented success in terms of School Certificate results (gaining a minimum of 200 marks in four subjects). The period from 1964-1966 (3 years) discloses some very substantive figures:

(a) St. Stephens School averaged 55% pass rate.
(b) Hato Patera College averaged 64% pass rate.
(c) Queen Victoria School " 55% pass rate.

Mr T Royal who submitted the above figues in 1967, was at the time Assistant Officer for Maori Education. He wrote:

> "It is refreshing to note that these passes have been gained by children who are considered by many people to be disadvantaged. All of these schools make all fifth formers sit School Certificate, so that these passes are well above the national average."

CURRENT POSITION - 1984

Twenty years later everyone of these schools (9) are contributing positively and successfully in the educational achievement of Maori secondary students. Their effectivess is further reflected by the high number of Maori graduates who are former pupils.

/...

Conversely, the State secondary schools, while catering well for Pakeha pupils are still unable at this stage to make significant strides in the same way for Maori pupils. While the National average registers a pass rate of about 50% for all candidates sitting School Certificate subjects, only 15% or therabouts of all Maori candidates are expected to pass, whereas Maori Boarding Schools in the last decade have maintained a consistent pass rate between 45% -55% Pass rates of 60% - 70%+ have been registered with some.

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS AND OBJECTIONS

It was most interesting to discover that many researchers were quick to give off-the-cuff reasons as to why these schools were successful. Naturally, the views expressed reflected Pakeha thinking. A number of the more quoted arguments are as follows:

(a) Only the children of well educated or wealthy Maoris go to these schools!
(b) These schools are highly selective, they tend to admit only the cream or intellectually endowed.
(c) The curriculum is different for Maori pupils (implying easy options only for examination purposes).
(d) Boarding Schools have a regular and regimented study programme
(e) Students tend to stay on longer and are much older when they pass the exams
(f) Religious input would have a strong influence in students' educational success

Except for (d) the other variables outlined appear to have very little bearing on the success factor.

Some notable objections for the existence of these schools were:

(a) They encouraged separatism/segregation/apartheid
(b) Another special privilege opportunity for Maoris only
(c) They are single sex and single cultured schools. (This was seen as an affront to the policy of multiculturalism and greater interaction between male and female).
(d) Opposes the "We are One People Myth".

I'm particularly interested to hear your views regarding these objections.- do you endorse or reject them? If you're interested in mine I'll tell you at the conference!

Howecer, whatever your view, you and I must subscribe to the fact that the Maori Boarding Schools are succeeding academically as well as performing competently in the field of sport, and the cultural, social/recreational areas.

REASONS FOR SUCCESS

They seemed many and various. In addition they were difficult to define in terms of isolating them as variables together with their attendant level of input. For the purpose of this paper it would suffice to say that Maori Boarding Schools were seen by most parents and people generally as having some distinct advantages that contributed in varying degrees to the schools success as an academic, cultural, sporting and to a lesser degree social institution.

- Study facilities and atmosphere conducive to developing good study habits.
- Controlled environment encouraged a reduction in unnecessary distration.
- Developing the Pakeha side (education) and taha Maori (Maori values and practices) of the student.
- Maori and Christian values tended to be better wedded.
- Better chances for a feeling of success; academic, cultural, sporting or whatever.
- To establish confidence in oneself thus avoiding an identity crisis later in life.
- Parental involvement in decision-making; developing a sense of being wanted.
- Organising school situation to accommodate Maori expectation e.g. hui, tangi, etc; spinoff seen in good attendances at different functions throughout the year.
- Seeming dedication and positive attitudes of teachers; good relationships between home and school readily established.

Students living with their own age group and generally from other tribes was seen as important in later life.

If this is the current situation of Maori Boarding Schools so what? Do they remain as they are or do they plan and reshape their roles to accommodate present and future needs? My personal view is affirming the latter part of the question.

POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS

At the present time there are a number of vexed questions that these schools may be forced to address e.g. becoming co-educational; accepting a higher percentage of Pakeha students; accommodating more for the less academically able; these are some that come to mind readily.

On the other hand there are some matters which require immediate attention:

- Will the development of Te Kohanga Reo affect these schools? How should they respond?
- With unemployment levels the way they are should greater emphasis be given in the

- What effect will the abolition of U E have? Should realistic measures be taken now to broaden the sixth form course before the matter eventuates?
- Can these schools sustain their present spread of students, mainly from the lower and average income levels in the face of rising costs? Many have expressed the fear that they could become elitist.

Here then, are some ideas for consideration:

(a) Become bi-lingual in all subjects
(b) Developing avenues for income through several curriculum courses that are both educational and economic
(c) Greater efforts should be made by these schools to make themselves more available to the local community particularly the Maori sector.
(d) Courses should be modified or better still new ones included to cater for the majority who never make seventh form.
(e) Students, especially senior, be kept abreast with Maori issues, national and international concerns frequently and in a much more meaningful way.
(f) Allowing the communities that they serve to have a greater input in the development and direction of these schools through decision-making processes with which they are familiar.

Give these considerations some thought and think about how we can get the greatest mileage out of them!

A Principal at one of these schools put the question to its Board of Governors -

> "How long will this school maintain its present nature and role in the development of Maori Education?"

One member replied:

> "For many Pakeha families the school can be said to be an extension of the Pakeha home. For many Maori families the Marae and schools like this one are seen as an extension of the Maori home. As long as Maori homes exist, so too will this kind of school".

He aha ōu whakaaro?

Heoi ano, kia kaha tātou ki a tātou i raro i ngā manaakitanga o Te Runga Rawa

Kia Ora,

Toby Curtis

ABSTRACT

NGA KOHANGA REO - A SALVAGE PROGRAMME FOR THE MAORI LANGUAGE

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The future of Maori as a first language in New Zealand is imperilled. Most native speakers are over 40 years of age and in many tribal areas there are only a handful of native speakers who are under 40. Despite 10 years of Maori language promotion in secondary schools and universities, few people leave the school system with a fluent competence in Maori, unless they are already native speakers. Surveys in the 1970s indicated that, although there were over 70,000 Maori speakers, less than one percent of Maori five-year olds entering schools are native speakers.

In 1982 an ambitious programme to establish Maori medium preschool centres (language nests) was launched by the Department of Maori Affairs. To date, 30 such centres have been established and they cater for 600 preschool Maori children. But there are in excess of 30,000 Maori children under five, and for the salvage programme to be successful much more human and financial resources must be committed.

This paper looks at the philosophy behind the programme and the difficulties that its first two years have encountered.

Language Policy

The Maori language, once the first language of New Zealand, has been relegated to a minor position in official terms since the beginning of organised European settlement 140 years ago. There are a number of dialectual differences amongst the various tribes, but unlike Western Australia, or other countries of British overseas settlement, the indigenous Maori spoke a language that was universal to the whole country. When this was transcribed by missionary-scholars, and the bible, then other written works, began to be produced in Maori, a standard linguistic orthography was produced. From the late 1830s onwards, Maori communities eagerly accepted Christianity and mission-led schooling, so that by 1870 most Maori were literate in their own language and many were also literate in English.

About 100 years ago, when the colonial government accepted responsibility for Maori village schools, the medium of instruction in these schools became English, while Maori as a language of communication in schools was disfavoured and later suppressed. Many older Maori people recall being beaten for speaking Maori at school as recently as the 1930s and 1940s. Maori is a language unique to New Zealand, although its close relationship to Tahitian, Rapanui, and other island Polynesian languages, is recognised. If Maori is to survive as a living language, it must do so in New Zealand, so the responsibility for its future rests with New Zealanders.

Who Speaks Maori in New Zealand?

In short, only adult Maori. From 1973-78 a survey of language use in Maori households and communities was conducted by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, under the direction of Dr Richard Benton. Benton's reports indicate that:

1. Maori is spoken by a majority of Maori people over the age of about 30 in North Auckland, parts of the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast of the North Island, and some other parts of the country.
2. Most Maori people over 50 in most parts of the North Island.
3. A few young people and children in some places.
4. Most children and younger people in a very small number of rural areas (Benton, 1979:11).
5. Very few non-Maori (Pakeha) are known to be fluent speakers of Maori - certainly less than 500 and probably less than 200.

Extrapolating to the Maori population as a whole, Benton suggests that about 20-25 percent of Maori (70,000) are able to speak the language conversationally and a further 25-30 percent (115,000) were able to understand the language easily (Benton, 1979:11). Because these data are based on a survey that began in 1973 and was completed in 1978, between 5 and 10 years has elapsed, and the number of fluent Maori speakers has continued to decline. Our own observations indicate that the stock of fluent Maori speakers is being depleted at an alarming rate, although the secondary school system expands its contribution to Maori language learning, especially amongst young Maori pupils. In the last decade, the number of pupils studying Maori at secondary schools increased from 3,000 to 14,000, and now elements of Maori culture are a necessary part of teacher training in all teachers' colleges. Indeed, the Department of Education has established five bilingual primary schools (Douglas, 1979).

Despite the apparently rich linguistic resource still available, it is important to recognise that Maori is very much a minority language and culture in an overwhelmingly monolingual and monocultural Anglo-Celtic society. Maori is the language of the disadvantaged and the oppressed and must compete with English, the only official language and the mother tongue of the dominant culture. Many people in New Zealand believe that there is a renaissance of Maori culture underway at present. Notwithstanding this, the future survival of the language is far from assured.

Community Resources for Maori Language Learning

On paper, the resources committed to the learning of Maori seem extensive. At all levels of the formal education system, some inputs of Maori language are evident. All universities have Maori language courses, some polytechnics and community colleges offer courses too. At Wellington Polytechnic, intensive six-week Maori language courses for beginners have proved to be very popular, especially for public servants who can get study leave to pursue these courses. At secondary level, most schools offer Maori language as an optional language programme, which can be studies and examined to School Certificate, University Entrance and Scholarship level. Unfortunately, most pupils studying Maori are themselves Maori and do not proceed beyond their second or third year, leaving school with only rudiments of the language and unable to comprehend most conversations in Maori.

At primary school level, besides the five bilingual schools, there are itinerant teachers of Maori and advisers in Maori education who assist teachers in schools to develop programmes in aspects of Maori language and culture.

At preschool level, Maori language resources have been downgraded or ignored until very recently. Working on the assumption that Maori children must be prepared for life in a Pakeha world, the preschool systems have almost totally neglected the language resources of Maori parents and grandparents in their communities. We must note, however, that the majority of Maori parents associated with preschools and primary schools are monolingual English speakers themselves and are embarrassed, both by their own lack of competence in the Maori language, and their lack of sophistication in the language and culture of the school system.

At adult learning level, a national network of classes and learning groups has been established to teach Maori to adults, again mostly Maori, but also to an increasing number of Pakeha. These groups learn by what has become known as the 'rakau method', which uses mime, gesture and body language and the serial introduction of vocabulary, concepts, comparison and then grammar. Groups meet in all sorts of different places, on marae, in factories, in halls, homes, schools, and now Maori language preschools - Nga Kohanga Reo.

In formal schooling systems, most teachers are Pakeha. They may have goodwill towards the survival and development of the Maori language, but little real commitment to it. In the community at large, the most common belief is that Maori language survival is appropriate, but it is up to the Maori themselves to ensure this. Few people have any idea of the pervasiveness of English in New Zealand life. English to them is their language of communication; until a few decades ago, non-English speakers would be berated for speaking in public such as on buses, in their own language. New Zealand Pakeha were obsessed with the notion of assimilation. Only recently has the concept of multiculturalism or pluralism been accepted, but few people appear to be willing to commit public resources to the development of minority languages and cultures. To the majority of Pakeha New Zealanders, such enterprise is outside the realm of the public purse, and while it may be allowed to proceed, it should not do so at the expense of 'mainline' education or of the dominant culture.

In broadcasting, the commitment of resources to Maori language programmes is minimal. There are no Maori language programmes on private radio stations, and only limited air-time is made available on Radio New Zealand, or the two public television stations. A five minute per week Maori news programmewas started during World War II, and this was expanded in the 1960s to 30 minutes per week. Throughout the 1970s decade, Maori people requested more Maori language and Maori content programmes on radio and television. In 1978 the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand established a Maori and Pacific Islanders' programmes unit, Te Reo o Aotearoa, which produces a variety of programmes, ranging from five-minute news broadcasts each day in Maori, to weekly programmes in English and/or Maori about Maori affairs. Maori people saw the expansion of Maori radio broadcasting as too little, too late, and noted with some cynicism that the expansion occurred after radio had been relegated to a minor place in comparison to television. As for television, Maori were always in the news somewhere - usually depicted as 'baddies', but sometimes as 'goodies', trotted out to welcome visiting royalty or other overseas dignitaries, and to bolster our official commitment to a 'multicultural' society. Over the last several years, a magazine programme of Maori interest and content has been produced weekly, but early in 1985 a five-day per week, six-minute duration news broadcast in Maori, was instituted. We feel that this news programme has done more to confirm official recognition of the Maori language, at least in the eyes of Maori people, than all the other official pronouncements about the importance of Maori to the future of New Zealand as a multicultural society. All the same, you will appreciate, this is less than half of one percent of the weekly television offerings and, in more specific terms, accounts for only three percent of news broadcasting time per week.

Maintaining Maori Social Cohesion

There are both social and demographic difficulties in fostering Maori social institutions. Because of a high birthrate, 40 percent of Maori are under 15 years of age; indeed 60 percent are under 21. There are only small proportions of Maori in the age cohorts over 45 who make up the vast

majority of Maori language speakers (46,000 or 12 percent of the Maori population). In arithmetic terms, there are four Maori in the preschool and school-age groups for every Maori aged 45 or over - i.e. one surviving grandparent for every four children. Kaumatua (the venerated elders) number only 12,000 and comprise a mere three percent of the population. Older people are more likely to live in rural areas and small country towns, while three-quarters of Maori children live in the 10 main urban areas of the North Island.

Demographic causes, combined with rapid social change and Westernization, and a paucity of individual and group financial resources, exacerbate the problems of Maori cultural learning and social development. It goes without saying that Maori education attainment levels are much lower than those of Pakeha, that Maori employment is distributed unevenly at the lower end of the status and rewards scale, and the Maori unemployment is much higher than Pakeha unemployment at all ages, but especially amongst school leavers where unemployment rates for Maori are variously estimated at between 45 and 55 percent (i.e. more than eight times that of Pakeha school leavers). All these factors are further complicated by widespread inter-marriage between Maori and Pakeha, which tends to subordinate the culture of the Maori spouse to that of the Pakeha spouse, and increases their difficulties in Maori cultural transmission.

Language as a Political Objective

Kohanga Reo (language nests) had their intellectual beginnings in the 1960s when Maori university students sought to perpetuate and enhance the still existing practice of grandparents rearing one or more of their grandchildren. At successive Maori students' and young people's conferences, Maori-speaking grandparents were asked to foster, and raise as Maori speakers, one or more of their grandchildren. The aim was to bridge the widening gap between the bilingual Maori-English-speaking older cohorts, and their monolingual English-speaking descendants. Early in 1982, the Department of Maori Affairs established a pilot Kohanga Reo in a suburban area of Wellington.

> The Te Kohanga Reo grogramme is designed to stimulate growth of Maori whanau centres that offer the best child care in an environment of Maoritanga where Maori is the language.
>
> (Department of Maori Affairs, 1982:3)

Three objectives have been identified and stated for the language salvage programme. As their first objective, Kohanga Reo are expected to arrest the decline of Maori-speaking people in New Zealand. This objective is stated in terms of bridging the gap between the bulk of Maori language speakers over 40 and the new generation aged 0-5 years, the foundation of our future. This objective embodies the belief that, if the Maori people are to survive as an identifiable people into the 21st century, then their distinctive language and culture must survive as well.

The second objective of Kohanga Reo is to give Maori people greater control over their own lives, and the ability to plan and organise their own futures within the context of the whanau or extended family system. Such a system still exists in Maori society, although it is under attack from economic and social forces associated with rural-urban migration, high workforce participation rates of both men and women in the wage economy, and the influences of the Western nuclear family system that is all pervasive around them. This second objective is stated in terms of the Department of Maori Affairs Tu Tangata programme - 'the (tall) stance of the people', which aims to raise Maori self-awareness and self-actualization.

The third objective of the Kohanga Reo programme is to achieve Maori control over Maori resources. Effecting change in the educational system has been difficult and requires so much effort. To convince teachers, principals and educational administrators that each Maori child has a right to her/his individuality, and therefore a right to expression and education in her/his 'mother tongue', has been an endless task and has met with only limited success. This third objective is stated in terms of Mana Maori Motuhake (the spirit of Maori autonomy) and can best be described as a desire for Maori themselves to decide what they want for themselves, for Maori to control their childrn's socialization and education, and the content and context of that education in the wider New Zealand community perspective. It can be seen from another perspective as a desire to remove the Pakeha right of veto over Maori life and social institutions.

These three objectives are inter-related and self-reinforcing. Taken together they strongly denounce the majority cultures preferred future of racial and cultural amalgamation (assimilation). At the same time, these objectives do not reject a joint future, but emphasise a future based on recognition the equality of different cultures.

With these objectives in mind, the strategy is to provide a Maori language and social environment which will produce bilingual (Maori-English) children at the age of five years, and at the same time, to ensure that the standard of child-care and preschool education is as good as that provided in English language preschools. Only in this way will Maori parents have a genuine choice. The Maori Affairs Department's plans are based on a supposed birth cohort of 6,500 per year since 1976, but these are conservative estimates. According to the 1981 census figures, where ethnic self-identification is more likely than at birth registration, there were 35,850 children enumerated as Maori and 18,360 others who were enumerated as being of Maori descent - a total of 54,090 (i.e. 21.5 percent of all children under five). Each birth cohort on these revised figures is 7,100 on the narrower definition of Maori, and 11,000 on the broader definition of Maori (Department of Statistics, 1981:16).

> The Kohanga Reo programme therefore aims to engulf every newborn Maori baby, i.e. about 6,500 per year, and to try and gather up now the 20,000 under 5 years old.
>
> (Department of Maori Affairs, 1982:5)

On revised figures, these aims should be to engulf between 7,200 and 11,00 newborn Maori babies per year, and to gather up the 22,000-33,000 under three years old now (depending on the definition of Maori used).

Implementing the Programme

Although promoted by the Department of Maori Affairs, the Kohanga Reo programme draws heavily on Maori community resources for its implementation. The first pilot centre was established with greater monetary input from Government than subsequent ones. Besides the Maori language speakers, the Kohanga Reo draw upon Maori communities for buildings, finance, equipment, social and spiritual support, and upon Pakeha for tolerance and goodwill. From national resources they draw establishment and continuing financial assistance. Inputs from the Department of Social Welfare (whose responsiblility covers child-care centres and creches), the Department of Education (which is responsible for kindergartens and the supervision of educational programmes in play centres), and the Department of Labour (which provides wage subsidies for job creation programmes), have been crucial in most Kohanga Reo.

There is little doubt that the Department of Maori Affairs entered the area of child-care and child development through Kohanga Reo because Maori are dissatisfied with the extent of Maori in the education system. Despite an increased emphasis on Maori in schools, the Department of Education has moved very slowly indeed in establishing either bilingual schools or Maori-medium streams in otherwise English language schools. The biggest problem rests with their teachers. Overwhelmingly they are incapable of mounting a bilingual Maori-English programme and feel threatened by the prospect of it. (There are more New Zealand teachers who are bilingual in French and English than in Maori and English and there may well be more teachers in New Zealand who would argue strongly for bilingual education in New Zealand provided it was in useful languages such as English and French, Spanish, Japanese or German). This is a serious problem and one which the Department of Education will have to face as children from Kohanga Reo reach school age with a bilingual competence that will need to be nurtured through the primary and secondary schools.

Kohanga Reo are now established and working in many parts of New Zealand . By the end of 1982, more than 30 were established and many others planned. The original objective was a Kohanga Reo in every community for which there is a demand for language maintenance - at least 300 such centres envisaged, but reaching this objective within three years, as originally hoped, now seems unlikely. Many communities have yet to be convinced , and want to see the efficacy of the existing centres before committing their children and their resources to the programme. At national level, the Department of Maori Affairs has established a Kohanga Reo Advisory Board, with district liaison staff to be appointed in each of the nine land districts. These liaison staff will act to coorindate Kohanga Reo activities, provide staff training and other forms of assistance and encourage the establishment of further centres. They will be full-time officers of the Maori Affairs community and cultural development section.

Wherever Kohanga Reo have been established, they have asserted Maori control, and because so few Pakeha people have Maori language competence, the centrality of Maori language learning has helped to keep control in Maori hands. Kindergartens and play centres have responded cautiously, but favourably, to their establishment, by asking preschool advisers in the Department of Education to help them expand the Maori content of their own programmes. With the long-term prospect of one-fifth of the country's preschoolers choosing between Kohanga Reo or existing preschool alternatives, some kindergarten teachers and play centre supervisors want to offer attractive programmes that will compete for the Maori parents and their preschool child.

Problems Encountered

Establishing a language salvage programme such as this has not been an easy task. There have been a myriad of problems encountered, which can be subsumed under two main categories - philosophical problems and sociological problems. We wish to consider some of these now, and in doing so, we actively seek solutions to them, by making them part of the public debate.

Sociological Problems

The first of these problems is that communities often consider a Kohanga Reo to be a good idea, but lack confidence in themselves to implement such a programme. The very establishment of such a centre is a major innovation for many communites, and a challenge for them that is often very daunting. For further Kohanga Reo to get off the ground, ordinary people need to convince themselves that they are capable - not extraordinary, just capable of carrying it through. The more familiar the structure and organisation of the Kohanga Reo to existing social institutions in their own lives, the easier it will be for such people to rise above their poor self-image. In existing Kohanga Reo, those tasks that are most familiar to the participants are the easiest done; fundraising and catering are good examples of this.

The number and ages of children has proven to be a major problem in many centres. Centres range in size from 10 children to 25 or 30, depending on available buildings, demand for places and staffing. One of the most promising centres in suburban Auckland has 25 children, of whom 12

are under 18 months and four are three-years-old and the remainder are four or five years old. A wide range of ages implies a range in ability, and a range in appropriate programmes, which means specialised activities tailored to the motor skills and cognitive skills of the children. Presumably this wide age range will disappear as more centres are established, and the backlog of three and four-year-olds, whose parents want them to attend Kohanga Reo, pass on to primary school.

Associated with age differentials are differences in language skills. Ideally the programme aims to attract babies and young infants who will be exposed to a Maori language environment daily for four to five years. Even where this is achieved, there will still be considerable differences between children who come from homes where there is little or no Maori spoken, and those who come from Maori-speaking or bilingual homes.

It is assumed that by age five, children will leave Kohanga Reo with fluency in both English and Maori. Contact with English-speaking parents, television and neighbours is expected to provide sufficient exposure to English for the children to be well able to cope with the English language environment of the primary school. The task of the Kohanga Reo is to provide sufficient exposure to Maori to ensure that the child will gain equal facility in Maori. Most centres expect parents to reinforce at home the Maori that children hear at Kohanga Reo. To increase the level of communication between parents and children in both languages, every Kohanga Reo has part-time Maori language classes for parents. Most parents are keen to become bilingual themselves, and by attending these classes, raise their own levels of Maori language fluency. Concern has been expressed that if this trend continues, some of the children will get little exposure to English at home and their planned bilingualism will be supplanted by monolingual Maori. Most of the advocates of Kohanga Reo do not see this as a disadvantage for the child, but rather as a positive response to the underlying objective of ensuring the survival of Maori.

Because the programme expects four or more years of commitment by parents, there is the continued problem of flagging interest and commitment from them. Attendance costs are high in most full-time centres ($40-$60 per week) and working mothers appear to be the most committed parents. Working mothers who need day-care facilities in order to keep their jobs are not only the section of the community which is likely to be most supportive, but also they are the most likely to support the whanau (extended family) concept of the centre, where parental roles are shared by 'mothers, fathers and grandparents'. They are also the parents least likely to be critical of the Kohanga Reo programmes, because of the shortage of alternative day-care.

Finding and keeping suitable staff at Kohanga Reo is another difficulty encountered by many centres. The Department of Maori Affairs originally stipulated that the supervisors and their assistants should be paid adequate wages to ensure a commitment from them. They should be native Maori speakers, over 35 years of age, and have grown up in a Maori communal environment. Not only are these staff expected to provide language resources for the centre, but they are also expected to be role models of 'traditional' Maori family life which the programme seeks to maintain and enhance in the community at large. Many of the most suitable people from a role model standpoint are weak in Maori language and vice versa. Besides these qualities, parents expect that their children will be challenged by the environment in which they are placed, so a background in developmental play is considered essential for the staffing of a Kohanga Reo. The smaller centres, with 10 or 12 children, are the least successful because the staff in them have to be all things to the children and cannot specialise so easily to maximise their respective strengths. Many of the staff appointed are finding child-care to be a demanding commitment because they are too old or in poor health. Again the size of the centre seems to be crucial here; the larger centres draw upon a wider range of people and can better match available human resources to the variety of tasks needing attention.

Philosophical Problems

One of the main philosophical difficulties encountered by Kohanga Reo has been defining the objectives of the programme and implementing them in a variety of different communities. After the pilot scheme got underway, a small team of women travelled throughout the country meeting Maori communities and explaining the philosophy of the Kohanga Reo. They emphasised different aspects of the programme at different times and places, mainly because the transmission of knowledge was oral/aural rather than written, and their presentation to communities included a lot of responses to individual questions. Part of the strategy of the programme is to emphasise its Maoriness, and to maintain political control of it, much of the discussion was in Maori. For the same reason, little has been written down in either English or Maori because to many Maori people, the written word is treated as static and unalterable.

Unfortunately, while communication in Maori society is still largely based on face-to-face verbal exchanges, it is not efficient over large numbers of people and messages suffer transformations as they are repeated. The overall objective is to save the Maori language by re-creating an environment where those who speak the language will transmit it to young children so that it will become their mother tongue. To get this objective accepted by parents, who are themselves monolingual English-speaking, it is necessary to offer their children a child-care environment which can compete more than favourably with existing English language alternatives. So far the most enthusiastic parents have been urban, better-educated in terms of formal schooling, and who might pass for 'middle-class' within a class-based model of New Zealand society. Although strongly influenced by Western (Pakeha) values, these people have a strong emotional commitment to their 'Maoriness' and are more able to reason their need to maintain a Maori identity within New Zealand society. Their very sophistication with Pakeha cultural values also means that they have clearer and more critical views of the Kohanga Reo programme objectives and higher expectations of what it

In most Kohanga Reo, there exists conflict between the expectations of the parents and those of the staff. Many people working in Kohanga Reo have a restricted view of their objectives, partly because of their age and experiences, and partly because of poor communication between themselves, the national advisers, the local management committee and the parents. Some centres have been established for more than a year now and many of these differing expectations have been worked through. In others, they have yet to be confronted and are actually being avoided.

One of the major areas of conflict is a problem in all centres. Relatively sophisticated, urban parents, already used to developmental play as a stimulus for their children, expect the same level of stimulus in Kohanga Reo. While this is an objective of the programme, it is not given high priority in most centres.

> It is envisaged that the Te Kohanga Reo programme will operate using the same basic principles for child care and growth at present adopted by the best pre-shcool, kindergarten and play centre organisations. The differnce will be the use of Maori language as the only means of verbal communication in the centre and the fact that it is a whanau operation in the true Maori way.
>
> (Department of Maori Affairs, 1982:8)

Most centres offer restricted play activities and they focus their language programmes around a verbal exchange between the child and the Maori language speaker. The range of play equipment available, or being used, is minimal, and as a consequence the children are restricted by an arid environment.

In many Kohanga Reo, the children are gathered together and taught Maori language in a repetitive and rote manner. As a consequence, the children are being trained to respond to adult stimulus, and not to explore the environment themselves. The emphasis of the supervisors and their helpers has been on language transmission, but to the exclusion of many other activities where a wider vocabulary would develop. The long-term consequences of this type of child-rearing may well be the growth of personality types that are passive and non-experimental or exploratory and which lack initiative. While they are young, such children are easy to manage in a child-care centre, but restricting their experiences this way may well lead to a new generation of Maori speakers who lack initiative and exhibit many of the traits of the classically-described authoritarian personality. We find it difficult to understand why this has occurred, because Maori involvement in the play centre movement in New Zealand has been quite extensive since about 1960. Indeed, many Maori women who were play centre supervisors and activists in the 1960s, participated in a Van Leer Foundation/University of Sydney programme for aboriginal families in New South Wales, South Australia and the Northern Territory. There is a considerable store of play centre-trained Maori women, who not only recognise the importance of play for child growth and development, but have been active promoters of this philosophy in New Zealand and Australia. What is more, most of these women are bilingual.

Related to this problem is the paucity of preschool experience amongst the people who conceived, and are promoting, the scheme. The main advocates in the Department of Maori Affairs have had primary teacher training or social work training, and are not as sensitised as they migh be to the differences in preschool and infant school learning modes.

Solutions

There are no clear-cut simple solutions to the problems encountered in this language salvage programme, other than those solutions that arise from experience, trial and error, and communicating difficulties, and solutions between the various parties involved. The programme is seriously under-funded. Soon people will ask why they must pay $40-$60 per week to ensure that their child has the right to preschool education in their mother tongue, when their Pakeha neighbours receive the same, or better, education in their mother tongue for $2 per week. The glib answer to that is that the choice is the parents' own. 'If you choose to send your child to kindergarten, you can have it for $2 per week; if you choose to send your child to Kohanga reo, then you will have to pay for that privilege, but the choice is yours.' And that really sums up the power of the dominant culture to restrict choices for the indegenous minority.

Finally, what we see as one of the most exciting aspects of the Kohanga Reo programme is its claim for indigenous autonomy; for the right of Maori people to control their own lives, according to their values, and to co-exist in harmony with these values, reinforced by an enhanced self-worth. Perhaps in the long run, the problems outlined above and any others, contain the seeds of their own resolution because the problems encountered are generated by the desire to stand tall and be proud to assert one's Maoriness, in a predominantly Anglo-Celtic society.

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1 Te Kohanga Reo Supervisor, 1 kuia, 1 Te Kohanga Reo administrator, 1 kai awhina, 16 Te Kohanga Reo children, 1 Community Worker, 1 volunteer marae cook, 1 carpenter, 1 or 2 Community Service workers. During the day, casual visitors vary from an average of about ten up to a party of 40.

The carvers and tukutuku workers form the core tangata whenua group hosting visitors to the Marae with the assistance of the pakeke and kaumatua. They are also doing the carving, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai for the whare nui and assist in the 5th Form electives programme of two hours per week with wood and bone carving, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai.

All 3rd formers are welcomed onto the Marae on the first day of attendance to the school, and their classes are prepared later in the term for a morning visit with lunch.

All 4th form classes will be sleeping in overnight this year. Their parents will be invited to dine with them in the evening.

Senior classes visit the marae regularly when dealing with taha Maori topics in History (eg Waitangi, land wars, race relations, apartheid - assimilation - integration etc) English (eg readings of Maori poets and authors - Witi Ihimaere, Patricia Grace etc; or Maori topics such as Death, Old Age, Whanau, mythology, taha wairua etc). Kaumatua, pakeke and other resource people on the marae assist.

The Te Kohanga Reo has an observation room with a one way mirror system. Small groups of pupils from the school visit to observe. Small groups from the Maori classes visit to assist and to practice their Maori oral skills.

All Maori language classes are held in the whare nui. Practical classes in Maori cooking, carving, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, bone carving or mahi harakeke are arranged with the tutors at the marae. Classes also participate in powhiri groups from time to time.

Maori culture waiata ringa, haka and other items are combined with the people at the marae including the Te Kohanga Reo children.

Every lunch hour Maori food is available to staff, pupils, marae personnel and people from the community. The whare kai is a popular place especially in the winter. The Marae 'kai' bell is rung every lunch hour coinciding with the school lunch time at 12.30. Teachers sometimes come along with small groups of children from their form classes.

The Kakariki Marae was conceived as not only being a catalyst for positive changes within the school itself, but to be a catalyst or agent for positive social change in the community. Educational research has verified that there are significant correlations between social origins and academic attainment. If anything is to be done to markedly improve the attainment of a child, a significant attempt to raise the whole environmental level in which the child lives must be made. The Marae was for families in the Green Bay High School 'enrolment' catchment area. These families were to constitute the 'extended family' or Hapu belonging to the marae. All contributing preschools, primary and Intermediate schools would be in the Hapu with younger brothers or sisters of pupils attending the high school.

To develop a family association with the Kakariki Marae, classes from all the contributing Primary and Intermediate schools have been encouraged to visit the marae with their parents. The marae has been used as the centre for the promotion and coordination of all taha Maori programmes in the contributing schools. Resource people from the Marae have been sent out to the schools to help prepare classes for Marae visits. Social Studies and English teachers have been called to the Marae to look at the Te Kete Raukura and Te Kete Wairua Social Studies Units of work. We have co-ordinated with schools in the promotion of the Maori language having started our Te Kohanga Reo. English and Social Studies Secondary teachers have begun to co-ordinate their programmes and share resources with some of the contributing schools.

As the marae expanded in its work, the Te Roopu O Kakariki Incorporated Society formed its various subcommittees and became recognised as a Maori Committee in 1980. The subcommittees are: Tu Tangata; Maori Women's Welfare League; Maori Wardens Association; (6 Wardens); Te Whanau O Aniwaaniwa Te Kohanga Reo; Work Skills Development Programmes; Education Subcommittee; Marae Tribunal and Social Work.

An extensive welfare programme has been launched. The security and welfare system of the marae extended family social structure has been reconstituted to promote family stability. A programme of Matua Whangai has been practised since 1979 and we are continuing with this involvement today. A Marae Tribunal was established in 1982 and court referrals, Police Youth Aid and Social Welfare referrals are taken by the Tribunal. Our Social worker collects referrals of truants, disciplinary problems relating to Maori pupils from the high school and from the contributary schools in the Hapu. The whole family is asked to attend the tribunal sessions. The kaupapa is Maori. Agreements are made and the marae monitors the agreement until it expires. We have rationalised the guidance system in the schools in the Hapu preventing a lot of duplication of energy and resources. With the Education Departments assistance, this system can be refined. We have often found younger brothers or sisters truanting as well, when dealing with a truanting high school pupil, and more effective management programmes have been devised utilising all the personnel resources at the Marae. Our kaumatuas play a leading role in these situations. The marae has Periodic Detention workers in the weekends. Many of these people are from families in the Hapu. Support of this programme keeps them out of jail enabling them to remain with their families and so our support is appreciated.

Use of the marae facilities is encouraged. Families in the Hapu area are invited to hold whanau

MARAE AS A LEARNING ENVIRONMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The evolution of the school marae in our secondary schools has been one of the most significant developments since the introduction of Maori language in the promotion of bicultural and multicultural education.

The physical organisation, administration, teaching mode, school environment, curriculum content, examination system and scaling procedures have reflected a Western European monocultural bias detrimental to the harmonious development of our multicultural society of today. More seriously, there are some aspects in our Education System which negate and ignore Maori and Polynesian values essential to the development of cultural identity, self esteem and family stability. High truancy rates in schools, high drop out rate in upper form levels, very poor School Certificate and University Entrance pass rates have been consistent features in Maori Education.

These problems have been accentuated by an extraordinary social and cultural revolution. In less than ten years, 80% of Maori people who lived in the rural areas have moved to the towns; moving away from the social and cultural security of the extended family existence on the marae to the relative isolation of urban nuclear family life. The magnitude and consequences of this social and cultural dislocation is evident in the disproportionate representation of Maori people in the high crime rate in youth and adult age groups, high unemployment, and widespread breakdown in family life.

Maori teachers at Green Bay High School in West Auckland, seriously considered the unique contribution a 'school marae', an educational institution within its own right, would make towards resolving many of the problems Maori people experienced in education. In 1978, approval was obtained from the Principal, School Board and Ngati Whatua to establish the Kakariki Marae on the school premises. The marae is central to the concept of Maoritanga, language, oratory, entertainment, recreation, art and craft, values, social order and social etiquette. It is socially integrative unlike the whare wananga, encompassing the natural learning interaction of people of all generations, sex, tribe or nationality. It also fosters identity, self respect, pride and cultural appreciation of the inter relationship and responsibilities of each member of the family. The essential ingredient vital to the very existence of everything Maori however, are those values which are of the spirit - 'te taha wairua'. This very important aspect of Maori has been ignored and sometimes rejected in some schools.

The late Mr Harry Dansey, Race Relations Conciliator referred to the significance of the school marae, to the urban Maori and people of other nationalities, and its potential in the field of education.

"In the present urban situation, Maori people move in and out of community affairs largely as guests and pupils. On a Marae, they are hosts and teachers, accepting the responsibilities that these roles demand. Here they can learn of themselves and their own culture, gaining in addition to knowledge, dignity and stature. Into this situation they can draw all others of goodwill. Then those values which are of the spirit - 'te taha wairua' - can flourish because the material body - 'te taha tinana' - is there for the spirit to inhabit and to enliven." Mr Dansey went on to urge the building of the marae at the school emphasising 'te taha wairua'.

"So build your marae and take joy in the building of it but remember that without a soul it is just another building and another piece of ground. Only you, by filling it with knowledge and love and oratory and song and laughter and tears can give it a soul."

Approval of the marae project was a statement to pupils, staff and people in the community that Maoritanga was accepted as having an important place in the school system at Green Bay High School.

Local elders were sought as advisors, others for their blessings and guidance. Mr Tom Poata (Ngati Porou), the late Mr Eruera Stirling (Whanau a Apanui), Mr Hoani Heremaia (Ngati Ruanui), Mr Sonny Waru (Te Atiawa). A parents teachers meeting was called on 15 September 1978 to form the Te Roopu O Kakariki Marae Incorporated Society. Lawyers conferred with Marae members to write a unique constitution incorporating Maori values. All pupils, staff and personnel at Green Bay High School were members or tangata whenua once welcomed onto the marae, and koha is accepted as subscription. (Copies available on request). The Society became autonomous but with School Board, teacher, and representation from cultural groups in the community.

The Education Department granted two prefabs in 1978. A wharenui, kitchen and whare kai were constructed. In 1980, another prefab was obtained for tukutuku and kowhaiwhai and the school made available a prefab for Maori carving. In 1983 another prefab was obtained for the establishment of a Te Kohanga Reo, and a relocateable ablution block was obtained for the Marae complex.

Since 1978, Labour Department Subsidised Employment Schemes have been used to refurbish the prefabs, plant native trees, landscape and construct a patio-hangi-bar b q area, construct an adventure playground for the Te Kohanga Reo and to do other odd jobs. However, the initiation of the Work Skills Development Programmes in Maori Carving, Tukutuku and kowhaiwhai with the voluntary Maori cooking scheme have been very rewarding. These schemes have enabled the Marae committee to provide jobs and training for over 100 school leavers, many from the ranks of the dole. All were drop outs from the school system, some referred to the marae from social welfare or from the courts. The educational programme we have provided have all been with the emphasis on the restoration of self esteem, pride and cultural identity. These programmes have been very successful.

The following persons attend the marae each work day and are utilised as valuable resource people in our school and community educational programme: 1 kaumatua, 1 scheme manager, 1 carver (wood, bone and stone), 1 tukutuku-kowhaiwhai-mahi harakeke tutor, 6 carving trainees, 6 tukutuku-kowhaiwhai trainees,

functions; to form whanau support groups and to participate in the educational programmes organised by the Marae Committee. Maori carving, Maori culture, Maori language, bone carving, tukutuku and mahi harakeke classes are held for adults during the day and in the evenings.

The marae is used extensively in the weekends. Te Whanau O Taranaki, Tai Rawhiti, Kia Kaha Youth group and Tima Toa Youth group are regular users of the marae, holding weekend Hui. All Maori Affairs programmes for the Hapu are coordinated at the Marae. These include Rapu Mahi which is an ongoing venture coordinated by the Scheme Manager; School holiday programmes; matua whangai; Tu Tangata activities. Occasional Hui are held on Education - child rearing; Maori Health; Budgeting etc.

The Te Roopu O Kakariki Incorporated Society plays a very active role in the Maori Community. It is a prominent member of the West Auckland Maori Affairs Kokiri Unit called the Whanau O Waipareira participating in all its programmes. It is an active member of the Auckland Maori District Council especially in the area of education. The Auckland North Auckland Maori Teachers Association have held many Hui at the marae. Some of the major hui have been: Auckland Maori Women's Welfare League AGM; hosting of Whanau A Apanui during the opening of the Hoani Waititi Marae; hosting the Whanau O Taranaki during the Te Kopu Hui, the ordination of Archbishop Paul Reeves and the Auckland Polynesian Festival. Many School groups from outside of Auckland have been hosted.

In concluding this paper, it is quite obvious that the Kakariki school marae has brought about some radical innovations inside the school itself and in the local community. The Maori people are actively involved in developing an Education system responding positively to its needs; the school is reviewing its organisation, structure and programmes and becoming a positive influence on social change. Kaumatua, pakeke, skilled people in Maori language, culture, art and craft are being recognised by their local school as having a valuable contribution to make towards the education of people in their Hapu. The mana and respect of the Kaumatua and the parents is being restored for the young people to see. All pupils and staff in the school are frequently exposed to activities at the Marae, as the Marae is situated next to the gymnasium. The karanga, the powhiri, whaikorero are no longer strange rituals. Many visiting kaumatua have remarked on the sensitivity and respect shown by pupils in the school to these matters. Teachers in the school have also benefited. Many unfamiliar with Marae protocol and Maori perspectives in relation to land and people and 'te taha wairua' have mentioned how the school marae has helped them to be more sensitive to Maori pupils in the classroom and to look at issues from a more bicultural perspective.

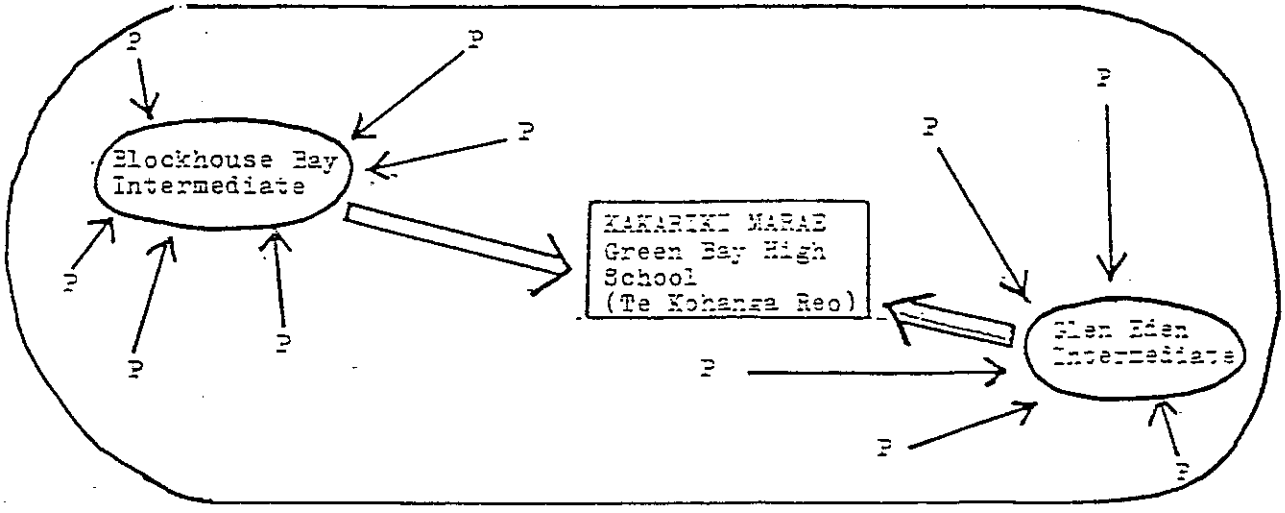
I wish to acknowledge the wonderful work being done in other school marae, whare wananga, youth centres or similar projects and ask that the New Zealand Maori Council and the Education Department promote these in the interest of bicultural and multicultural education.

P J Heremaia

APPENDIX 1

KAKARIKI 'HAPU' SYSTEM

The main idea is to refabricate a 'Hapu', extended family support structure with the KAKARIKI Marae as its centre. The boundary of the Hapu is that of the 'enrolment' catchment area of Green Bay High School which incorporates all the contributing Primary and Intermediate schools



p - Primary schools in the 'Hapu'

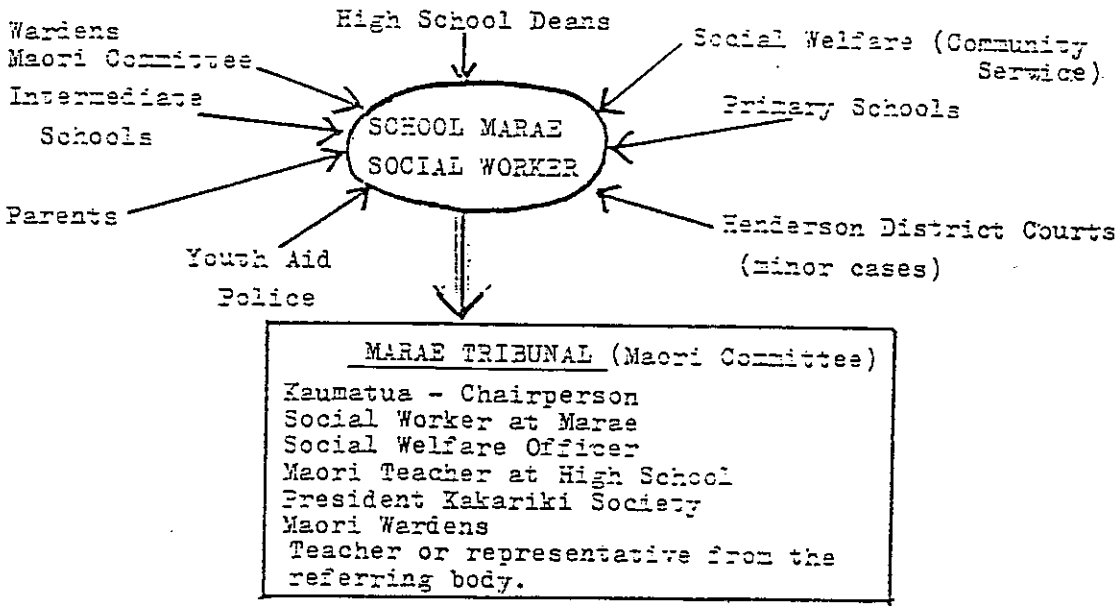
The Secondary School Marae and the 'Hapu' System:

1. The secondary school is an ideal location for a Marae as it is usually centrally located to contributing Intermediate and Primary schools.
2. Generally schools in the 'Hapu' area service the same families so there are ideal opportunities for the promotion of 'Family Education' by holding such Hui at the Hapu Marae.
3. Ideal structure for the promotion of the Maori language. Since the language was initiated at the Secondary level, Hapu associations with the contributary schools would facilitate and support the introduction of the Maori language when the Primary Scheme comes out. (i.e. Inservice courses for Primary Teachers learning the Maori language could be held at the Hapu Marae.)
4. Opportunity for the promotion of closer liaison, communication, sharing of resources, developing continuity of subject programmes etc., between the High school, Intermediate schools and Primary schools in the Hapu.
5. Opportunity for the mobilisation and utilisation of Maori elders, pakeke, teenagers and children as educational resource people. The Hapu Marae would be responsible for the promotion and development 'taha Maori' programmes in all the contributing schools. The school marae would effectively become the Maori Educational Resource Centre for the Hapu.

APPENDIX 2

KAKARIKI HAPU Guidance System

KAKARIKI HAPU Guidance System



The Kakariki Marae Tribunal is convened by the chairman when referrals are made by any of the above groups. The Henderson District Court and the Henderson Youth Aid section of the Police refer minor cases to the tribunal of people who live in the Kakariki Hapu area. Social Welfare in New Lynn (including Probation) refer 'Community Service' cases also to the Tribunal.

The Marae Tribunals convene on Sundays in the Whare nui. When young people are referred, the whole extended family is asked to attend the Tribunal. Marae protocol and Maori kaupapa is observed throughout the sessions. Maori is normally spoken; English when necessary.

Contributing Primary and Intermediate schools have been asked to refer disciplinary and truancy cases to the Tribunal. Together with the High School, all Maori and Pacific Island families in the Hapu area are covered.

The above system has distinct advantages:

1. rationalisation of the guidance system in all the schools in the Hapu area, reducing duplication of energies of specialist guidance people often working with members of families in isolation. We have often found younger brothers and sisters of a high school pupil before the Tribunal are having similar problems in the junior schools.

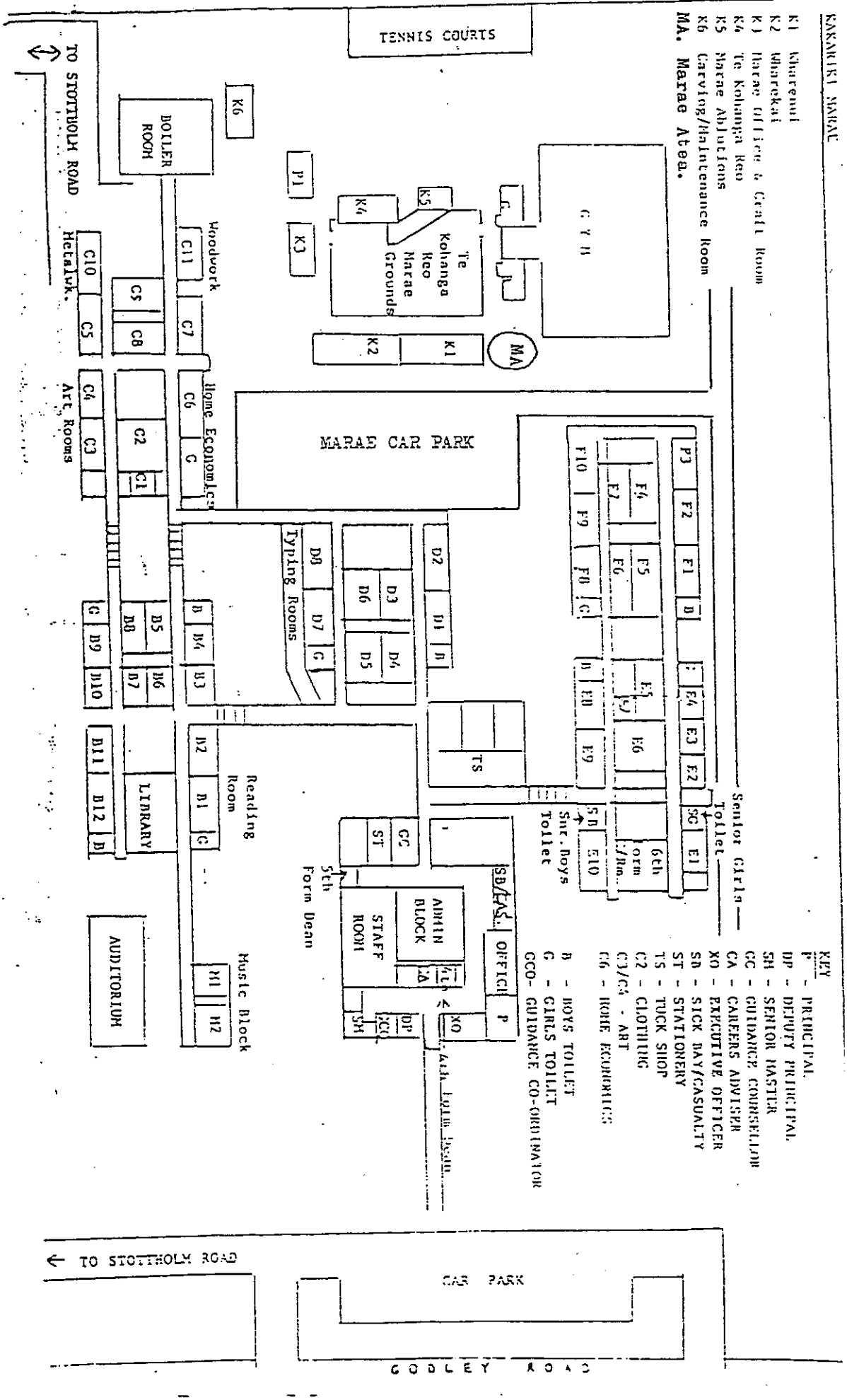
2. reinstitution of the supportive and advisory roles of Maori elders, pakeke and matua within the Hapu area; using kaupapa Maori, te taha wairua, whanaungatanga, manakitanga, aroha ki te tangata, matua whangai and other traditional values which formed the foundations of the social welfare system on the Marae. We have found parents responding positively to the Tribunal; Grandparents in particular especially when matters have been explained in Maori.

3. the success rate of this system has been very high. Referrals have found the use of Maori kaupapa more compatible and less alienating than that of the 'court system' and individual counselling in the schools.

4. often it is the circumstances of the family which contributes to the problem. With the increasing supportive resources at the school marae, assistance can be given to help. e.g. employment and assistance in finding employment; cultural and educational classes; volunteer involvement at the Marae as kaiawhina in the Te Kohanga Reo, craft classes etc.

   The Marae Social Worker collects the referrals. At the Tribunal agreements are made and the marae monitors the agreements until they expire. In cases of pupils at the High School truanting, as well as finding out reasons for this, the pupil must check at the Marae, in the morning, lunchtime and after school. This system has not failed.

APPENDIX 3. LOCATION MAP OF KAKARIKI MARAE AT GREEN BAY HIGH.



TE WANANGA O RAUKAWA

(1) An historical perspective

The confederation of iwi and hapu of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Atiawa is most closely associated with the region between the Rangitikei River and Porirua. The Raukawa Marae Trustees, a representative body of these iwi and their hapu, gave formal recognition to the existence of their centre of higher learning when, in April 1981, they resolved to establish Te Wananga o Raukawa:

> for the advancement of knowledge and for the dissemination and maintenance of knowledge through teaching and research

Te Wananga o Raukawa is a reformulation of an ancient institution, namely, the whare wananga, the original and most senior of which was Rangiatea. For the confederation it represents another joint venture of the three iwi named above in the post-European era.

The first of their major post-European initiatives, which continues to serve passing generations of the confederation, is the house of God named Rangiatea which was opened in 1849 and still stands on Te Rauparaha Street in Otaki. The next major excursion into activity of European origin was in the 1880s when the confederation established their own horse racing club and absorbed its European neighbour which was in financial distress. Two decades later the confederation, led again by the Church, built Otaki Native Boys' College on land provided by the confederation for education. Financial difficulties caused the Anglicans to close this school in 1938 after thirty years of operation during which time it educated youth from the confederation, including Inia Te Wiata, and, from outside, Manuhuia Bennett and Ben Couch.

In 1936 the confederation built their marae-matua and, using the Native Purposes Act 1936, created The Raukawa Marae Trustees, a body of sixty-nine members representing the score of iwi and hapu which comprise the confederation to administer it.

The fifth important joint development by the confederation was the creation of the Otaki and Porirua trusts in 1943 based on the lands which had previously supported the Otaki Native Boys' College. These are educational trusts and their beneficiaries are the children of the iwi (and hapu) of the confederation. In 1984 the market value of the assets of these trusts are about $2 million and scholarships valued at approximately $50,000 are assisting 200 children of the confederation.

In August 1975, the Raukawa Marae Trustees (better known as, simply, The Raukawa Trustees) began discussing the concept of iwi and hapu planning and began a 25-year tribal development experiment. This experiment, which is known as Whakatupuranga Rua Mano- Generation 2000, has emerged as another joint venture for the confederation. In the eight years ending this March a hundred seminars (up to ten days in length) involving 6,500 Maori and Pakeha people will have been designed and directed by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. (Other marae-based seminars with at least these numbers again but not under the umbrella of Whatupuranga Rua Mano have been conducted concurrently by hapu and iwi of the confederation.)

The Raukawa Trustees established Te Wananga o Raukawa as a natural and necessary extension of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano having put proposals to establish a centre of learning to ministers of the crown in 1978, 1979 and 1980 and to departments of state in 1980 and 1981. These proposals did not find favour in any of these quarters.

(2) The contemporary context

The last 150 years has seen dramatic changes in the life style and institutions of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Atiawa and for the whole of Maoridom it has been a period of both high excitement and considerable pain as the Maori people have learned a totally different culture.

Regrettably, the organization of and support for advanced Maori teaching and learning is in extreme disarray in the region spanned by the confederation of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Atiawa. This condition is a consequence of the incessant (and increasing) pressures on Maori institutions from local and national bodies which have not been able, or have not chosen, to embrace Maori insitutions and teachings. The "tanga" of the iwi and hapu which promoted Te Wananga o Raukawa is not incorporated in the courses of this country's educational bodies so as to ensure its advancement, dissemination and maintenance through teaching and research.

Te Wananga o Raukawa aims to contribute to the further development of the confederation and of the wider community by producing bicultural administrators, teachers or researchers in the expectation that their activities will enhance the quality of decision-making particularly on issues affecting the confederation but also on matters which have a bearing on the well-being of the community at large. At present the non-Maori majority in New Zealand has veto power in major decisions affecting Maori people and this veto is exercised largely by senior decision-makers (including teachers) who do not have knowledge of and sophistication in the "tanga" of the confederation or in Maoritanga in general. In response to this situtation the Wananga, in addition to its degree programme, provides short-term residential courses. In this regard it will be extending the work of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano- Generation 2000.

In 1984 Te Wananga o Raukawa has eight full-load and four part-load students engaged in various elements of the 3-year BMA (Bachelor of Maori and Administration) course. (A full-load course requires about 1,300 hours of work). It also has one graduate student and ten students doing 6-month certificate courses. Most of the staff are providing their services voluntarily and what funds are needed are being found through student fees or other private sources.

These people are engaged in advanced studies in fields of special interest to them. These studies would not have been available to them in the absence of Te Wananga o Raukawa. One, possibly two, of these students would have been fully occupied at Victoria University.

(3) Courses of Study

Two fields of study are offered at the undergraduate level. These are:

(a) Iwi and hapu studies: Ngati Raukawa-, Ngati Toarangatira- and Te Atiawa-tanga including contemporary developments and futures study.
(b) Administrative studies: Integrated real-life case studies covering a wide variety of management decision areas.

The appendix to this paper describes these in greater detail.

(4) Research

A series of contemporary studies into aspects of the life of the confederation is being discussed. Proposals are being developed and work is progressing on some of the following:

(1) A census of the confederation in the 1980s. (1,525 interviews have been done).
(2) The whakapapa of the confederation. (A number of manuscripts are available for this work which is proceeding - with caution).
(3) The health experience of the confederation. (The census mentioned in (1) above contains some questions on health; more detailed surveys are being planned
(4) The land transactions of the confederation. (Some case studies have been done; others are in progress).
(5) The literature of the confederation. (Retaping and cataloguing and new recording and transcribing is being done).
(6) Technological innovation and adaptation within the confederation. (A series of hui on the search for technology appropriate to the long-term development of the confederation commenced in 1985 and will continue for several years).
(7) The 21st century : alternative futures, objectives and strategies of the confederation. (An ongoing exercise).
(8) Hapu and iwi planning. (Research into the principles and problems is built into the teaching programme).
(9) Maori language teaching. (Experimental work with the immersion technique is in its fourth year).

(5) Hapu and iwi planning

It is extremely rare in the mainstream of New Zealand society that a person of Maori descent is asked for his or her hapu, iwi or waka. Employers (in both sectors), schools, and other centres of learning, hospitals, the Statistics Department (whose full-time job it is to collect statistics), the Inland Revenue Department, the Department of Internal Affairs and so on do not concern themselves with this dimension of a Maori person's identity. Indeed the Department of Maori Affairs and the New Zealand Maori Council are inclined to emphasise Maori rather than tribal affiliations. It is, then, quite remarkable and significant that after decades of denial hapu and iwi continue to be major operating units in Maoridom.

It is, however, quite unremarkable that hapu and iwi identification has weakened dramatically with succeeding generations of urban-born Maori people. Cross iwi/hapu or cross cultural marriages and/or geographical separation from principal hapu or iwi centres (i.e., marae) have been major factors in this trend The absence of any institutional reinforcement has been a contributing factor.

We have emerged from a tradition in which hapu and iwi planning and management was implicit in all we did. Our haputanga and the associated whanaungatanga (intra-hapu) was vital to the existence of the individual. We clung to our hapu and we lived by its rules because to not do so was dangerous; survival for the individual was more likely as an active member of the hapu than as a non-entity outside.

At the end of a century and half of European individualism in all its pervasiveness our haputanga and whanaungatanga are not as necessary as they were. While there are many signs that the lack of identity creates trauma for our people the sources of stress are multiple and in any one case, may not be traceable to the absence of ties to whanau or hapu.

As the influence of individualism has waxed and the protective role of haputanga and whanaungatanga has felt the reverse our hapu and iwi have not fashioned techniques or refined their skills for the purpose of attracting their people to their hapu or iwi. We are unskilled in forming policies and implementing programmes which will make the whanau, the hapu or iwi valuable and vital again to the individual. There have to be good reasons for individuals to give their time, talents, energy, resources as well as their memories and loyalties to their hapu and iwi.

/...

f we knew how to measure the resources of a hapu or of an iwi we might then be in a position o formulate plans to expand those resources and to make our hapu or iwi wealthier, more attractive and more productive.

We have two problems: one is to define resources and productive activity; the other is to measure these. Academic and practicing accountants around the globe spend their waking hours and, occasionally , I suspect, their dream time on these two problems in commercial or ecomonic contexts. Unfortuantely, they have not prescribed any solutions to these issues which will advance our search for resolutions to the two problems cited above.

At Te Wananga o Raukawa we are trying to obtain insights into this field and to formulate strategies to expand tribal resources and/or productive activities.

(6) Tribal resources and activity

We can identify a selection of tribal resources and activity for which, typically, no attempts to quantify or to verify are made. These resources and activities, nonetheless, are viewed as being vital to the health and good standing of a hapu, an iwi or a runanga. A number of the major items are listed below. In its teaching and research work Te Wananga o Raukawa has developed operational definitions and measurement techniques for many of these.

(a) "Balance sheet" items or stocks of resources including:

(i) People resources:
- Population and selected characteristics such as age.
- Pataka of instantaneously available whakapapa knowledge
- Promoters of spirituality and participants therein
- Those whose knowledge and energy permit them to express whanaungatanga which is knowledge and action-based.
- Those who promote and refine the kawa.
- Repositories of the reo.
- Exponents of the arts and tikanga.
- Kaumatua who participate.
- Health experience.
- European educational achievement

(ii) Physical resources:
- Whakapapa - in manuscript form.
- Kawa - its existence.
- Marae and facilities at the various levels of quality.
- Land.
- Investments.

(b) "Income and expenditure" items or activity:

(i) Involving people and action in the promotion of:
- spirituality.
- whanaungatanga.
- training programmes (in relation to the knowledge and skills required to maintain and develop hapu resources).

(ii) Involving physical resources:
- Renovations.
- New facilities.
- Commercial development which is hapu/iwi owned.

(7) Conclusion

Te Wananga o Raukawa was created in April 1981 primarily to produce bilingual and bicultural administrators with their Maoriness rooted in the "tanga" of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Atiawa.

We cannot expect the established centres of higher learning to teach our people about themselves in the way in which we would want it done. They must, of necessity, give a generality to their content. At Te Wananga o Raukawa we have accepted that there are trade-offs. We give up the benefits of perspective through generality in favour of knowing ourselves well through detailed study about ourselves.

Te Wananga has coupled this approach with and through administrative studies in the hope of seeing a favourable return by way of runanga and community development at relatively low capital and operating cost.

Whatarangi Winiata
Wellington

19 March 1984

APPENDIX

1. ART: Iwi and Hapu Studies

This represents half of each year's programme of study and is designed to ensure that in three years of study students will acquire knowledge and confidence in the following subject areas:

(a) Maori language including formal whaikorero/karanga language, language for the presentation of issues and conversation language

(b) oral literature including karakia, waiata, pokeka, haka, tauparapara and whakatauki

(c) history and artifacts

(d) decorative and performing arts

(e) iwi and hapu planning

(f) marae form and procedure

(g) whakapapa

(h) health

(i) land issues and

(j) management of change

within the Confederation of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Atiawa (or outside it by arrangement) and within the national and international framework of environmental factors.

The matrix which appears on the next page describes the range of studies which are undertaken and the teaching-learning techniques which are applied. The specific areas of study are described across the top while the iwi and hapu (as the activity units) are listed on the left and the macro-environmental influences are listed on the right.

ART: IWI AND HAPU STUDIES

SPECIFIC AREAS OF STUDY

ACTIVITY UNIT	LANGUAGE	LITERATURE	HISTORY AND ARTIFACTS	DECORATIVE AND PERFORMING ARTS	IWI AND HAPU PLANNING	MARAE FORM AND PROCEDURE	WHAKAPAPA	HEALTH	LAND	MANAGING CHANGE
KAUWHATA	→									
PAREWAHAWAHA	→									
PIKIAHU-WAEWAE	→									
RAKAU	→									
TE AU	→									
TURANGA	→									
WHAKATERE	→									
HUIA ki POROU	→									
TAKIHIKU	→									
NGARONGO	→									
PARERAUKAWA	→									
KIKOPIRI	→									
TUKOREHE	→									
WEHIWEHI	→									
KAPU	→									
KOROKI	→									
MAIOTAKI	→									
PARE	→									
HUIA ki KATI	→									
ATIAWA	→									
TOARANGATIRA	→									
CONFEDERATION	→									
OTHER	→									

LECTURES, TUTORIALS, DIRECTED READINGS

A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF PERSONAL (BUT DIRECTED) RESEARCH, WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS AND MARAE-BASED ACTIVITY TO ENSURE THAT IN THREE YEARS OF IWI AND HAPU STUDIES AT TE WANANGA O RAUKAWA STUDENTS WILL ACQUIRE A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER IN THIS MATRIX

MACRO ENVIRONMENT

- POLITICAL
- ECONOMIC
- LEGAL
- CULTURAL
- SOCIAL
- HEALTH
- EDUCATION
- WELFARE
- RELIGION
- POPULATION

APPENDIX continued

2. ADM: Administrative Studies

The objective is to provide, through integrated case studies, a comprehensive understanding of a range of important management decision areas as they appear in diverse types of organizations and as they are diagnosed and administered within national and international influences. The organizations (or activity units) which are studied include:

(a) industrial firms

(b) financial institutions

(c) Maori incorporations

(d) Section 438 trusts

(e) marae and hapu organizations

(f) local bodies (borough and county councils)

(g) public bodies (schools and hospitals)

(h) state corporations

(i) Government departments

(j) charitable bodies and

(k) Japan.

The management decision areas which are studied include:

(a) leadership

(b) organizational development

(c) financial management

(d) marketing and consumer choice

(e) alternative futures management

(f) objectives, constraints and performance

(g) innovation and technology

(h) legal constraints

(i) reporting and

(j) information systems.

The matrix which appears on the next page presents the full scope of the studies which are offered and the pedagogical processes which are followed. The management decision areas are described across the top of the page. The organizations to be studied and the national and international influences are listed on either side of the matrix.

The choice of Japan for a country case-study reflects a belief that Maori people have a comparative advantage in the study of this country. Moreover, it indicates a confidence in that country as a valuable source of technology to enhance the industrial development of the region spanned by the Confederation.

ADM: ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

ACTIVITY UNIT	SPECIFIC MANAGEMENT DECISION AREAS										MACRO ENVIRONMENT
	LEADERSHIP ↓	ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOP. ↓	FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT ↓	MARKETING AND CONSUMER CHOICE ↓	ALTERNATIVE FUTURES MANAGEMENT ↓	OBJECTIVES CONSTRAINTS PERFORMANCE ↓	INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY ↓	LEGAL CONSTRAINTS ↓	REPORTING ↓	INFORMATION SYSTEMS ↓	
INDUSTRIAL FIRMS →											
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS →	RESIDENTIAL MARAE HUI, INTEGRATED CASE STUDIES,										← POLITICAL
MAORI INCORPORATIONS →	LECTURES, TUTORIALS, DIRECTED READINGS, A SUBSTANTIAL										← ECONOMIC
SECTION 438 TRUSTS →	AMOUNT OF PERSONAL (BUT DIRECTED) RESEARCH AND WRITTEN										← LEGAL
MARAE AND HAPU ORGANIZATIONS →	ASSIGNMENTS TO ENSURE THAT IN THREE YEARS OF										← CULTURAL
LOCAL BODIES →	ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES AT TE WANANGA O RAUKAWA										← SOCIAL
PUBLIC BODIES →	STUDENTS WILL ACQUIRE A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF										← HEALTH
STATE CORPORATIONS →	THE SUBJECT MATTER IN THIS MATRIX.										← EDUCATION
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS →											← WELFARE
CHARITABLE BODIES →											← RELIGION
JAPAN →											← POPULATION