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Perceptions of the Treaty /te Tiriti

**A study of how education changes
students' perceptions of the current relevance of the
Treaty of Waitangi / te Tiriti o Waitangi**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
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Abstract

The issues surrounding the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi are a major concern in New Zealand society today. Regrettably, most New Zealanders do not know the history relating to these issues and are therefore unable to carry out informed debate on the current relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi or fully understand the basis of Maori grievances. Education is an important tool which can be used to give society a more balanced understanding of the issues. Over the last twenty-five years a number of both Maori and Pakeha groups have been in the forefront of raising New Zealanders' consciousness of the unequal social, economic and political outcomes of Maori in comparison to other New Zealanders. Many of these groups have been directly agitating for change while other groups have been involved with anti-racist education and, Treaty/Tiriti. However, little research has been done to ascertain whether these actions are effective in changing people's perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

This mainly qualitative study describes the perceptions of first year tertiary students of the current relevance of the Treaty/Tiriti, the education process they encountered through their first year of study and the degree to which their attitudes and perceptions changed as a result of education in this subject. The thesis considers the cultural aspects that are instrumental in forming these perceptions by examining the influence of family and friends, school, the media and the current debate on Treaty/Tiriti issues and recent Maori "activism."

By comparing the two different educational approaches observed in this study, the thesis develops an understanding of the necessary criteria for effective education on the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, which is likely to lead to changes in perceptions and attitudes, so that changes in the structures of society can ultimately be instigated. The thesis concludes with recommendations for policy and future research.

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Chapter One: Tuatahi¹

*It was something different
Something nobody counted on*

Allan Curnow
Extract from "The Unhistoric Story"

Introduction

The current debate on the issues concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi² and biculturalism is, in my opinion, one of the most crucial issues we, as New Zealanders, are facing today. The Treaty/te Tiriti³ and bicultural issues have implications for the way we distribute land, resources and power. Our response to this debate will affect the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand society. Maori have been challenging Pakeha⁴ policies and political power for 158 years, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. The ongoing Maori focus on Treaty/Tiriti issues surely indicates that this is a problem. For most of this time Pakeha have interpreted this concern as a Maori problem, putting efforts into dealing with the effect rather than the cause. Maori are now becoming more insistent, more radical. I maintain that the Treaty of Waitang/te Tiriti o Waitangi issues are equally a Pakeha problem, and the colonial imperialism of both past and current Pakeha Governments have incurred the current racial instability and dissension. It is a common fault of the powerful to blame the victim (Nairn, 1989:75). It is therefore the responsibility of Pakeha to rectify the problem that was created by our forefathers and is being perpetuated today. This cannot begin without an understanding of the issues. New Zealanders, especially Pakeha, on the whole, are woefully ignorant of our own history. Sir Peter Elworthy referred to the perceptions of a *marginally*

¹ Tuatahi translates as "First"

² Throughout this thesis I shall refer to this by both the English and Maori names, especially as these are, in fact, two separate documents. The differences between these two documents will be discussed in Chapter Three.

³ In this thesis the Treaty/te Tiriti refers to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi.

⁴ For the purpose of this thesis I shall refer to non-Maori New Zealanders as Pakeha. There is much debate about the use of the word "Pakeha" and this will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

informed Pakeha and the misunderstandings and misconceptions which have led to injustices (Elworthy, 1988:9). We have not learned about Aotearoa/New Zealand history through the education system. Why have we been kept ignorant of New Zealand's true history? In whose interests is it to maintain this ignorance? How can we develop a strong national identity and culture without a true understanding of our past and without an understanding of what makes us unique in the world? How can we make informed judgments on the current events which are related to the Treaty/te Tiriti? The motivation for this thesis comes from the desire to examine ways to reduce the misconceptions between Maori and Pakeha that began in 1840. Maori have voiced their grievances concerning the lack of adherence to the Treaty/te Tiriti by the Pakeha Government since 1840, but it is only in recent years that most Pakeha have become aware of the intensity of Maori grievances. Kelsey asserts that:

The treaty entered Pakeha consciousness and the mainstream political agenda during the 1980s not because of Pakeha politicians, judges, intellectuals or activists, but because Maori left us little choice (Kelsey, 1996: 179).

Pakeha reaction has been varied, some maintaining that we should honour the Treaty/te Tiriti while others have reacted with a backlash against Maori, blaming young, "radical" Maori for destroying the so-called racial harmony they believed had previously existed.

What are the issues that have recently brought Pakeha reaction, both positive and negative? Previously, Maori grievances were not only ignored, but for the most part, were not even part of Pakeha consciousness. On what understanding do we base our reactions? What are our perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and on what are these perceptions based? These are the questions that are posed in this thesis. Further to this, I pose the question how, if at all, would

these perceptions change if we learned through our education and understood, not only the historical perspective, but also the ideological perspective? The primary data for this thesis is based on research which examined the current perceptions of first year tertiary students of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, the educational process related to the Treaty/te Tiriti they encountered during their first year of study, and the degree to which students' attitudes and perceptions changed as a result of their study of this topic. In attempting to research this issue I have concerned myself specifically with the nature of the participants' perceptions at the end of their secondary schooling, and what has influenced the participants to acquire these perceptions and attitudes.

The first issue is to establish what knowledge the participants actually have concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. The degree of their knowledge must, at least partially, impact on their perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti today. We are not likely to consider relevant anything we either have little knowledge of and/or little understanding of. Secondly, in examining what has influenced these perceptions and attitudes, I have particularly concentrated on the impact from the following categories:

- i. Family and friends: The influence of the people we mainly interact with either as family members, particularly parents, or our peer groups is likely to sway our opinions on all aspects of our lives. Here I shall consider the degree of influence the participants believed came from other people close to them in their personal lives.
- ii. School: In what way has the school environment and curriculum influenced students' attitudes to the Treaty/te Tiriti?
- iii. The Media: What is the role of the media in terms of understanding and influencing attitudes towards the Treaty/te Tiriti?

-
- iv. Current Issues: By how much have the current Treaty/Tiriti issues influenced students' perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti?

The categories listed above have the greatest influence on individual and cultural racism. This thesis will concentrate more on the perceptions that are formed by individual and cultural aspects of the participants' lives than the influences of institutional racism. However, I acknowledge that it is not always possible to segregate individual and cultural racism from institutional racism as our lives do not fit into separate compact spaces. The perceptions gained from the institutions we deal with are accepted as the norm and carry over into other parts of our lives.

The first three categories above will be discussed in Chapter Two. Next, however, I shall examine some of the current Treaty/Tiriti issues that have impacted on our attitudes towards the Treaty/te Tiriti. These categories of family and friends, school, the media and current issues will be picked up again in Chapter Five when I record how participants in this research were influenced by these aspects of their lives.

Current Treaty/Tiriti Issues

The current issues relating to the Treaty/te Tiriti have led to the recent controversy between Maori and Pakeha, as can be witnessed in letters to the editors of our newspapers. Although there has been Maori activism since 1840, challenging the way the Treaty/te Tiriti has been interpreted or, more frequently, ignored, it is the more recent activism that has generated a Pakeha reaction. It is this more recent activism that I will address here. Walker refers to the rising Maori consciousness of the seventies, instigated to some extent by the new awareness of writings of Black Americans, now African Americans (Walker, 1983:5). A new Maori group MOOHR⁵ set up in Wellington in 1968, publishing newsletters and *Te Hokioi* which

⁵ Maori Organisation on Human Rights.

began leading to the conscientization⁶ of Maori. Simultaneously, a new group of radical, young Maori, such as Nga Tamatoa in Auckland, emerged and began establishing themselves. Activism took on a new look. It changed from the old style of Maori elders sending submissions to Government to a more aggressive approach of young, frequently highly educated Maori participating in social action, including petitions, demonstrations and picketing (Walker, 1983:5). 1975 saw the Maori land march of 30,000 people who marched to Parliament in protest against the loss of Maori land. In January 1977 the Maori occupation of Bastion Point began, lasting 507 days, until they were forcibly removed by the police and the army. This was the beginning of more land occupation, including, among others, Pakaitore in Wanganui, the Kaitaia airport and Takahue in Northland in 1995, and currently in 1998, Waikaremoana. Other more direct action has also followed; the burning down of the school in Takahue, the chain saw attack on the pine tree at the top of One Tree Hill, the smashing of the Americas Cup, the contempt shown by some Maori of the judicial system, which they see as being monocultural. This contempt for the judiciary has been demonstrated particularly in relation to civil action surrounding Maori customary rights and Government inaction on land claims. These forms of protest have brought a backlash reaction from many Pakeha New Zealanders.

At the same time the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985⁷ and the Waitangi Tribunal⁸ have opened up a way for iwi to claim compensation for their confiscated lands and fisheries, leading (according to many Pakeha) to excessively large payouts

⁶ "Conscientization" was used by Friere to refer to the process of the development of the collective critical consciousness of the oppressed.

⁷ The 1985 Amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 made provision for Treaty/Tiriti claims to be backdated to 1840.

⁸ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 under the Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975. It was set up by the Government to hear Maori claims against Crown policy that might be contrary to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. See Chapter Three for a further discussion on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

to Maori. The Sealord settlement,⁹ and the fiscal envelope,¹⁰ considered by many Pakeha to be too generous, and unanimously rejected by Maori as being too low, have caused dissension in all quarters. Throughout the various forms of protest is the one constant, and becoming stronger, demand for Maori sovereignty or *te tino rangatiratanga*. This is an issue that will not go away, despite Government's steadfast refusal to even consider it (Kelsey, 1996:201). The demand for *tino rangatiratanga*, as promised in the Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi/*te Tiriti o Waitangi*, is the central issue (Kelsey, 1996:199) and the primary reason Maori continue to call for the Treaty/*te Tiriti* to be honoured. Maori sovereignty is at the root of all other Maori protests. Kelsey notes that by 1988, Maori claims for land and resources were inseparable from Maori claims for political power and *tino rangatiratanga* for *iwi* (Kelsey, 1996:184). It is germane at this point, therefore, to direct the discussion to the sovereignty debate.

Maori Sovereignty - Te Tino Rangatiratanga

In Article II (Tuarua) of the Maori text of *te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Maori retain in perpetuity *te tino rangatiratanga* in respect to their lands, villages and all their treasures. *Rangatiratanga* is derived from *rangatira* meaning chief. The addition of the suffix *tanga* creates chieftainship. Maori understanding of chieftainship goes further than the English interpretation. According to Sir Hugh Kawharu, *rangatiratanga* means *evidence of breeding and greatness* which connotes leadership criteria. This evidence is displayed in the *mana* endowed on the individual by priests, chiefs and elders of the *iwi* or *hapu*, including a spiritual component (Kawharu, 1989:xix). *Mana* is demonstrated by a relationship, not only between the individual and his god, but also between the individual and his *iwi*. Implicit in this is a reciprocity, in that a *rangatira* acts as a trustee for his people (Kawharu, 1989:xix). He is therefore unable to cede sovereignty as he is holding it in trust for both past and future generations.

⁹ For further discussion on this refer to Kesley, 1996:191-193; McDowell and Webb, 1995:215-217.

¹⁰ For further discussion on this refer to Kelsey, 1996:193-194; McDowell and Webb, 1995:217-220.

Rangatiratanga may be asserted differently by each iwi. Nevertheless, however separate iwi express their individual style of rangatiratanga, it remains the core of each group's identity, tribal ethos and sense of pride and self respect (Kawharu, 1989:xix). The use of the word rangatiratanga clearly indicated to the chiefs that they would retain, not only the possession of their land, but also their mana and full traditional authority. This is emphasised in the Waitangi Tribunal Motunui Report by the following:

We consider that the Maori text of the Treaty would have conveyed to Maori people that amongst other things they were to be protected not only in the possession of their fishing grounds, but in the mana to control them and then in accordance with their own customs and having regard to their own cultural belief (in McCreanor, 1989:38).

In comparison, by 1840 the British notion of sovereignty had progressed to a territorial relationship between sovereign and country, or, in this case, colony, and away from the more personal relationship directly between sovereign and individual. The Queen of England's sovereignty (rangatiratanga), although possessing the attributes of mana, differs from the Maori interpretation, as the Queen displays no reciprocity between the Crown and the individual Maori in terms of his/her tribal status. The Queen does not act as a trustee for her people, as individuals or collectively. The sovereignty that the British considered was being ceded was parliamentary sovereignty, a concept unknown to Maori in 1840. Williams maintains that the Whig theory of consent, which underlies parliamentary sovereignty, did not apply as Maori did not initially have voting rights,¹¹ therefore they could not express

¹¹ Initially voting rights applied only to men holding individual titles to land. As Maori held land collectively, not individually, they did not qualify to vote. Later, as Maori began to acquire individual land titles, they were allocated four Maori seats in Parliament, thus reducing the potential for Maori to dominate politics, particularly in some parts of the country where the Maori population outstripped the Pakeha population.

either consent or dissent (Williams, 1991:190-191). More importantly, according to Williams, Maori, expressly, did not consent to parliamentary sovereignty as they had preserved tino rangatiratanga themselves, as stated in the Treaty/te Tiriti (Williams, 1991:191). Whatever Maori did cede it was not their own sovereignty. Maori sovereignty has been defined in a number of different ways. The most radical seek all non-Maori to return to the country of their origin and give Aotearoa back to Maori. Less extreme definitions still insist on a bicultural society for Aotearoa/New Zealand. (Biculturalism is a theme I shall return to and elaborate more fully in Chapter Two). Awatere describes Maori sovereignty thus:

Maori sovereignty is the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgment that New Zealand is Maori land and, further, seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society, one in which taha Maori receive an equal consideration with, and equally determine the course of this country as, taha Pakeha. It certainly demands an end to monoculturalism. (Awatere,1984:10).

The reactions of the participants to this research to the issue of Maori sovereignty will be analysed in Chapter Five.

Having located the motivation for this thesis and discussed some of the background, particularly the current issues which are causing a reconsideration of the implications of the Treaty/te Tiriti, with special emphasis on the question of sovereignty, I shall move on to describe the process and direction of the thesis.

Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter Two will begin with a brief analysis of ideology and its influence on political power. This will develop into a comparison of the three different definitions of equality and an explanation of how each of these reflect a competing ideology. A further expansion of the concept of ideology will examine the individual and structural explanations of inequality. The following discourse will demonstrate how the dominant ideology has produced a monocultural society in Aotearoa/New Zealand and consider how competing ideologies can challenge the dominant ideology. I shall, particularly, contrast tikanga Maori (Maori ideology), which stresses collective responsibility with the dominant ideology of Aotearoa/New Zealand which emphasises individual responsibility. This will lead into a contrast of biculturalism and multiculturalism as competing ideologies. An analysis of language and discourse will follow to demonstrate how the use of language can influence an ideological perspective. Further expansion on the use of language and ideology will introduce an examination of how attitudes and perceptions are formed, particularly our attitudes to the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti. The influence of family, school, the media and current Treaty/Tiriti issues will be the focus. These topics will be discussed again in Chapter Five when the research participants' responses are analysed. Chapter Two will end with a discussion on anti-racist education, particularly as it pertains to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Chapter Three will concentrate on the historical background leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, and an analysis of the wording of both the Treaty and te Tiriti, including the Maori and Pakeha interpretations of the wording with particular emphasis on the differences between *te tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*. As these terms are critical to the meaning of the Treaty/te Tiriti I shall record the participants' understanding of the terms *te tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga* in Chapter Five. Chapter Three will go on to evaluate the politics of the structural change that has occurred since the Treaty/te Tiriti and the impact these

have imposed on Maori. Finally an examination of the effectiveness of the newly created “principles of the Treaty” will be applied as a comparison to the actual Treaty/te Tiriti.

Chapter Four covers the methodology of this thesis which is within a feminist theoretical perspective. In this chapter I shall discuss the feminist framework, theory, methods and ethical considerations, while explaining how the concepts relating to feminist theory are applicable to ethnic research. Finally, in Chapter Four, I shall detail the research design, methods and ethical issues relating to the research for this thesis, with an emphasis on qualitative research methods.

Chapter Five will record the empirical data of my research into students’ attitudes to the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. Here I shall expand on the research methods discussed in the previous chapter, by describing the detail of the questionnaires, interviews and observations which were used to collect the data. The main thrust of this chapter will be to record the participants’ responses to the research tools.

Chapter Six will proceed to draw conclusions from the data that is recorded in the previous chapter. Here I shall compare the similarities and differences between the sample groups, leading to the conclusion that the process is equally as important as the content in education relating to the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the subsequent implications relating to New Zealanders’ perception of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Chapter Seven, as the final chapter, will bring together the various strands of the thesis under Fay’s framework for reconstruction which embodies a complex of systematically related theories. These consist of a theory of false consciousness, a theory of crisis, a theory of education and a theory of transformative action.

The Researcher - Placing Oneself in the Text

Feminists, among whom I count myself, challenge the assumption that traditional research is non-political and value free. Traditional theory maintains that facts and values should be kept separate (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:135) but, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Two, *facts* are already imbued with the values of the dominant power base. Society is structured as a result of the ideologies which have stemmed from the dominant power base. To the extent that these ideologies become accepted by society in general, they are taken as a given (Bryson, 1979: 89; Stanley and Wise, 1990: 39; Lather, 1986:439). Feminist research challenges these so-called *givens* by demonstrating that all research is political (Finch, 1984; Bell and Newby, 1976; Bryson, 1979). Consequently, feminist researchers maintain that, as traditional research methods can no longer be accepted as value free, it is more ethical for the researcher to acknowledge her/his partiality (Mies, 1983:122). Hence, in line with the ethical approach of feminist research methods, I shall complete this chapter by acknowledging my position.

I am a fourth-generation Pakeha New Zealander. I realise that many non-Maori New Zealanders reject the label “Pakeha” and this is a discussion I will revisit later. However, for me, being Pakeha is what defines me as a non-Maori New Zealander, one who was born here, whose roots are in this country and who has been influenced by the Aotearoa/New Zealand culture. My paternal great-grandfather arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand at nine months of age, coming with his parents from Tasmania, Australia. His grandfather had originated from the South-West of England. Unaccompanied, at twelve years of age, my paternal great-grandmother sailed from Norway to look for work as a domestic in New Zealand. She joined her brothers who were living in a Norwegian community in the Hawkes Bay. My maternal great-great-grandfather was a Russian sailor who jumped ship in Aotearoa/New Zealand and stayed to begin a new life. Not much is known about my maternal grandfather other than his family had originally come from Britain.

So who am I? Although I acknowledge my ancestry I do not identify myself as European. My culture is not English, Norwegian nor Russian. After several generations of my family living in Aotearoa/New Zealand and absorbing what that means, I am a Pakeha New Zealander. By using a Maori word to identify my ethnicity I implicitly acknowledge the influence that Maori (tangata whenua) have had in defining a native born New Zealander. My children, as well as inheriting my ancestry, also inherit the Nga Puhi whakapapa of their father. As a Pakeha New Zealander, I believe it is essential that we understand the bicultural nature of our country and that we all work towards making this a reality. This is what gives us a unique identity as a separate nation in the rest of the world.

Chapter Two: Ideology and Political Power

*"When I use a word," said Humpty-Dumpty,
"it means exactly what I choose it to mean,
neither more nor less."*

Lewis Carroll.

Introduction

Chapter One located the rationale for this thesis and outlined the preview of the following chapters to indicate the way in which this thesis will progress. In Chapter Two I shall illustrate how the dominant ideology can influence the way society perceives the situation and events around us and therefore how that can influence our attitudes towards those situations. New Zealanders' perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi today are likely to be influenced by ideology. However, most people do not realise that what is "obvious" or the "right" way, is so only because a particular ideology has been applied long enough for society in general to believe it is natural. Here I shall discuss the concept of ideology, its concern with the nature of ideas, how those ideas are viewed within society, and how the dominant ideology at any particular time can be challenged and resisted by other groups with competing ideologies. In particular I will compare the dominant Pakeha ideology which influences much of our society in Aotearoa/New Zealand with the recent challenge that is coming from Maori ideology.

One of the themes of this thesis is to explore how this recent challenge by Maori has swayed our attitudes, either by convincing some people of its relevance or by the vigorous resistance by other New Zealanders, who base their attitudes on the current dominant ideology of Western capitalism. This begins with brief analysis of ideology and its influence on political power, followed by a comparison of the three different definitions of equality and an explanation of how each of these reflect a competing ideology. This will be further expanded to an examination of the individual and structural explanations of inequality. I shall then elaborate on how the dominant ideology has produced a monocultural society in Aotearoa/New Zealand and

consider how competing ideologies can challenge the dominant ideology. I shall particularly contrast tikanga Maori (Maori ideology), which stresses collective responsibility with the dominant ideology of Aotearoa/New Zealand which currently emphasises individual responsibility. The resistance of people who support the dominant ideology, to incorporate tikanga Maori into the power structure, is frequently displayed by the support of multiculturalism at the expense of biculturalism. The discussion on biculturalism and multiculturalism introduces an analysis of language and discourse to demonstrate how the use of language can uphold an ideological perspective. Further expansion on the use of language and ideology will introduce an exploration of how attitudes and perceptions are formed, particularly our attitudes to the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti. The focus here will be the influence of family, school and the media. Finally, in Chapter Two I shall demonstrate how critical theory can be applied to anti-racist education, before discussing the development of anti-racist education in Aotearoa/New Zealand over recent years. First, however, I shall move to a discussion on the concept of ideology.

Ideology

Economic, social and political powers have existed universally throughout history, supported and legitimised by the prevailing ideology in society (George, 1988:43). What is ideology? Ideology, as a concept, is only 200 years old, stemming from the social, political and intellectual changes of the Industrial Revolution (McLellan, 1995:2). According to McLellan *ideologies are the result of the interests of rival groups in a pluralist society* (McLellan, 1995:2). Ideology had both a German and a French origin (McLellan, 1995:5). The ideas of Hegel (McLellan, 1995:6) strongly influenced Marx, whose perjorative interpretation of ideology included two elements. First, according to Marx, ideology was related to idealism, which in turn was negatively contrasted with materialism. Marx concluded that a materialist view of the world was necessarily the only correct view. Secondly, the unequal distribution of resources and power was always related to a questionable ideology (McLellan, 1995:9).¹ Mannheim

¹ For further discussion refer to McLellan (1995) Chapters 2 and 3.

departs from the Marxist position by turning Marxism against itself. He concludes that all thoughts about ideology are ideological.

As long as someone does not call his own position into question but regards it as absolute, while interpreting his opponents' ideas as a mere function of the social positions they occupy, the decisive step forward has not yet been taken...In contrast to this formulation, the general form of the total conception of ideology is being used by the analyst when he has the courage of subjecting not just the adversary's point of view but all points of view, including his own, to the ideological analysis (McLellan, 1995:38).

Post World War Two American thought on ideology frequently placed it in opposition to science. Science was considered to be value free. However, more recent discussion challenges the assumption that science is value free (McLellan, 1995 :57). Although the concept of ideology is now generally accepted, the understanding of what ideology comprises has been challenged over time. Ideology is concerned with the nature of ideas and the way society views the ideas that are within society. It is concerned with what the ideas are, where they come from and how they are developed.

Alongside this concern is another concern for the way society is structured as a result of these ideas and the connection this has with political forces or power within society. To the extent that the dominant ideas are accepted by the population as in the “public interest” or “common good,” the interests of the dominant power base are frequently protected at the expense of other less powerful interests, but this occurs in a manner that camouflages their political interests as those of the general population (Abercrombie, 1988:119). Generally accepted ideology that has political overtones can be advanced by the dominant interest group's greater access to power and structures such as the media, which allow it to disseminate the views it wishes to push upon the rest of the population. Hence, the interests of those with both political and economic

power are expounded, not only at the expense of other less powerful interests but also at the expense of the public being fully informed and therefore preventing more informed judgements.

When judgements are made without all the relevant information they are, necessarily, based on the information received, which is ideologically and politically based. This ideology is incorporated into the legal structures on which society is based which therefore legitimises the ideology. If we, as New Zealanders, are not educated about our history, we do not have all the relevant facts to make informed judgments on the challenge that is coming from Maori. To what extent would our perceptions of the current Treaty/Tiriti issues change if we had more knowledge on this subject before forming opinions?

Nevertheless, the dominant ideology can be and, at different times, is challenged by other groups who are largely disadvantaged by the prevailing ideology and, as such, seek change. The dominant ideology in Aotearoa/New Zealand since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 has been that of the white, capitalist male, whose support of individual responsibility and the free market is at odds with Maori beliefs and the Maori ideology respecting collective responsibility.

The dominant ideology comes from political power. Political power has a major impact on the whole of society. It is political power that incorporates and legitimises the societal structures that lead to economic and social power for some groups and economic and social inequality for others. Rather than the capitalist society being based on economic considerations, it is initially the political power of capitalists which instigates and legitimises the capitalist economic structure which works to the economic and social advantage of capitalists and ultimately creates economic and social inequalities for some other members of society. It is pertinent at this point, therefore, to explore the varying definitions of equality, as the individual and structural explanations for inequality are linked to an understanding of the accepted

stance on the concept of equality. In turn the various definitions of equality stem from competing ideologies.

Definitions of Equality

The concept of inequality has been challenged by western society only since the eighteenth century with the Industrial, American and French Revolutions (Cheyne et al, 1997:60). This challenge to the acceptance of inequality coincides with the inception of the concept of ideology. Prior to these events there was a general acceptance of status based mainly on birth and a corresponding ideological acceptance that people were *not* equal in society. The development of social democratic politics, fuelled by a shift in the ideological stance, created a greater awareness of equality and inequality in society, which led to a move towards a more egalitarian society, particularly through the 1950s to the 1970s. Since the early 1980s, Aotearoa/New Zealand (and other western societies), have experienced an ideological shift back to the responsibility of the individual, promoted by capitalists, as being in the interests of the Aotearoa/New Zealand economy and by inference all New Zealanders (the “public interest”) to conceal the greater interest of capitalists themselves.

Definitions of equality are not necessarily viewed in the same way. Three different perspectives can be identified:(i) equality of treatment, (ii) equality of opportunity and (iii) equality of result (or outcome) (Cheyne et al, 1997:60-61). These are examples of competing ideologies as will be demonstrated through the following discussion. The first perspective, equal treatment, means that all members of society have the same rights and are treated identically in the eyes of the law. The “level playing field,” so frequently referred to in recent years by Aotearoa/New Zealand politicians, is an example of equal treatment and is becoming part of the current ideology expounded by politicians and capitalists. The level playing field approach assumes that we all start from the same position, consequently no-one should be given preference over the rest of society. Those who support the ideological stance

promoting equal treatment do not acknowledge that we do not all compete from the same starting point, nor that this means everyone in society does not have an equal shot at life's chances.

The second perspective of equality, equal opportunity, refers to a situation where the same conditions are available for everybody to compete under. This may mean that unequal treatment is necessary first to achieve equal opportunity so that the competition is fair. This, however, will not necessarily bring equal results. The third perspective, that of equal results, means that everyone can achieve the same outcome. Here equality, as a concept in social policy, may be defined as people in society being able to enjoy the same level of well-being. This infers that any disadvantages individuals may have in achieving this level of well-being are removed. To realise equal results may require ethnic, gender or class specific approaches.

Each of these approaches to equality is achieved only with some form of discrimination against the others. Equal treatment does not lead to equal opportunity or equal results. Equal opportunity means unequal treatment for some and is not likely to lead to equal results. Equal results occurs only when equal treatment and equal opportunities are compromised. As the concept of equality has different interpretations when applied to different ideological and political perspectives, it is obvious that the explanation of inequality will also have different interpretations. I want now to consider two explanations of inequality, namely the individual explanation and the structural explanation, each of which emanate from different ideological stances.

The Individual and Structural Explanations of Inequality

The individual/structural continuum gives explanations of inequality that relate to the individual at one end and the structural at the other end of the continuum. The individual explanation of inequality can be seen in two parts:(i) the behaviour of the individual (or a pathological explanation) and (ii) the life style of the individual or

group. Although these are two distinct explanations of individual inequality they do tend to merge and feed off each other. The behavioural explanation is based on the individual's lack of responsibility for himself/herself through laziness, weakness, lack of motivation and the inability to handle financial management (George and Howards, 1991:96). This may, but not necessarily, lead to a culture of poverty, whereby, it is maintained, that the lifestyle of the poor is indoctrinated into their children and handed down from one generation to the next to become part of the culture of the group (Holman, 1978:105-108). The individual explanation, therefore, construes inequality as a lack of motivation to improve oneself through education and application or failure to accept the attitudes of the rest of society. The ideology that legitimises the individual explanation of inequality is an acceptance by society that some groups are unequal because of their individual weaknesses, laziness and lack of motivation.

This may be seen in the libertarian concept of equality, which is one of equal treatment, particularly in the eyes of the law. The libertarian ideology, much of which has become the dominant ideology in Aotearoa/New Zealand today, considers that pursuit of equality means a compromise in his/her top priority of freedom. According to this ideology, if individuals are not motivated enough to benefit from their equal rights under the law, this should be interpreted as a lack in their own behaviour or character and not the fault of the structure of society at large. The administration of the colonial imperialistic state from the mid nineteenth century in Aotearoa/New Zealand fostered this ideological view. The individual is therefore responsible for his/her own actions and bears the consequences (both positive and negative) of his/her individual choices without interference from others, including the state. Inequality is accepted as an inevitable state, not to be modified by structural changes which redistribute resources and wealth, as this removes the incentive for the individual to improve himself/herself. Over the last decade this definition of equality has been favoured in contrast to the more egalitarian approach through the previous years, which had favoured the equal opportunity persuasion and at times have

advanced to the equal results notion. Upton represents the current individual responsibility approach with the following quote:

If the individual is thus the author of his own misfortunes (or successes) then there is a strong incentive to stress the need for personal virtues and conduct which will win the approval of other individuals (Upton, 1987:14).

The libertarian ideology was established in an historical and cultural location of western paternalism and saw rights and freedoms in the terms of a white capitalist male experience in society. The political and economic structures that are based on this ideology automatically ignore the experiences of different interests, such as ethnic, gender and class interests, allowing only the freedom to compete on the same terms as the white, male capitalist. The power base of capitalists is therefore stronger, as it is the capitalist ideology that is used to form economic, political and social structures to their own advantage. Judgments made within this structural context must inevitably be influenced by the ideological and political factors that are part of the make up of that society, and have been legitimised within the capitalist structure. To achieve equality of outcome the whole structure needs to be changed to one that includes the values of groups other than white, male capitalists. Conflicting ethnic, gender and class values must be included, equally, into the power structures and ideology of society.

At the other end of the individual/structural continuum, the structural explanation of inequality emphasises that inequality exists, not because of the individual's shortcomings, but because of the structures of society and is an inevitable feature of domination and powerlessness, especially identified along the lines of ethnicity, gender and class. (It is the structural explanation of inequality which is recognised, by some, to account for the negative statistics for Maori in relation to Pakeha as are elaborated in Chapter Three). The colonial imperialism, which has been imposed on

Maori society since the signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti, ignored the structure and culture of Maori in preference to the imported British culture. The colonial attitudes of assumed superiority overrode all notions of a partnership between Maori and Pakeha, assuming instead a paternalistic approach towards Maori. The colonial government proceeded to control the political and legal system by appropriating sovereignty and adopting British law and customs, while at the same time dismissing Maori custom as uncivilised. Within this system Maori soon became disenfranchised in their own land. Even the basis of equal treatment within the law was initially denied them, in situations such as gaining access to capital, in order to compete fairly with Pakeha in the fishing industry. Aotearoa/New Zealand became a monocultural society, with the stated aim of assimilating Maori into the mainstream European culture.

However, the ideology of the dominant power base is challenged over time by other sectors of society in the pursuit of justice. In this way, ideology is not constant but is contested by groups or individuals with alternative ideologies (Turner, 1986:97). Although these challenges have come from many sources including feminists, socialists, and environmentalists to name a few, it is particularly the challenge from Maori that I will concentrate on here. There is currently a resurgence in the challenge to the Pakeha (particularly the white, male, capitalist) ideology on which the political, legal, economic and social structures of Aotearoa/New Zealand society have been based since the Treaty of Waitangi/ te Tiriti o Waitangi. Later in this chapter I shall discuss the push for, and implications of, a bicultural society and the parallel acknowledgment of a multicultural society. Prior to that I shall discuss Maori ideology or tikanga Maori, before exploring racism as an ideology.

Nga Tikanga Maori

The ideology of Maori is identified by the generally accepted customs of Maori (tikanga Maori). Rather than the European ideology which emphasises the rights of the individual, Maori ideology is based on the collective benefits of the whanau

(extended family). The whanau included three generations; the elders (grandparents) and their adult children who, with their spouses and children, lived together as a unit, making decisions together for the common good (Walker, 1990:63). The whanau was generally economically self-sufficient, although the hapu (sub-tribe) was the main political unit, which both defended its territory against others and maintained political alliances with related hapu to ensure mutual protection against other iwi (tribes) (Walker, 1990:64). Members of the hapu would also co-operate economically to produce capital assets such as fortifications, meeting houses and canoes, and to combine on large scale fishing operations to gather food. The major political goal was always the survival and prosperity of the group and individual success was measured in terms of communal success (Mulgan, 1989:58). Decisions affecting the hapu (or iwi) were made collectively, following discussion and debate which included all members. There was an emphasis on consent and consensus in reaching decisions which would satisfy the need for maintaining the unity of the group (Mulgan, 1989:58-59). This is in opposition to the Pakeha decision-making practice of majority rule, rather than by consensus.

Greenland discusses the manner in which ethnicity and culture are embedded in politics.

Ethnicity provides the paradigm within which political actors work, culture, the raw materials, and ideology the political fare (Greenland, 1991:93).

In discussing the ideology of current radical Maori, Greenland maintains that the spiritual past is included. He identifies land as the connection between the past and future, as land has both material and emotional significance. Land, as turangawaewae (a place to stand) formed the basis of Maori society. The alienation of Maori land, through Pakeha political processes based on Pakeha ideology, has led to many of the social and economic ills experienced by Maori today. The second ideological stance

of radical Maori today is that of positive ethnic consciousness as a step towards ethnic nationhood, self-determination, sovereignty and biculturalism, in place of the Pakeha ideology of integration and assimilation as part of their equal rights approach to individualism (Greenland, 1991:98-100).

Winiata, in the 1988 Aotearoa/New Zealand Planning Council Conference “Pakeha Perspectives on the Treaty,” also identified different ideological stances between Maori and Pakeha. He referred to these as *tikanga* Maori and *tikanga* Pakeha. Examples he cited of differences between the two *tikanga* included decision making, legal, political, and economic (Winiata, 1988:70-72). Decision making for Maori, as I have previously mentioned, was based on a consensus approach of all members of the *hapu* or *iwi*, frequently following a long debate. In comparison Pakeha make decisions by majority rule. Pakeha decisions are based on the majority decision of the people present, who may not necessarily be a majority of the people. I shall move on to the remaining differences discussed by Winiata.

One aspect of legal difference relates to the view of gift. The Pakeha view is that a gift has no obligation attached to it but Maori have the opposite understanding of a gift. They believe that gifts are made to create a future obligation. This has implications for the legal ownership status of land that was originally gifted to a particular person for a particular purpose. By the laws relating to Pakeha ideology he has legal ownership but by Maori ideology he does not. When only one *tikanga* is applied in the creation of the law, at the expense of the other *tikanga*, there is bound to be misunderstanding, resentment and inequality of outcome. Recent events illustrating this difference can be seen in the Tainui Maori Trust requesting the return of two greenstone mere (clubs) which were originally “gifted” to the Duke of Windsor when he visited Aotearoa/New Zealand as the Prince of Wales, in anticipation of his becoming king. According to Maori *tikanga*, the mere should have been returned to New Zealand, and specifically to Tainui, on Edward’s abdication and the mere should not have been part of the Windsor estate to be sold off. The third

difference, which Winiata identifies as political, relates particularly to the voting system. According to tikanga Maori, Maori should be on the electoral roll and vote in the area from which they originate and where whanau or iwi links have relevance but, in line with tikanga Pakeha, they can only vote where they are currently living, although they may have no iwi ties in that location (Winiata, 1988:71).

The ideology that would incorporate tikanga Maori into our political, economic and social structures would create very different structures from those which are applied through the libertarian ideology currently in practice in New Zealand. The equal acceptance of the two ideologies would go far towards creating a truly bicultural society. To achieve equal outcomes, social structures, relationships and organisations need to be changed so that Maori experiences are part of those structures and their past, cumulative disadvantages are eradicated. There is a need to redesign the power structures and ethics to ensure they are acceptable to both Maori and Pakeha. As beliefs, institutions and social intercourse have changed during different historical and cultural periods, so now we need to go through another metamorphosis of social, institutional and political processes, to reach a new way of thinking and include both Maori and Pakeha in the power creating process. The monocultural society which has evolved from the colonial imperialism of our past is an example of the ideology of racism, to which I shall now turn.

Racism as Ideology

Some critics of the Marxist tradition such as Cox, (see Gabriel and Ben-Tovim, 1978; Miles, 1980, in Miles, 1984 :224) maintain that Marx's interpretation of "race" and "race relations" in terms of economics and the division between the working class and the ruling class is inadequate. Miles considers the terms "race" and "race relations" are ideological in themselves and used to identify certain groups of people who are considered to be different and therefore a "problem." (Miles, 1984:224). Within the historical context of colonial expansion, the assumption that Western nations were superior was automatically matched against other groups of people,

(referred to as races) being, necessarily, inferior. Scientific analysis at the time reinforced this idea based on physical differences. However, Miles states that scientific analysis was carried out within the *givens* of the individual and collective consciousness of the time and therefore perpetuated the ideological stance. Miles believes:

there can only [be] an explanation of [race and race relations] for each instance in which social relations are understood ideologically by means of the idea of race (Miles, 1984:225).

The ideology of “race” and racism became more prevalent with the development of capitalism, as this brought contact between Western nations and other “races” in the world. However according to Miles *this contact was neither equal nor neutral* (Miles, 1984:225). Class positions depended on “race,” these different class positions being reproduced throughout the generations by the system that created them and culminating in disadvantage to non-European “races.” The consequences of this cumulative disadvantage were (and still are) cited as material evidence of the inferiority of some racial groups (Nairn, 1989:79). One instance where this reproduction of different class positions can be seen in Maori/Pakeha relations is in the way the education system was established in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the nineteenth century to create different classes according to “race.” The Native Schools, set up by the state, taught a curriculum which not only excluded Maori language, customs and traditional knowledge but also generally restricted Maori knowledge to basic reading, writing and simple arithmetic, concentrating on manual training and agricultural skills for the boys and domestic training for the girls (Miles, 1984:236). Hence, it became inevitable that Maori filled mainly low skilled, manual occupations, reinforcing the ideology that the British were a superior “race” and therefore justifying the colonial imperialistic attitudes imposed on Maori.

Miles refers to the accepted concept of racism being driven by a combination of economic, political and ideological notions. However, the continuation of specific economic and political processes can only occur within the continuing predominant ideology that supports these processes. Just as other ideologies are contested by different groups over time, racism, as ideology, has changed over time and in different contexts (see Hall, 1978 in Miles 1984:226; Pearson, 1991:195). The ideology, which supported the colonial imperialism of early Aotearoa/New Zealand history, explains much of the monoculturalism experienced in New Zealand. As a challenge to the monocultural society that Aotearoa/New Zealand has experienced for over one hundred and fifty years the thrust for a bicultural society has been debated over recent years. However, this debate has been clouded by a simultaneous push for a multicultural society. It is pertinent at this point to move to a discussion on the differences between and implications of biculturalism and multiculturalism especially as they pertain to New Zealand.

Biculturalism and Multiculturalism

Since the 1970s there has been a debate concerning biculturalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Spoonley, 1993:91). There are a variety of still evolving definitions as to what constitutes a bicultural society but, fundamental to all definitions, is the notion of establishing a society where Maori and Pakeha have equal standing, rather than one being dominated by the other. This requires a partnership between Maori and Pakeha where authority and decision making are shared. There is debate also about the degree of power sharing. Should it be according to population size or should it be fifty per cent? From past experience a democratic view of power sharing will always put Maori at a disadvantage and render them unable to affect many decisions as they are a minority of the population. Therefore, from my perspective, this power sharing needs to be fifty/fifty. A bicultural society in Aotearoa/New Zealand would require all of our institutions to change to allow for equal input from the Maori perspective.

Biculturalism acknowledges that there are only two “ethnic” groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand, who are bound by the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, which obliges both Maori and Pakeha to negotiate a partnership and power sharing that is equitable for both (Spoonley, 1993:93). One stumbling block for this is that biculturalism requires that both partners have a knowledge of their own ethnic identity. While this expectation may be comfortable and attainable for Maori it is less so for Pakeha. The majority of Pakeha do not actively identify themselves with any ethnicity or culture of their own (Spoonley, 1993:94-95). Instead Pakeha see themselves as the norm from which other ethnic groups differ. Therefore, Pakeha need to understand themselves before they can feel confident about their own ethnicity and are then able to react positively to the assertion of Maori ethnicity and equal power sharing.

Many Pakeha have avoided the bicultural debate by advocating instead for a multicultural society for Aotearoa/New Zealand. Spoonley considers that multiculturalism is a soft option politically because it emphasises the plurality of cultural difference and mutual tolerance, but avoids the hard reality of racial oppression and the question of eliminating institutional racism. Especially, the multicultural option allows the State to avoid the question of power sharing between the Treaty/te Tiriti partners (Spoonley, 1993:93). *The State Sector Act, 1988* brought biculturalism into focus to become an official government policy (Kelsey, 1996:185). Guidelines on how to become bicultural were distributed to all government departments and targets for this were required to be included in each department’s corporate plan and each school’s charter. Discussion concerning biculturalism increased while this activity was developed but the fundamental question of sharing State power with Maori was avoided. Kelsey cites Durie’s observation that the unresolved issue was:

whether their Maori policies and programmes are conceptualised on the basis of Maori as a disadvantaged minority or as tangata

whenua with constitutional guarantees in terms of some autonomy and residual sovereignty (Durie in Kelsey, 1996:186).

While other ethnic minorities may think that a bicultural society may marginalise them further, this is not the case. The primary issue for Maori and Pakeha to resolve is the bicultural issue, which is about the sharing of power between the two Treaty/Tiriti partners. Only when that has been resolved satisfactorily should the multicultural aspect be considered.

Language and Discourse

I have shown above how the term multicultural can be used to deflect a serious discussion on the bicultural debate, while at the same time, appearing to be accommodating to the needs of society. Here the use of language in a particular way manages to avoid the real issue. The language of the English text of the Treaty of Waitangi has, until recently, been assumed to be the official version although it contains different meanings from the Maori text, te Tiriti o Waitangi, which was the version signed and understood by the majority of Maori. (A deeper discussion of these differences will be given in Chapter Three). Later in this chapter also I shall show how language can be used in literature to intimate positive and negative connotations and thereby influence perceptions.

Poststructuralism is a late twentieth century movement which takes a critical view of established philosophical and political traditions. Feminists have taken a number of poststructuralist terms and applied them to their own theories. These include *language discourse, difference and deconstruction* (Scott, 1988:34-38). Structuralist linguistics use language to mean more than words and grammar but a *meaning constituting system*. As Scott states:

The analysis of language provides a crucial point of entry, a starting point for understanding how social relationships are conceived...and how collective identity is established (Scott, 1988:34).

Poststructuralists argue that words have no intrinsic meaning but have acquired a normative connotation which is related to the historical, social and cultural conditions under which they arose (Scott, 1988:34). Scott goes on to explain that discourse is the way history, society and institutions have influenced the meaning behind the statements, terms, categories and beliefs and given them a power which is attached to the disciplines, professional organisations, institutions and social relationships to become legitimate *truths* which are self evident and beyond dispute. To question any of these *truths* we need to challenge existing ways of thinking (Scott, 1988:36).

The concept of difference in poststructural analysis demonstrates that meaning is made through contrast. The positive is given meaning through the negative contrasted against it. For example the contrast of masculine/feminine illustrates a meaning that is unrelated to gender and becomes linked with a cultural understanding of the relationships between men and women. The contrasted pairs take on an hierarchical structure where the first one is dominant and the other subordinate. To overcome this effect of meaning it is necessary to *deconstruct* them, which is accomplished by first reversing and then displacing the contrasted pairs of words or terms. This demonstrates that the order, and subsequently power given is not natural but constructed for a particular purpose or political or social relationship. In the same way, the contrast of Maori/Pakeha illustrate a meaning that is unrelated to ethnicity. The resistance of many non-Maori New Zealanders to identify themselves as Pakeha may be connected to this construction of hierarchy through language. Any reference to Pakeha is construed with an understanding that it is compared to Maori. In this situation Maori is seen as being the dominant factor, to which Pakeha is compared. Hence Maori is seen to be the norm and Pakeha is subordinate or the “other.” This goes against the predominant Pakeha ideology which considers the British system, which we have inherited, along with all

the language that reinforces this attitude, to be superior, the norm, not the “other.” Hence, the reluctance of some white New Zealanders to refer to themselves as Pakeha. Other reasons given for not accepting the term Pakeha arise from the fact that *Pakeha* is a Maori, not English, word and some New Zealanders have expressed a reluctance to have their identity described by a “foreign” word (Bell, Avril, 1996:144).

Attitudes and Perceptions - where do they come from?

In the above discussion I demonstrated how language can reinforce the current, dominant ideology by giving words meanings that are not intrinsically attached to them. The way in which language is used, therefore, influences the perceptions of society in general. I shall now consider how other influences can affect our perceptions and attitudes to the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Family and Friends

The influence of family, in terms of our understandings and beliefs, is considerable. Within the family we first begin to see the world and the various relationships that people have with each other. We tend to see the world first the way our parents see the world, and therefore our parents’ perceptions rub off on us. Although the generation of children who were born in the 1980s or later have grown up in a society that displays more Maori/Pakeha conflict than was apparent before this time, and are partly influenced by what they hear around them in the wider society, the attitudes of their parents and grandparents are still echoed (Spoonley, 1988:1). Meffin also observes that the views of her seventh form history students tend to be conservative, reflecting the views of their parents (Legat, 1996:76).

Friends also play a role in influencing one’s attitudes to a variety of domains, including the Treaty/te Tiriti and the current Maori issues. On the whole we tend to choose friends who reflect our own views on a number of issues. Within their peer group many people do not want to be seen expressing different views, particularly on contentious topics, in case they lose their position in the group. Although some of the participants in the research for this thesis said their friends held a variety of views and these views

were debated openly, a number of participants admitted that they would not speak out if they had different opinions from their friends on the Treaty/te Tiriti. Moreover some of these participants would publicly expound the views of their friends, rather than be seen to be different.

School

If we are to make informed judgments on the relevance of the Treaty o Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and the current Maori issues we need to have an accurate understanding of our history. School is the place where we should be learning our history but, unlike other nations such as America, we are not taught the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand in a comprehensive way. What has been taught in the past is an account of history which justifies the colonialistic perspective. Maori resistance to Pakeha forcibly taking their land has been recorded in history as the Maori wars, with Maori portrayed as the aggressor and Pakeha as the victim. We have been taught that the Treaty (not te Tiriti) was signed in Waitangi on February 6th 1840, making us “one people.” We have not learned the understandings of Maori at the time of signing the Treaty/te Tiriti. As well, the history books we learned from used language that confirmed New Zealanders’ perceptions of Maori as “uncivilised.” According to our history books, Maori “massacred” while Pakeha “killed” (Spoonley, 1988:11). The different verbs express different moral connotations, depicting Maori as the aggressors and Pakeha merely defending themselves, when for the most part, the opposite is the reality. What little of our history that was taught has been used to confirm prejudices rather than to enlighten students.

Today Aotearoa/New Zealand secondary schools teach some Aotearoa/New Zealand history in the third and fourth forms. However, Simon cites her study of the teaching of Social Studies in the 1980s where she found very few children were receiving any education on the conflict between Maori and Pakeha (Simon in Bell, Avril, 1986:152). History is no longer a compulsory subject for students with probably less than one-third of fifth formers studying history, the numbers dropping further with each succeeding year (Legat, 1996:75). Over the last few years seventh form history has

become the one school subject where an indepth understanding of nineteenth century Aotearoa/New Zealand history is taught. However, by this stage of students' education many have already left school. Of those who do complete a seventh form year, only 33% take history at Auckland Grammar and probably a smaller percentage at other secondary schools (Legat, 1996:75). In the research for this thesis I found that, apart from two Maori participants who had learned their history from home, the only participants who had any knowledge of the history of the Treaty/te Tiriti had learned it in seventh form history. Without exception they expressed that they had been astounded by what they had learned in seventh form history and it had changed the way they looked at the Treaty/te Tiriti issues. Unfortunately, the majority of our students do not study seventh form history.

There are now a number of informative scholarly books on the subject available for New Zealanders to read and learn for themselves the reality of our history, but according to Legat, it was Stuart C. Scott's "The Travesty of Waitangi," often inaccurate and, at the least, a selectively negative account of Maori relations since 1840, that became a bestseller in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1995 (Legat, 1996:73). This says much about how New Zealanders seek to have their prejudices confirmed rather than to be informed on this subject.

The Media

The media is a powerful tool which can be used to inform or influence the public. According to Ken Mair, people normally obtain their perceptions of Maori issues from the media (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:238). Unfortunately, the perceptions people gain from the media are likely to be biased towards Pakeha, with the majority of news sources coming from white males representing institutions (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:238). McGregor (1996:238-239) cites a study conducted at Massey University examining nearly a decade of news. The ethnicity of those news sources indicated the following - TV One News:85.6% Pakeha sources, 8.1% Maori sources, 6.3% Other sources; TV3 News:86.6% Pakeha sources, 6.3% Maori sources, 7.8% Other sources.

In the broadcast news (radio) of the 176 Maori stories broadcast, out of 916 stories coded, 126 were from *Mana News*, leaving only 6.3% of the sample as Maori stories on mainstream news (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:239). Content analysis of two newspapers indicated similar outcomes. When researching both hard and soft news of the day in Wellington's the *Dominion* and Palmerston North's *Evening Standard* over the months of June and July 1993, Maori news accounted for 1.6% of the total news content in June 1993 and 1.6% in July 1993 (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:240). We can see from this study that all three media outlets gave little attention to Maori news.

To make matters worse those stories which did relate to news concerning Maori were more inclined to be slanted against Maori. McGregor and Te Awa criticise the inflammatory nature of the mainstream reporting of Maori news (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:235-237) and cite American media commentators, Wilson and Gutierrez who describe the five development stages of the coverage of ethnic news. These include: (i) exclusionary, (ii) threatening issue, (iii) confrontation, (iv) stereotypical selection, and (v) integrated coverage (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:242-243). The first four stages are regularly observed in the Aotearoa/New Zealand media, simultaneously instead of chronologically (McGregor and Te Awa, 1996:245).

In the 1990s the total dissemination of Maori news has grown, but this is the result of the development of separate Maori media outlets, such as Maori newspapers *Kia Hiwa Ra*, *Te Maori News*, the Maori magazine *Mana* and the establishment of iwi radio stations. According to Walker, *Mana News*, which is broadcast on both iwi stations and Aotearoa/New Zealand on Air.:

... is a positive step toward equality between Maori and Pakeha and will gradually move mainstream thinking away from the "them" and "us" syndrome. This movement needs to be replicated in the medium of television, as much for the health of the nation as for equality

between Maori and Pakeha (Walker in McGregor and TeAwa, 1996:244).

Maori news on television is frequently aired in dead time. Te Karere, late afternoon weekdays on TV One is often displaced for sports. Marae is on Sunday mornings when only the committed watch. Therefore, even when the mainstream media outlets do broadcast quality Maori news programmes, simultaneously they marginalise it.

The discussion above illustrates how all forms of mainstream media are likely to reinforce prejudices rather than enlighten the public with any depth of background information on Maori issues. The majority of those media outlets that provide a positive approach to Maori concerns tend to be disseminating their information mainly to Maori. Thus, the information is marginalised rather than reaching the general public. In Chapter Four I shall discuss further the difficulty of by-passing the gatekeepers who influence what information is available to the general public. The data presented in Chapter Five will demonstrate how the messages received from the media have influenced students' perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Anti-Racist Education

Throughout this thesis, if not explicitly at least implicitly, I am acknowledging the racism that has been expressed at individual, cultural and institutional levels. In Chapter Three I shall describe the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty /te Tiriti and explain how the subsequent events, which were set in motion by the colonial Government, were in fact racist. The institutions and laws that were developed were based on the British assumption that the ideology which shaped the British system was superior to the ideology which shaped the Maori system. As a result, the partnership that Maori expected never eventuated. Pakeha did not envisage sharing power. Earlier in this chapter I discussed the concept of a bicultural society for Aotearoa/New Zealand. Before Pakeha are ready to accept a truly bicultural society they must be able

to confront the ways in which racism occurs in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In other words, Pakeha need to understand the so called *givens* in our society that represent racist attitudes. To continue with the status quo, without question and without consideration for the Maori perspective, is to perpetuate the racism currently in Aotearoa/New Zealand society. Anti-racist education is an important component in the attitudinal changes that are necessary for the shift towards a bicultural society.

Spoonley (1993:79-80) distinguished between pluralist (multicultural or bicultural) education and anti-racist education. Pluralist education is concerned with the teaching of another culture in an academic sense that is often removed from the reality of the students' lives, and which fails to challenge the dominant cultural values, leaving them invisible (Spoonley, 1993:79). Thus, pluralist education tends to reinforce the dominant culture as the norm, thereby reinforcing educational racism. Taha Maori, as an example of bicultural education in schools, attempts to teach children something about Maori culture without addressing taha Pakeha in the same way. Hence taha Maori is seen to be separated from the norm. Maori frequently comment that taha Maori is for Pakeha, not for Maori. In comparison anti-racist education explicitly seeks to address the negative attitudes and prejudices which support the dominant culture and which, in turn, are emphasised by the dominant ideology. It is pertinent at this point to discuss the ideas behind critical theory and demonstrate how these can be applied to anti-racist education.

Critical social science² is an attempt to understand the oppressive features of a society and to use this understanding to change society (Fay, 1987:4). Critical social science is based on the assumption that the social crisis it studies stems partly from the false-consciousness of (some) members of that society, that false consciousness is amenable to education, and that removal of this false consciousness can lead to

² Fay cites two meanings for the commonly used term critical theory. He prefers to call the focus of his work "critical social science" to represent a metatheory of social science. See Fay (1987) for elaboration on this point. For the purpose of this thesis I shall continue to use the term "critical theory."

fundamental changes in the social structure (Fay, 1987:45). Fay's theory of false consciousness demonstrates the ways in which the self-understandings of people are false. Accordingly, this can also be called an *ideology-critique*, as it explains why people have these self-understandings and how they are maintained, then contrasts them with an alternative, superior self-understanding (Fay, 1987:31).

Before Pakeha can deal with resolving Maori concerns in a rational manner they need an accurate understanding of the historical events which are the base for Maori protest today. This requires a willingness on the part of the Pakeha to understand the racism that is inherent from our colonial past (Spoonley, 1993:10). However, there is a need to understand more than just the historical facts. Concomitantly, there is a need to understand the perceptions and ideology of the colonial Government, which established society in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and to understand the effect this is still having on Aotearoa/New Zealand today. This false consciousness is the *givens* of the dominant ideologies since the signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti, prevailing to the extent that, in many cases, Pakeha do not even realise that our society is based on racist perceptions. However, anti-racist education may reduce or eliminate this false consciousness so new self understandings can be formed, based on the current hidden knowledge.

Fay refers to two examples where critical theory has been used to achieve this. He contends that Marxism was an attempt to understand capitalism in a scientific way so that this understanding would be instrumental in overthrowing the capitalist system (Fay, 1987:4). Fay cites Marx' definition of critical theory with his statement:

Heretofore the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however, is to change it (Marx in Fay, 1987:4).

Contemporary feminist theory can also be classified as a critical theory (Smith & Noble & Spruell; 1986, Fay, 1987). Feminist theory, which I shall discuss more fully in Chapter Four, is devoted to achieving profound and broad change in society, based on altered self understandings that arise from examining the origin and nature of power relations between men and women. The changes that have come from feminist theory and the women's liberation movement represent a successful example of the application of critical theory. Similarly, critical theory can be used to achieve change in society, based on an altered self understandings that arise from examining the origin and nature of power relations between Maori and Pakeha.

Fay states that for any theory to be useful it needs to be scientific, in the sense of providing a clear picture of the problem, be critical, in the sense of offering a negative evaluation of the current state of affairs, and practical, in that such an understanding can be the basis of transformed ways of working (Fay, 1987:24). People need to understand the total picture as they cannot achieve self clarity without understanding how everything is interrelated. This means that any change in a system will affect the rest of the system (Fay, 1987:24). Modern critical theory seeks to integrate the relationship between ideas and social structure. However, critical theory sees the relationship as being dialectical rather than unilinear. In other words, although ideas stem from the social conditions, they also play a causal role in creating and sustaining certain social structures. This dialectical relationship is part of the *embeddedness* of self ignorance in social structures (Fay, 1987:25). Critical theory seeks to assist people through educative enlightenment, to change the social structures that are instrumental in causing the crisis. Fay defines enlightenment thus:

Enlightenment consists in the development of the powers of critical thinking and the will to use these powers to fashion the nature and direction of life. It is marked by the emergence of a disposition which is intent on subjecting social arrangements to rational

inspection, and which is bent on breaking with the done thing when examination shows it to be unwarranted (Fay, 1987:67).

Thus, critical theory provides an appropriate approach to anti-racist education.

Much has been written on anti racist education but, for the most part, the literature is based in an international setting, such as Britain and the United States of America where the minority ethnic groups are immigrants and the emphasis is on promoting a multicultural society. For the purposes of this thesis, my concern is with anti-racist education which will lead to a bicultural society, where the minority ethnic group comprises the original inhabitants, the *first peoples*, or in the case of Maori, the *Tangata Whenua*. Therefore I shall direct this discourse to anti-racist education as it relates to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Spoonley cites Ben-Tovim who has suggested there are three types of anti-racist activity:(i) spontaneous protest; (ii) pressure for community resources; and (iii) planned political struggle (Ben-Tovim in Spoonley, 1993:103). Spontaneous protest is usually defined as a violent protest. In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context this may be seen in violence that breaks out as the result of individual reactions within what began as peaceful demonstrations, such as protest action at Waitangi or the protest relating to sporting contact with South Africa in 1981. More recent activity of violence may be seen as the chainsaw attack on One Tree Hill and the smashing of the Americas' Cup. However the violence displayed on both these occasions was not against people, and it may be debatable just how spontaneous these actions were. Less violent actions of spontaneous protest relate to protest demonstrations at Waitangi and possibly land occupation.

Pressure for community resources can be seen in recent years with the Maori claims for land and other resources as a result of past actions and land confiscations which conflicted with the promises in Article II of the Treaty/te Tiriti. Ben-Tovim defines

planned political struggle in the context of movement for change in the policy and policy making framework of both local and central policy for both the state and the private sector organisations (Spoonley, 1993:104). In a small way progress is being made in local government, particularly in relationship to the *Resource Management Act (1991)* but the changes that are occurring here are a long way from self determination - rangatiratanga, or a partnership in decision making across the whole spectrum of society. Efforts have been made by some groups to move to a bicultural setting with varying success.

In 1983 WARAG (Women Against Racist Action Group) set out to investigate and identify the institutional racism in the Department of Social Welfare. As a result their report addressed the direction where change could be effective, recommending three core areas where action could be taken: (i) staff recruitment; (ii) staff training; and (iii) the physical environment (Spoonley, 1993:104-105). WARAG approached the issue of biculturalism, institutional racism and anti-racism in the Department of Social Welfare, encountering constant resistance to information, with the Pakeha policy makers maintaining their stance as gatekeepers to progress. However, critical theorists must expect resistance from their audience because of the false consciousness they are trying to eliminate (Fay, 1987:98).

Fay refers to the educative conception of theory and practice which allows people to gain a more accurate vision of who they are and how their social practices operate so that they may be able to change themselves and their society. His belief is that the system is instrumental in causing people's lack of understanding the reality of their relationships and activities. The educator is a catalyst for change by revealing to people their false awareness of themselves and world. Knowledge, therefore, is intended to stimulate different ways of thinking and different patterns of society (Fay, 1987:89). Anti-racist education is frequently about educating people to understand how the words, actions and processes they take for granted *are* racist, so

that they can understand different ways of thinking and establish different patterns of society.

Most of the anti-racist education that has been conducted in Aotearoa/New Zealand has occurred in informal settings or in contained groups within state institutions. The nature of this anti-racist education has also changed over time. After the Hunn Report in 1960, which demonstrated that Maori were falling further behind Pakeha in all the economic and social statistics, a number of organisations were set up to improve the situation for Maori. At the time the focus was on integration, not very different from the previous focus of assimilation. Initially all these groups had a multicultural focus rather than a bicultural focus (Nairn, 1989:83). Other organisations have been involved with anti-racist education in the broadest sense, including the National Council of Churches, which investigated the source of church owned land, produced papers for discussion and gave public speeches on anti-racism. The campaigning and protest actions of groups such as HART (Halt all Racist Tours) ACORD (Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination), and CARE (Citizens Association for Racial Equality) have all been instrumental in bringing the issue of racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand to public attention. Although these groups may have been dismissed by many New Zealanders, who feared their advantaged position was in jeopardy if the social structure was altered, the issue has remained constantly in the public domain.

The New Zealand Race Relations Council (NZRRC) was established and included representatives from groups such as churches, the New Zealand Student Christian Movement (NZSCM), unions, CARE and interested individuals (Nairn, 1989:78). In 1972 the Race Relations Council ran the first education workshops on white racism, and in 1974 other groups such as CARE and the Church and Society Commission also ran workshops on white racism. The emphasis then changed to exposing institutional racism mainly in Government Departments such as Social Welfare, Health, Justice and Local Government (Nairn, 1989:84). This was done by publicity

which included publishing research, and picketing. Simultaneously Maori groups such as MOOHR and Nga Tamatoa were forming and promoting Maori issues.

Government policy began to change in the 1980s. In 1986 the Public Service was instructed to consider the implications of future legislation for the recognition of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. (See Chapter Three for a further discussion on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi). Schools were expected to include the Treaty/te Tiriti principles in their charters. The reforms in the State Sector in the 1980s included rhetoric concerning the Treaty/te Tiriti issues and partnership (Kelsey, 1991:137), all of which brought the Treaty/te Tiriti more strongly into the public eye. More recently the focus has shifted again to support for Maori and Treaty/Tiriti claims. Anti-racist education groups such as Project Waitangi have contributed to Pakeha awareness of the issues involving the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and the new shift in direction has gone toward compensation for past losses and to discourse on sovereignty, biculturalism and partnership. However, although some people have responded positively to this new direction, without a real understanding of the issues, many others have responded negatively.

The issue that arises from people's reactions stems largely from a lack of knowledge. This lack of knowledge includes both factual history and an understanding of why the decisions of the past were made. This includes understanding what was, and still is, the ideological stance behind the monocultural direction Aotearoa/New Zealand begun in 1840 after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. Education is a key factor in changing people's perceptions. A variety of different workshops on anti-racism, and more recently, on Treaty/Tiriti issues have been run both for the public and in institutions, using a diversity of different approaches. Early workshops concerning white racism were often designed to confront Pakeha about their place in marginalising Maori and frequently caused more antagonism to be directed at Maori. Less confrontational education programmes can now be found which are aimed at educating Pakeha without deliberately creating antagonism. To

be effective in bringing about a partnership between Maori and Pakeha anti-racist education should not be pursued in a manner that merely incites anger and creates a subsequent backlash. This is not helpful and only serves to entrench the racist attitudes already held. If people feel threatened they are likely to react by withdrawing more into their previously held beliefs.

However, the majority of this education is happening on a voluntary basis. There is a need to provide more information to the general public. Elworthy, in his keynote speech to the Planning Council seminar in September 1988 suggested that all New Zealanders need to go through a learning process about the Treaty/te Tiriti. He supported the call of others:

...for Government to embark upon a major information campaign to ensure that, as far as possible, every New Zealander is reliably informed about the Treaty/te Tiriti, and its implications (Elworthy, 1988:13).

Compulsory education through schools is a good place to start. Seventh Form history reaches only a minority of students. We all need to learn the reality of our history, so that we can make informed decisions for the future. We would also benefit from compulsory anti-racist education so we can understand what it is that we take for granted as normal, that stems from racial connotations.

Summary

Throughout this chapter I have illustrated how the dominant ideology predisposes the way society perceives the so-called natural way of arranging our lives and the society we live in and therefore how that can influence our attitudes towards the situations we encounter. In discussing the concept of ideology, its concern with the nature of ideas, how those ideas are viewed within society and maintain political power. I also considered how the dominant ideology at any particular time can be challenged and

resisted by other groups with competing ideologies. Competing ideologies are demonstrated with the comparison of the three different definitions of equality; equal treatment, equal opportunity and equal outcomes, and again when considering both the individual and structural explanations of inequality, which I shall return to in Chapter Three as I develop the reality of Maori history on early contact with Pakeha.

Pertinent to this thesis is the comparison of the dominant Pakeha ideology which influences much of our society in Aotearoa/New Zealand with the recent challenge that is coming from Maori ideology. In understanding how the dominant ideology has produced a monocultural society in Aotearoa/New Zealand I discussed the recent push for a bicultural society, where the promised partnership, understood by Maori in the Treaty/te Tiriti can come to fruition. However I have also shown how Pakeha resistance to incorporate tikanga Maori into the power structure, is frequently displayed by the support of multiculturalism at the expense of biculturalism. The discourse on the analysis of language shows how the use of language can uphold an ideological perspective. Language was also shown as a instrument to influence how attitudes and perceptions are formed. In particular I was concerned about the way ideology, supported by language can influence our attitudes to the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti. The influence of family, school and the media demonstrated how racist attitudes are perpetuated through our daily lives, often without our realising that the words and actions are racist. Finally, in Chapter Two I discussed the concept of anti-racist education and briefly traced the development of anti-racist education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, elaborating on the changed direction from a multicultural emphasis to a bicultural emphasis. In demonstrating how anti-racist education can either open people's eyes to the inequality of the political and social situation of Maori or further entrench their prejudices I discussed how Fay's enlightenment theory can reduce or eliminate the false consciousness of people.

If we understand the influence of ideology on society in general, we can begin to understand why we perceive ideas in certain ways. If we are not exposed to conflicting ideologies, such as the Maori perspective, we are unlikely to understand the current Maori grievances. In the following chapter I shall discuss the history behind the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi from the Maori perspective and explore some of the reasons why Maori grievances concerning the honouring of the Treaty/te Tiriti are causing so much protest today. In the final chapter of this thesis I shall elaborate on the way critical theory explains the approach taken in this thesis.

Chapter Three: The Treaty of Waitangi/ Te Tiriti o Waitangi

*Think you own whatever land you land on
Earth is just a dead thing you can claim
But I know every rock and tree and creature
Has a life, has a spirit, has a name.*

Stephen Schwartz

extract from “Paint with all the Colours of the Wind”

Introduction

Although the majority of New Zealanders accept that the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi is New Zealand’s founding document, many see it as an historical document that has no relevance in today’s society, and very few know what the Treaty/te Tiriti actually says. Those who have studied the wording and meaning of the Treaty/te Tiriti are more likely to be Maori than Pakeha (Williams, 1989:46). This fact, in itself, says something about the relative importance that both Maori and Pakeha place on the relevance of the Treaty today. It is necessary to know and understand what is in the Treaty/te Tiriti before one can place any meaningful importance on the document. The fact that only a small percentage of Pakeha have even considered the necessity to find out what is actually in the Treaty/te Tiriti says much about Pakeha perceptions of the relevance of the document (Renwick, 1991:200; Taylor, 1988). Taken from the ideology of the dominant culture group, who are the advantaged group and see no need for change, this is possibly understandable. If we also consider that the advantage of the dominant culture is being threatened by the possibility of change, which they perceive as disadvantageous to themselves, it is convenient for them to ignore the actual Treaty/te Tiriti (and the subsequent actions of the Pakeha settler governments) and relegate the Treaty/te Tiriti to a place in history, albeit outdated.

In this chapter I shall continue the discussion started in Chapter Two on the ideology that shapes each of the Treaty/te Tiriti partners and examine the background relating to the drafting of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. Chapter Three explores

some of the historical aspects relating to the Treaty/te Tiriti, which are little known to the majority of our society (Elworthy, 1988:9) as they have not been included in the general New Zealand history we learn at school. If we do not learn it at school we only know the *givens* of the ideological stance, which are perpetuated through the consciousness of our family, peers, school, laws and institutional structures. The dominant ideology becomes self-fulfilling. Under these circumstances, the perceptions of New Zealanders are likely to be formed with *hidden* information. Understanding the context in which the Treaty/te Tiriti was drafted and signed gives an extra perspective on both the British and Maori expectations. In this chapter I shall explore the history behind the Treaty/te Tiriti and its implications for our society, with particular emphasis on the Maori perspective. Maori are resisting the dominant ideology as I discussed in Chapter One. Here I shall explore the reasons for this resistance. If Pakeha knew and understood the alternative perspective, how would this influence their perceptions on the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti today? This is the crux of my thesis.

I shall proceed by examining the wording of the Treaty/te Tiriti, comparing the English text with the Maori text, with particular reference to the terms *tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*. This will lead into a discussion of the different interpretations applied to each of the Maori and English texts, and an understanding of what each was signing as a result of the differing ideological stances. Finally, I shall discuss the outcomes of the Treaty/te Tiriti, particularly considering how the intensive application of the British ideology has impacted on Maori well-being.

An Historical Perspective

What were the reasons for emigration and colonisation from Britain? Britain's Colonial Office policy during the nineteenth century included a combination of economic and trading opportunities, the deportation of prisoners, the need to defend against the threat of intervention from foreign powers and concerns for the well-being of indigenous peoples (Moon, 1994:14). Moon refers to The Report of the

House of Commons Committee on Emigration (Parliamentary Papers, 1827) which stated that emigration and colonisation was also perceived as:

a possible cure for the perceived social ills in England ... provided that the selected colonies were capable of supporting the influx in terms of the resources the colony offered, particularly in food and suitable land (Moon, 1994:14).

Concern for indigenous peoples, though a stated policy, was not, however, a priority. Primarily the concern was a paternalistic concern directed at *conciliating the minds of the natives* (Moon, 1994:15). However, Britain's fear that other nations would inflict a more damaging form of imperialism on indigenous peoples was a much stated argument used to justify their concern (Moon, 1994:18). This was one of the arguments used to encourage Maori chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. Britain's primary concern however, was the economic argument. Colonial policy stemmed from Britain's desire to protect her trade routes and markets from the intervention of other powers (Moon, 1994:16). The perceived threat came from France, Spain, Holland and USA (Moon, 1994:18). This stated desire to protect Maori from other nations was an influencing factor in convincing Maori chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Britain not only had the military capacity to be an imperial power, but also displayed a superior attitude and contempt of "foreigners" (Moon, 1994:24) which included both peoples of different "races" and other European nations. The assumption that imperial actions in the interests of the mother country were necessarily the right actions, ignored any ethical or moral concerns for other peoples' rights and interests (Moon, 1994:23-25). Such were the attitudes not only of the British Government and its ministries but also of officials and the general public, and this ideological stance was used to justify their actions and their treatment of indigenous peoples (Moon, 1994:25-26). The contents of letters, diaries and books written by Europeans living

in Aotearoa/New Zealand before the signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti demonstrate the attitudes held towards the Maori as of *helpless ignorant...savages...(needing) gentle guiding to civilisation* (Moon, 1994:27).

The influence of missionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century had carried a twofold ideological message. First the missionaries in New Zealand sought to convert Maori to Christianity, but the attitude of missionaries was that to be a Christian one had to first be “civilised” (Moon, 1994:35). Thus missionaries set about civilising Maori by changing aspects of their culture thought to be inconsistent with the missionaries’ concept of “civilised” (Moon, 1994:35). Additionally, the introduction of education through the missionary schools separated education from the general life of the Maori and prepared the way towards colonisation (Moon, 1994:37-40). Although some missionaries perceived that English officials had intentions which were against the interests of the Maori, other missionaries who desired a greater British presence, formed closer relationships with Colonial Office officials. Among these was Henry Williams, who became an influential political adviser to the Crown after the arrival of Captain William Hobson (Moon, 1994:41). Overall the belief held by the British was that theirs was a superior civilisation and they, therefore, had a right to intrude upon the customs of the indigenous people with whom they came into contact through the expansion of their colonisation programmes:

They (the British) privileged their own cultural values, their language, their laws and legal forms, and their constitutional usages. Above all, they were representatives of cultures in which the written word was definitive and authoritative (Renwick, 1991:9).

In comparison, Maori had no previous written language. With an emphasis on oral history, the spoken word was more important to Maori ideology. What was said held greater importance than what was written, as it was frequently steeped with Maori

spirituality, giving the contract a sacred dimension (Moon, 1994:131). Speeches given by many Maori at the time were also relevant in terms of understanding the Maori perception of what they were signing (Kelsey, 1984:28). According to McCreanor, missionaries who were present understood the importance of the spoken word and used this knowledge to encourage Maori to sign the Treaty/te Tiriti:

(Missionaries) used their powers of persuasion directly and personally since the oral form, while of lesser importance than the written form to Pakeha, was of paramount importance to the Maori (McCreanor, 1989:36).

The distinct ways of attaching importance to the written word versus the oral word are merely different ways of regarding the same issue. Understanding that “difference” does not mean inferiority is a large step towards understanding the other’s viewpoint. The British believed that their way was the right way and anything that was different was inferior. If we look at the reality of Maori tribal experience we can see a different perspective from the British one. It is invalid to accept that Maori were the uncivilised race the British credited them as.

In pre-European New Zealand, all resources and political and economic power were controlled by the separate Maori tribal groups (iwi). Until 1840, those Pakeha who made contact with Maori recognised that they were dependent on the goodwill and protection of the local Maori. In all practical respects this amounted to Pakeha acceptance of Maori sovereignty of their own lands, resources and peoples (McCreanor, 1989:36). Early Maori social structure lay in kinship groupings of whanau which extended to hapu, iwi and waka. Each iwi was the equivalent of a separate sovereign state, with its own boundaries, kawa and culture. These were capable of constant change and regrouping which allowed them to survive and hold together for the greater good (Owens, 1992:40). Evidence of iwi economic differences appeared to be related to the natural environment, with coastal iwi relying more on fishing, and

inland iwi relying more on food acquired in the forests such as ferns, berries and birds (Sharp and Bromley, 1991:61). Each iwi traded surpluses with other iwi. With the arrival of the Pakeha, Maori extended their trading activities and adapted quickly to the new technology that Pakeha brought with them and the new markets they created, by providing Pakeha settlers with most of the food they needed. They expanded to trading their own produce which they carried in their own ships to New South Wales (Owens, 1992:62). Motivated by the new opportunities, changes occurred in the Maori economy. Large areas were cultivated to enable trade with Pakeha. By 1847 Maori in the Taranaki had built and operated their own mills to process wheat, and by the 1850s, the majority of the coastal shipping in the North Island was owned and operated by Maori tribes. They transported the cargoes they had produced themselves as far afield as Australia and the Pacific (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1987:5-6; Orange, 1987:7; Owens, 1992:35-36). According to Owens:

over a few decades Maori were participants in a series of developments which other cultures had taken centuries to absorb (Owens, 1992:39).

Obviously the above demonstrates a race of people who were able to adapt quickly to economic changes, illustrating that the British attitudes of superiority and their paternalistic approach and treatment was unjustified. It also illustrates that the individual explanation of inequality as described in Chapter Two is not appropriate, as Maori were able to make this adjustment extremely quickly. This leaves me to consider the structural explanation later in this chapter, but first I would like to move to a discussion on the Treaty of Waitangi, to explore the different interpretations of Maori and Pakeha, which are based on their individual ideological stances.

The Drafting of the Treaty of Waitangi

The British Crown recognised Maori sovereignty when it acknowledged the Declaration of Independence in 1835 (McCreanor, 1989:36). However, British subjects among the settlers and missionaries were anxious to gain greater control. In 1840

Lieutenant-Governor Hobson set out to transfer sovereignty to the British Crown, when he drew up the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty was a document that was drafted hastily by people who had no real experience in treaty negotiation (McDowell and Webb, 1995:187). Captain Hobson, who was appointed as Her Majesty's Consul in New Zealand, arrived in the Bay of Islands on January 29, 1840 (Walker, 1990:90). Hobson drew up some notes based on the letter of instructions he had received from Lord Normanby, British Secretary of State for War and Colonies. Normanby's instructions were to obtain the sovereignty of New Zealand by agreement from Maori in exchange for the benefits of British protection, law and citizenship (Walker, 1990:90).

Before discussing the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi in detail, we need to ask "which Treaty?" The Treaty was drafted under a sense of speed and confusion. Busby and two officers used Hobson's notes to write the first draft. This original draft was translated into Maori by Henry and Edward Williams while Hobson continued to revise the Treaty. According to Walker four different English versions of the Treaty were written, none of which was accurately translated into Maori (Walker, 1990:90). McCreanor maintains that the Reverend Henry Williams and his son Edward, both of whom produced the Maori translation, were familiar enough with Maori beliefs to know Maori chiefs would be unwilling to sign away their *rangatiratanga* or sovereignty. It is logical to assume that wording the Maori version in a way that would be acceptable to the chiefs was in the interests of the missionaries, along with other British settlers. The Maori version cedes only sufficient governance to the Crown to allow the control of British subjects (Yensen, Hughes and McCreanor, 1989:22). In the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori cede *kawanatanga* (governorship) over their lands but retain in perpetuity *te tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty).

Starting with the preamble I shall begin to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi in more depth. As set out below, the English translation of the Maori Text,

was given by Professor Sir Hugh Kawharu to the Court of Appeal in 1987 in *NZ Maori Council v Attorney-General (1987) 1 NZLR 641*. The English text shown below was signed at Waikato Heads in March or April 1840 and at Manakau on the 26th April by 39 chiefs only. This text became the “official” version (Kelsey, 1987:258-259).

Preamble

English translation of the Maori Text

VICTORIA, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and subtribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come.

English Text

Her Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands - Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which may result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and conditions.

The English text of the preamble states the purpose of the Treaty/te Tiriti is to establish British sovereignty and civil government in New Zealand to protect all citizens (both Maori and British) against the consequences of lawlessness. The Maori translation uses the word *kawanatanga* which means *governorship* rather than *sovereignty*. The implications of using this word will be discussed further in Article I below. As well, Maori considered this would provide the British with the opportunity to control themselves, particularly to control that group of Europeans who had become unruly and were causing trouble for Maori. It would also provide protection against the French and other potential international invasion as interpreted by the following :

The Queen desires to arrange governorship lest evils should come to the Maori people and the Europeans who are living here without law
(Orange, 1990:33).

It is debatable that Maori believed this would have any effect on their day to day lives as the *Queen of England ... desire(s) to preserve to them their chieftainship and their land* which they interpreted as Maori maintaining total control over their own affairs. I shall now move on to a discussion of each of the three Articles which make up the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Article the First

<i>English Translation of the Maori Text</i>	<i>English Text</i>
<p>The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over their land.</p>	<p>The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.</p>

Article I claims the cession of Maori sovereignty to the British crown. The English text refers to: *the chiefs ... cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty*. The Maori text, however, uses the word *kawanatanga* which infers something less than sovereignty, and is translated as governorship. *Kawanatanga* is a transliteration of the English word governor into kawana. With the suffix “tanga,” added it becomes governorship or governance (Walker,1990:92; McCreanor,1989:39; McDowell and Webb,1995:190). Ross has criticised the use of transliterations in the Treaty (Ross, 1972:16). The term, governor, was not an authority with which Maori had ever had direct experience and could easily be interpreted as an authority which would protect Maori against foreigners or even other iwi. It was not interpreted as any lessening of the sovereignty or mana of individual chiefs (Mulgan,1989:95). As well, both the Reverend Henry Williams and his son Edward who translated the English into Maori, had enough knowledge of Maori to know that a more accurate translation of the English understanding of sovereignty was the Maori word *mana*, as they had used five years earlier in the Declaration of Independence. If they had translated sovereignty as mana or mana whenua (sovereignty over land) there is little doubt that

the chiefs would have understood the English meaning. There is also little doubt that the chiefs would have refused to sign the treaty if they had realised that their sovereignty was at stake (Walker,1989:264). According to Kelsey, speeches given by Maori at Waitangi indicated that they believed the Treaty would maintain their mana (Kelsey,1984:28).

I shall now look at Article II before discussing the different interpretations of the words and their meanings.

Article the Second

<i>English Translation of the Maori Text</i>	<i>English Text</i>
<p>The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the Subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.</p>	<p>Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Presumption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.</p>

The English version, in Article II, ...*guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand ... the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess...*

In the Maori text of te Tiriti o Waitangi, Maori retain in perpetuity *te tino rangatiratanga* in respect to their lands, villages and all their treasures. The difference between *kawanatanga* in Article I and *te tino rangatiratanga* is critically important. McCreanor refers to the Waitangi Tribunal Motunui Report which notes that:

Rangatiratanga denotes the mana not only to possess what is yours, but to control and manage it in accordance with your own preferences (McCreanor, 1989:37).

Rangatiratanga clearly indicated to the chiefs that they would retain not only the possession of their land but also their mana, and full traditional authority. This understanding of rangatiratanga has already been discussed more fully in Chapter One. Nopera Panakareao, paramount chief at Kaitaia, indicated his understanding that Maori were to retain the control of their own resources and people with his comment at the time of signing:

"The shadow of the land is to the Queen, but the substance remains to us" (McCreanor, 1989:37).

Although the English version varied from the Maori text, the failure to explicitly include the words "forests and fisheries" in the Maori text, as described in the English text, is understood by Maori, if not precisely by Pakeha, to be included in the term *toanga katoa* (*all your treasured possessions*). The concept of treasured possessions for Maori includes their means of sustaining themselves, physically and spiritually. It, therefore, is inclusive of forests, fisheries and such things as language and culture. Again, these are not necessarily a Pakeha interpretation of treasures.

The English text also gives the British Crown exclusive rights of pre-emption over land from the Maori. The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines "pre-emption" as *the right to purchase by one person before the opportunity is offered to others*. However the

British definition of pre-emption, in this situation, meant the Crown was to be the only purchaser, and therefore they could set the price as there would not be any competition to purchase land from the Maori (Walker,1989:265). The word used in the Maori translation *hokonga* means simply buying and selling. It, therefore, does not imply the exclusivity of selling only to the Crown, but then neither does the literal meaning of the English text (Mulgan, 1989:94; Kelsey, 1984:29).

Article the Third

<i>English Translation of the Maori Text</i>	<i>English Text</i>
<p>For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen of England, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.</p>	<p>In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.</p>

Article III gives all people of Aotearoa/New Zealand (both Maori and Pakeha) protection, generally interpreted as being protection against foreign invasion. It also grants Maori the same rights and privileges (duties) of British subjects. However, from the Maori perspective, in retrospect, this was much less than it originally sounded. Equal rights under the law are a very narrow interpretation of equality, especially when the laws referred to are all written from a British perspective, according to British values, British ideology and British advantage (Kelsey, 1984:29). Kelsey speaks of how the colonial political power assumed by the British after the signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti was converted into law:

intrinsically valid, abstract, legal principles (as) the basis of "legal imperialism" ... reified all things British and implicitly denigrated all things Maori (Kelsey, 1984:31).

The Treaty/te Tiriti was instrumental in giving the British the right to settle in Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, what happened after the signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti and how the British used it to further their own interests is also relevant to Maori, who maintain that the Treaty/te Tiriti was not honoured by the British, from the start. It is pertinent at this point to consider how the political power of the Pakeha after claiming sovereignty has created structural disadvantages to Maori.

The Politics of Structural Change

In 1852 the British Parliament passed *The New Zealand Constitution Act* which gave New Zealand settlers representative government. The manner in which governorship of New Zealand was applied by subsequent Pakeha New Zealand governments has changed the structure of political and economic power to the detriment of Maori. Examples can be cited in the laws passed which affected both land and fisheries, both of which were crucial to the Maori economy and their ability to own and use their resources. Settlers' desire for more land was behind the land wars instigated by Grey in 1863, which led to the passage of *The Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863* and *The Land Settlement Act 1904*. Together these were used to justify huge land confiscations, particularly in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty (Spoonley et al, 1984:32-35). Over the same period the Native (now Maori) Land Court converted native communal land titles to individual titles, enabling settlers to bypass the chief and tribe as a whole and purchase Maori land from individuals. This broke down the political power held by Maori chiefs in relation to their iwi (tribes). *The Public Works Act 1928* also gave the government power to take land, even though by this stage only four million out of 66 million acres of land still remained in Maori hands (Spoonley et al, 1984:35). Moana Jackson refers to over one hundred pieces of legislation and regulation between 1840 and 1990 which were instrumental in removing land from Maori (Jackson, 1993:77). The results of this can be seen in Table 3.1 below illustrating the pattern of decreasing Maori land ownership.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MAORI LAND OWNERSHIP</u>
1840	66,400,000 acres
1852	34,000,000 acres
1860	21,400,000 acres
1891	11,079,486 acres
1911	7,137,205 acres
1920	4,787,686 acres
1975	3,000,000 acres

Table 3.1 showing the changes in Maori land ownership from 1840 to 1975. (Figures taken from Maori Land, Asher and Naulls in The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1987:23).

These figures in the Table above indicate the extent to which the structural changes set in place by the Pakeha Government disadvantaged Maori in their ability to use their land undisturbed. These structural changes, through Pakeha laws, were in breach of Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and have had serious effects on the Maori economy while being in the interests of Pakeha settlers. Statistics demonstrating some of these negative effects on Maori will be discussed later in this chapter.

With regard to fisheries, another major economic resource held by Maori, legislation was enacted which reduced their opportunities to create wealth and prosper economically (Sharp and Bromley, 1991:59). *The Oyster Fisheries Act 1866 and 1892, Fish Protection Act 1877, Sea Fisheries Act 1894 and Fisheries Conservation Act 1902* all set up changes which reduced Maori access to fisheries and ignored their *full possession of fisheries*. Although total exports of fish increased to 31% of the take over the decade from 1886-1896, Sharp and Bromley refer to the inability of Maori to compete successfully in this expanding fishing industry. Pakeha were advantaged as they acquired not only continued access to fish stocks, but also access to capital, through incentives offered by government policy, new technology, infrastructure and

commodity markets, which were not available to Maori (Sharp and Bromley, 1991:69). Restricting access to this Government assistance to Pakeha, not only disadvantaged Maori, but also was in breach of Article III which afforded Maori the same rights and privileges as British subjects:

...rights to harvest fish were necessary but insufficient, for success in an expanding commercial environment. The total impact of these structural changes, and their cumulative effect on the wealth of Maori over time, becomes increasingly evident in the future (Sharp and Bromley, 1991:66).

An amendment to *The Fisheries Act* in 1914 entitled Maori to gather fish for their own consumption in areas adjacent to their pa (Maori settlement) but did not allow for commercial transactions with Europeans, thus reducing the opportunity for Maori to generate income. From 1936 fishing quotas were established requiring licensing of all fishing ventures and restricting the total take of fish. Further structural changes occurred in the mid-1970s which restricted fishing licences to those individuals who earned a minimum of 80% of their income from fishing, excluding many Maori from augmenting their low incomes by fishing (Sharp and Bromley, 1991:67). Despite *The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, the restriction of the Waitangi Tribunal to consider claims by Maori who had been prejudicially affected by legislation since 1975, did nothing to alleviate the long term disadvantage prior to 1975. Although the *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985*, has now given Maori the right to seek redress for grievances back to 1840, this only partially compensates for the long term disadvantage Maori have suffered. Ironically, it is the claims that Maori are now presenting to the Government and the compensation that has been paid so far that is causing much of the unrest among Pakeha. Although some Pakeha support the Maori claims, many others believe that Maori have always had equal opportunities and the Treaty/te Tiriti is now redundant. Witness to these sentiments can be regularly found in the letters to the editor of *The New Zealand Herald*, amongst other similar publications. However,

Sharp and Bromley refer to the inequality that structural changes had wrought on Maori:

Successive governments not only failed to address the fundamental issue of Maori fishing rights, they had also produced public policy that eventually dissipated any wealth in the fishing economy. Maori share in the fishing economy had been increasingly marginalised over Phase 3 [1903-1983] (Sharp and Bromley, 1991:69).

These structural changes through legislation occurred not only in areas of initial Maori wealth, such as land and fisheries, from which income could have been created, but have extended into all facets of life, including education, health, housing and welfare. Paul Dalziel asserts that structural factors, as a result of colonialism, can economically disadvantage Maori permanently. Loss of land and other resources reduce their economic base and therefore their earning capacity (Dalziel, 1991:36). He goes on to say that these structural disadvantages should not be isolated from the education and labour market disadvantages also experienced by Maori:

A people whose historical experience has been the oft repeated denial of property rights over their land and other resources (leading to structural disadvantage in the present) can hardly be expected to develop cultural characteristics useful for success in an economy which dispossessed them, (independently of whether such characteristics are in any case desirable). Similarly, having benefited from such policies in the past, the dominant group can hardly be expected to fail to discriminate against the same people in present-day labour markets. Thus structural factors, cultural characteristics and labour market experience are linked (Dalziel, 1991:36).

Dalziel also maintains that to merely return the land and resources is insufficient if the long term structural disadvantage is not addressed simultaneously (Dalziel, 1991:37). The laws and the justice system to which Maori have turned for redress have been part of the Pakeha institutional system that has created the structural alienation of Maori. As the policies which have instituted this structural inequality have been formed by mainly white, male governments, in whose interests policy is made and imposed upon Maori, it is essential that Maori achieve greater political power if they are to overcome this structural disadvantage. As shown earlier, the resistance that Maori are now demonstrating (see Chapter One) has frequently become the cause of Pakeha resistance to the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Structural Changes Since 1984

From the Labour Government of 1984 through to the Coalition Government of the present day, there has been a further restructuring of the New Zealand economy which has adversely affected many in the lower socio-economic group, especially Maori. The “more market” push in the economy has led to corporatisation and privatisation of state assets, thus setting a profit-making agenda. In addition to the social disadvantage this has caused Maori in terms of unemployment, housing and high debt on marginal farming land (Kelsey, 1990:2), there have been more important issues relating to the ownership and management of resources according to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. The libertarian, greater freedom for individuals, expressed by the new ideology meant rights were individual, not collective, and hence have implications that were incompatible with te tino rangatiratanga and honouring the Treaty/te Tiriti (Kelsey, 1990:34; Kelsey, 1993:234). The Maori Economic Summit Conference (Hui Taumata) held in October 1984, symbolised for Maori a sense of Maori participation in the country's future. However, Government continued to marginalise the Maori perspective by placing this perspective within its economic strategy which stressed inflation and balance of payments as major goals to be overcome, using firm monetary policy (Kelsey 1990:39). The privatisation of resources would result in state assets leaving the hands of the Crown and therefore afford less opportunity for redress to

Maori. The interests of capital were considered before the interests of Maori (Kelsey 1990:45). It is pertinent at this point to support my claims of economic inequality for Maori with the following, relevant quantitative data.

The Maori Experience of Inequality

Statistics show that Maori have a lower standard of living than non-Maori, both because of a lack of financial and physical resources and because of lower educational qualifications and employment levels. Here I shall compare wealth, income and educational levels of Maori and non-Maori to illustrate the inequality Maori are suffering in relation to non-Maori in New Zealand.

Wealth

In 1992 70.6% of Maori had no assets compared with 40.8% of non-Maori, while less than 1% of Maori owned assets greater than \$100,000 in value in comparison to 10.3% of non-Maori who owned assets worth more than \$100,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 1993:84).

Income

In 1991 62% of Maori men and 76% of Maori women earned less than \$20,000 compared to 47% of non-Maori men and 71% of non-Maori women. Only 2% of Maori men and less than 1% of Maori women earned over \$40,000 in comparison to 16% of non-Maori men and 3% of non-Maori women (Davey, 1993:233-234).

Education

In 1991 44% of all children 0-4 years of age participated in Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE). Maori statistics were below the average with 35% of Maori 0-4 year olds. Of the total of 126,134 children on the ECCE rolls 17% were of Maori descent which is less than the 22% of Maori pre-school children in the population (Davey, 1993:22).

Similarly education levels overall are lower for Maori, with 39% of Maori compared to 14% of non-Maori leaving school in 1991 by the end of the fifth form and only 33% of Maori compared to 61% of non-Maori staying in secondary school for five years or more (Davey, 1993:65).

Educational qualifications in 1991 showed that, while improving over recent years, Maori results still fall below those of non-Maori. The proportion of Maori students with Sixth Form Certificate or better in 1991 was 37% compared to non-Maori in 1991 at 72%. Only 5% of Maori compared to 27% of non-Maori left school in 1991 with University Bursary or Scholarship qualifications (Davey, 1993:66).

The historical disadvantage that Maori have experienced, and the current effects of that disadvantage, as discussed above, have led to the contemporary Maori resistance and challenge to Pakeha rule. Alongside other protest action, in 1987 Maori reacted to the loss of their economic and political power by using the law. The New Zealand Maori Council went to court to prevent the Government transferring state assets to the new state-owned enterprises. In the case *The New Zealand Maori Council and Latimer v Attorney-General and Others* (1987), the Court of Appeal found that the Government was obliged to ensure that the interests Maori had in the state assets were actively protected (Kelsey, 1993:280; Boast, 1987:243). The five judges on the Court of Appeal made this judgement based on s 9 of *The State-Owned Enterprises Act, 1987* which stipulates: *Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi*, and s 27 which spelt out the procedure to deal with Waitangi Tribunal claims in relation to the principles of the Treaty (Boast, 1987:241). So what are the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi? It is to this discussion I shall now move.

The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975 first referred to the principles of the Treaty/te Tiriti in its long title:

an Act to provide for the observance, and confirmation, of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi by establishing a Tribunal to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the Treaty and to determine whether certain matters are inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty (Crengle, 1993:8).

The principles of the Treaty were to be used to overcome the problem relating to the inconsistent translations of the Maori and English texts, so that the spirit, rather than then the literal words, would be applied when interpreting the Treaty/te Tiriti (Crengle, 1993:8-9). These were initially interpreted by the Waitangi Tribunal as they progressed through the first four reports on the claims for Motunui, Kaituna, Manukau, and Te Reo Maori. The Tribunal approached the claims by finding in favour of the facts, then creating a structure in which both parties are able to negotiate a settlement (Ihimaera, 1993:181). This is preferable to negotiating under a Pakeha structure only and is in line with the principle of partnership. The New Zealand Maori Council identified ten principles of the Treaty/te Tiriti, but the first legal interpretation came from five Pakeha male judges on the Court of Appeal in 1987, who identified five principles (Renwick, 1990:56; Crengle, 1993:8-16; The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1987:15). These are:

- (i) *that a settled form of civil Government was desirable and that the British Crown should exercise the power of Government*
- (ii) *that the power of the British Crown to govern included the power to legislate for all matters relating to peace and good order*
- (iii) *that Maori chieftainship over their lands, forests, fisheries and other treasures was not extinguished and would be protected and guaranteed*
- (iv) *that the protection of the Crown should be extended to the Maori both by way of making them British subjects and by prohibition of sale of land to persons other than the Crown*
- (v) *that the Crown should have pre-emptive right to acquire land from the Maori at agreed prices, should they wish to dispose of it (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1987:15).*

The Appeal Court emphasised that the Treaty/te Tiriti was a partnership requiring “the utmost good faith” for the partners to act reasonably towards each other. The responsibilities of the Crown were to actively protect Maori lands and waters, while the

responsibility of Maori was to show loyalty to the Queen and her Government (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1987:15). The Appeal Court's *principles* were based on the principles developed by the Waitangi Tribunal but, in giving them a new meaning, caused them to be substantially diluted (Yensen, et al, 1989:129). Although the Appeal Court Judges found in favour of the New Zealand Maori Council, in that the Government, by attempting to transfer state assets to State-Owned Enterprises, had not acted in a manner that was consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, they lost in the sense of having to debate the issue within a Pakeha court system operating according to Pakeha laws and structures instead of under a bicultural structure. The Judges' finding was based on s 9 of the *State-Owned Enterprises Act, 1987*, not on the Treaty/te Tiriti itself. The New Zealand Maori Council was required to use Pakeha laws and Pakeha structures and systems, not Maori ones. To quote Yensen:

Decision-making power remains firmly in the hands of those who represent mainly Pakeha interests (Yensen, Hague and McCreanor, 1989:143).

In 1989 the Labour Government refined the Appeal Court's definitions of the Principles of the Treaty by devising five *Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi* (Kelsey, 1993:255; Renwick, 1990:128-129). The Kawanatanga principle gave Government the right to make laws and govern, with Maori interests to be given "an appropriate priority." However, the decision of what constitutes "appropriate priority" was still to be made by the mainly Pakeha government. The Rangatiratanga principle guaranteed Maori the right to control the resources they wished to retain (but not necessarily those already taken). The principle of Equity acknowledged everyone as equal under the laws legislated by the Pakeha Government. The Co-operation principle required consultation on major issues of common concern, but generally left the Government to decide what these major issues comprise and what decisions may emanate from the consultation. This is still not a consensus decision between Maori

and Pakeha. Finally, the principle of Redress meant the Crown would provide a process for the resolution of Treaty grievances (Kelsey, 1993:255-256; Renwick, 1990:128).

In 1991 the National Government rewrote the Treaty principles so that they would conform with National's policy, thereby further limiting the Kawanatanga principle to stress Government's right and responsibility to govern *for the common good*, while to the Rangatiratanga principle of self-management was added the phrase *within the scope of the law* (Kelsey, 1993:258). Again in 1992, an updated paper on Treaty/Tiriti issues was produced for Cabinet which stressed that final decisions should be political not legal, and made by Government not the law courts. This paper recommended that *Government* should assess whether policy may impact on Maori interests, and if so, consult with Maori. However Government would not necessarily be bound by the outcome of that discussion if the *Government* considered "national interest" was more important (Kelsey, 1993:258). Although the paper was never formally accepted as Government policy, several of its recommendations have been put into operation, notably the recommendation to exclude statutory reference to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi from any new statutes, to reduce the risk of further Court action by Maori against the Government (Kelsey, 1993:259).

As can be seen, the principles of the Treaty/te Tiriti can, and have, been amended over time, according to the desires and interests of the Pakeha Government. Therefore, future decision making based on the principles of the Treaty will not encourage a partnership which acts for the benefit of both parties, but only a means by which the Pakeha Government can continue to manipulate the system within the institutions and parameters of Pakeha structures. Thus, adhering to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi is unlikely to provide any real redress to the political and economic inequality of the Maori people. For that to occur we, as Pakeha, need to honour the Treaty/te Tiriti. To quote the Right Reverend Te Whakahuihui Vercoe in

his address to Queen Elizabeth II, among others, at the Treaty commemorations at Waitangi in 1991:

The Treaty is what we are celebrating. It is what we are trying to establish so that my tino rangatiratanga is the same as your tino rangatiratanga (absolute sovereignty). And so I have come back to Waitangi to cry for the promises that you made and for the expectations our tipuna made 150 years ago I want to say to the Government: don't reduce the principles of the Treaty - the Treaty is already here (Vercoe, 1993:84).

The processes and institutions of New Zealand politics are, without a doubt, controlled by Pakeha and administered predominantly in their own interests (Vasil, 1988:15; Kelsey, 1993:240). It is easy to see that the priorities, concerns and historical experience of Maori have not been reflected. As the political power creates the economic system under which we operate in New Zealand, it is equally obvious that without equal political power Maori are unable to thrive economically and will continue to be disadvantaged. Over recent years there has been some progress to redistribute economic resources back to Maori through compensation for past and current grievances. However, these settlements represent a very small percentage of actual loss. In an interview on Marae (TVNZ, Sunday 28th September, 1987) with the Honourable Doug Graham, Minister in Charge of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, Derek Fox referred to the Tainui settlement as being only 2% of the loss. Fox queried why this information was not generally known, suggesting that the Government should put in place a publicity campaign to inform the public of all the details. Neither do these settlements necessarily represent a change in policy related to decision making. To achieve this, Maori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga is essential for Maori, as history shows Pakeha Governments have been unwilling to share that political power and work in partnership with Maori. The source of a prosperous economy lies in the ownership and management of resources such as land, sea, rivers, lakes and forests,

over which, according to Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, Maori have exclusive right to control, use and manage. The equal rights, accorded in Article III, have systematically deprived Maori of their economic and spiritual resources under Pakeha laws. Equal outcomes would have been better achieved by according Maori an equal partnership in decision making, taking into account tikanga Maori, instead of relying totally on the European ideology of individualism. Recent settlements between a number of iwi and the Crown will provide the opportunity to improve some outcomes for Maori. These settlements do not, however, fully compensate for the past losses, nor do they attempt to compensate for the cumulative effect of the original loss.

Summary

In this chapter I have considered how the separate ideologies of each of the Treaty/te Tiriti partners have affected their individual interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. I examined the circumstances surrounding the drafting of the Treaty/te Tiriti, and discussed how the Treaty and te Tiriti fail to be an exact translation of each other. I have attempted to give an understanding of the context in which the Treaty/te Tiriti was drafted and signed in order to give the perspective of both the English and Maori expectations. I specifically examined the wording of the Treaty/te Tiriti, comparing the English text with the Maori text, with particular reference to the terms *tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga* to provide an understanding of the different interpretations applied to each of the Maori and English texts. These are areas that this thesis will show, in Chapters Five and Six, are generally not understood. Finally, I developed a discussion on the effects of the application of the Treaty/te Tiriti, elucidating how the Pakeha ideology has impacted negatively on Maori well-being since the Treaty/te Tiriti was signed. The statistics given in this chapter illustrate how Maori well-being, in general, is far below the level of Pakeha well-being. In discussing the above I have presented some of the *hidden* history, which is frequently ignored when our perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi are formed. The essence of this thesis is

whether this knowledge would change our perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti. In the next chapter I shall develop the methodology used in this thesis.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Feminist Theory

Introduction

As discussed earlier in Chapter One, Maori have been challenging the Pakeha ideology, on which the political, legal and economic structures of Aotearoa/New Zealand society have been based, since the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. These structures have been instrumental in causing considerable inequality between Pakeha, who have devised the structures, and Maori on whom they have been imposed, and who have consistently resisted them. According to George: *Inequality ... is seen as the inevitable result of the maldistribution of power* (George, 1980:9). Both two and three-dimensional views of power (George, 1980:7-8), maintain that the majority of power is held by the few who own the country's wealth (George, 1988:53). This small group:

... has dominated not only the country's economic system but its dominant value system as well, with the result that it has succeeded in exercising an unduly great influence on the country's political system and its decisions on fundamental issues. ... the economic and political elites [are seen] as inter-related in a variety of ways to their mutual benefit. (George, 1980:8-9).

As such, social policy researchers have a moral responsibility to support the groups or individuals with the alternative ideologies *by working to change the current power relationships* (Bryson, 1979:102).

A major issue facing Aotearoa/New Zealand today is the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and the problems surrounding a reallocation of resources and power to Maori. However, most New Zealanders do not know the history relating to these issues and are therefore unable to carry out informed debate on the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, or fully understand the basis of current

Maori grievances. Most of the information we receive comes through the media, which tends to deal with a narrow band of effects rather than the causes of the grievances. Education is, therefore, an important tool which could be used to give society a more balanced understanding of the issues. In this thesis I have attempted to ascertain the effectiveness of the education students receive, in regard to changing students' perceptions of and attitudes to the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. My thesis seeks to identify how (if at all) the programmes on the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, as taught to first year tertiary students in two different degree courses, alter their perceptions and attitudes concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and biculturalism.

In this chapter, I have set out the feminist theoretical perspective that underlines the research for this thesis. Included in this are the research design, methodology, ethical and political issues. I have used a feminist theoretical perspective in this thesis, because the concepts applied to feminist theory are equally applicable to other groups. Lorde recognises that the existence of difference applied to women can equally be applied to a number of other oppressed groups including those involving ethnicity (Lorde in Stanley and Wise, 1990:30). Given that all oppressed groups are *invisible* in traditional research, the needs of all oppressed groups outside the traditional hierarchical structure are equally reflected in the theory and methods of feminist research.

Throughout this discourse I shall concentrate on the theories, concepts, methodology and ethical concerns that are applied to feminist research. Beginning with an historical perspective, I shall elaborate on how the general critique of traditional (male) research in the 1960s was broadened by feminists in an attempt to expose the sexist oppression of women and to make women visible, comparing this to the invisibility of Maori. I shall continue with a discussion on the sameness versus difference debate, a debate that applies equally to Maori as it does to women. Following this, will be a summary of the qualitative research methods, based on the view from below, which feminist researchers advocate, developing the political and ethical reasons for these preferences.

Ethical issues surrounding research, including confidentiality issues, will precede a discussion on the enlightenment model. Finally, I shall detail the specific research design, methods and ethical issues applied in this thesis, and discuss problems that I encountered through the process.

Feminist theory has its intellectual roots in mainstream social theories. However, whereas the mainstream social theories ignored gender and ethnicity as a structural feature of society, feminist theory sees the issue of gender and ethnicity as a crucial aspect of any study. Among others, Oakley, Smith and Noble-Spruell, Millman and Kanter, and Stanley and Wise argued that most studies in the social sciences were in fact the study of the white male society:

"Malestream" social science had omitted or distorted the female experience Social science research has often assumed a single society, in which male experience has been assumed to be the norm and then been generalised to women, the "other" (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:135-136).

Equally, this "malestream" has omitted the Maori experience and the white male norm has been generalised to Maori, the "other." The socialisation processes Maori experience will alter their perceptions of power and value systems in so far as they are not the same as for the white male capitalist, whose ideology and experiences are assumed to be the norm. The upsurge of Maori research in recent years has rejected the white, male experience as pertaining to them, in the same way that feminists have done. Hence, feminist research methods are appropriate when researching ethnic issues. It is pertinent therefore, to begin with an historical perspective of feminist research theory.

An Historical Perspective

The traditional or scientific method of research begins with an hypothesis based on a theoretical conception, tests it and finally draws conclusions from the observations (Babbie, 1989:40). Techniques used were mainly quantitative as these were considered to be definable, measurable and testable as well as being value neutral (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:134 -135). According to Smith and Noble-Spruell:

Traditional research has overly relied on those methodologies (usually quantitative) that emphasise rationality, objectivity, control, categorisation, detachment often based upon hierarchical, manipulative and elitist relationships between the researcher and the researched (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:137).

By the late 1960s the scientific approach was being challenged from a number of quarters (Bell and Newby, 1976:21; Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:135). Critics of the scientific method were questioning the long held assumptions of the non-political, ethical and objective nature of this tradition. Among others, feminist social scientists were involved in this general critique of the scientific method but, by the 1970s, second wave feminism had also begun addressing the issue of the invisibility of gender. Early feminist research concentrated on the *maleness* of social science (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:135). Although not stated, the inference is that this refers specifically to western maleness. The issue of invisibility equally applies to Maori as it does to women. The debates which subsequently arose revolved around the reconceptualisation and restructuring of what constitutes knowledge in terms of feminist theory (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:138).

Debates within Feminist Research

Feminist empiricists follow the traditional empiricist methods, maintaining the necessity to employ existing methods in order to give validity to their research (McRobbie, 1982:50; Stanley and Wise, 1990:26). Validity is essential if their research is to be accepted by the broader research community which still largely competes

within male structures. Feminist empiricists, however, do challenge the traditional empiricism in a number of ways. First they question that the social identity of the observer is irrelevant. Secondly, they question methodological processes which have androcentric bases, and, thirdly, they question the belief that all politics should be absent.

In contrast, feminist standpoint epistemology is grounded in the shared characteristics of women as a social group (Stanley and Wise, 1990:25). They go further than feminist empiricists by accepting that research is not value-free and promote the belief that the researcher's values should be openly stated (Mies, 1983:122). Rather than the traditional method of research taking an hierarchical view from above the feminist standpoint practice is to research the view from below. They support active participation in the women's movement and struggles for emancipation, which implies working towards changes to the status quo. The oppressed group is then able to use the results of the research to their own advantage.

Feminists from each of the feminist empiricist and feminist standpoints are part of the ongoing *sameness versus difference* debate, which suggests that, for women to gain equality with men, we must accept only one of these concepts and automatically reject the other. The sameness argument, supported by liberal feminists, rests on the notion that women are the same as men and therefore should be treated equally in their social and political lives. Crucial to the concept of freedom is the free choice of occupation. This freedom is compromised, however, when there is an expectation that women take greater responsibility for childcare and housework than men do (Moller Okin, 1987:71). Similarly, this freedom is compromised when Maori must consider cultural issues which may conflict with the predominant ideology. A truly bicultural society would ensure that Maori were not disadvantaged when adhering to their cultural practices.

The difference argument, on the other hand, is based on the belief of more radical feminists, that women's socialisation has led to women having different experiences and different values than men. Therefore for women to be expected to compete by the same criteria as men is considered to be discrimination against women. Radical feminists reject the structures men have erected and call for a separate structure under which women compete. Radical Maori also reject the structures that have been erected by Pakeha. There is a need for both women's and Maori experiences, values and priorities to be considered as equally valid. Therefore equal treatment of men and women, just as equal treatment for Pakeha and Maori, is not relevant as it is insufficient if women and Maori are to have equality. To quote Scott:

The political notion of equality thus includes, indeed depends on, an acknowledgment of the existence of difference. Demands for equality have rested on implicit and usually unrecognised arguments from difference; if individuals or groups were identical or the same there would be no need to ask for equality. Equality might well be defined as deliberate indifference to specified differences (Scott, 1988:44).

However, the argument of difference can be used against Maori as well as women. In Naomi Schor's opinion:

it essentializes difference and naturalizes social inequality (Schor in Scott, 1988:43).

In my view both the sameness and difference arguments have relevance and should not be considered to be diametrically opposed to each other. However, they do not go far enough. The established institutions have perpetuated the myth that women are not able to perform all the same functions as men and are therefore not equal, by the use of language and discourse which is weighted against women as discussed in Chapter Two. These ideas expounded by poststructuralists reinforce my earlier statement that

all research is political. The expansion of this concept reflects how politics affects the way we even think, and is instrumental in the way we perceive situations and events around us.

Feminists have continued to debate the sameness versus difference argument as many believe that to accept the sameness argument automatically puts women at a disadvantage, if women are to be judged according to the criteria of men's experiences and men's ethics. However, others believe that the acceptance of the difference argument will be used against women, as the established male society structures can then use this difference and reject the notion of women being equal to men.

More recently this argument was challenged further in *Andrews v The Law Society of British Columbia* when the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF) argued, and was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada, that neither the sameness nor the difference arguments were adequate (Waring, 1992:188). When challenging Section 15 of the charter of rights and freedoms which states that *everyone is equal before and under the law and has equal protection and benefit of the law*:

LEAF argued that equality for the purposes of the new equality provision in the charter of rights, under Section 15, should be understood as a matter of socially created systematic historical and cumulative advantage and disadvantage (Waring, 1992:188-189).

The colonial imperialism that was imposed on Maori after the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and which is continuing today, has created this *systematic historical and cumulative advantage* for Pakeha and *disadvantage* for Maori since 1840. Just as the concept of changing the rules to ones that reflect women's needs had not previously been considered (Bacchi, 1990:232-233), the concept of changing the rules for Maori, in the form of creating a bicultural state, particularly acknowledging Maori sovereignty as promised in Article II of the Treaty/te Tiriti, has not been considered by New

Zealand Governments. Social structures, relationships and organisations need to be changed so that Maori experiences are part of those structures. I must agree with Bacchi who says that:

an analysis that reduces social problems to a sameness/difference framework is inadequate (Bacchi, 1990:255).

Poststructuralist feminists are looking beyond the simple sameness versus difference debate to ways of understanding how society has been structured. I shall turn now to a deeper look at feminist research methods, before discussing the choice of topic.

Feminist Research Methods

Feminist research uses a variety of predominantly qualitative research methods including participant observation, non-structured and/or semi-structured interviews, evaluation research, action research, content analysis, open ended questions, informal discussions, diary keeping, use of the narrative, letters, biographies, life histories (Lewis, 1981; Graham, 1984). Feminist theory requires women's history (herstory) to be established so that women are *seen*. This may be accomplished by including the role of women in the established male history, or by adopting a women's centred approach by discovering what was important to women through diaries, autobiographies or even literature such as by Jane Austin. An important part of establishing the historical view is to accept women as actors not victims, (Lewis, 1981:62) by understanding the realities of their lives in history and measuring the degree of their resistance within the boundaries that were imposed on them. Histories from below record the everyday histories of struggle and resistance (Graham, 1984:108). Maori history also needs to record everyday struggles and resistance. As well, in understanding the Maori relationship to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, it is pertinent to adopt a Maori centred approach to discover what is important to Maori. The most appropriate way to achieve this is through Maori history, which strongly emphasises oral history

instead of solely relying on written documents and Pakeha laws as the only basis to history.

However, Horsfield has demonstrated that quantitative research still has its place in feminist research. She has used both large and small scale surveys to extract information for her 1988 account *Woman in the Economy*. The advantage of quantitative research methods is that they are unobtrusive. However it is important to be aware of the disadvantages. Definitions frequently originate from male ideology. Information may be missing because the relevant questions were not even considered when the survey was constructed, thus leaving *hidden* information. I have attempted to ensure that I did not leave relevant information hidden, by carefully considering the questions to be asked. Research is a political act, furthering the interests of one group at the expense of another group (Bryson, 1979:88). Political and ethical issues relate to the choice of topic, the research methods used and the way results are presented and ultimately used (Bryson, 1979:90).

Political and Ethical Issues

As demonstrated earlier, all research is political. Hanmer and Leonard in their article, *Negotiating the Problem: the DHSS and research on violence in marriage* have exposed difficulties experienced gaining access to funds for research (Hanmer and Leonard, 1984). They question the definition of *research* as expressed by the traditional hierarchy, the manner in which the research topic was delineated and restricted so that the research which eventuates may become meaningless or distorted. Politics is obviously a major part of the decisions relating to who commissions any piece of research, the desired outcome, the research priorities, and therefore the choice of a researcher who is likely to reproduce the values of the funders (Hanmer and Leonard, 1984:34). Feminist research is intended to lead to action and social change (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:138) It is a political act which challenges the dominant culture and suggests changes to power relations, policy and practice (Weiss, 1987:65). Obviously the supporters of the status quo who

usually hold the purse strings are less likely to fund anti-establishment research. In addition, once research has been undertaken it needs to reach the public arena. Dorothy Smith refers to the:

gatekeepers [who] set the standards, produce the social knowledge, monitor what is admitted to the systems of distribution, and decree the innovations in thought, or knowledge or values (Smith in Spender, 1981:187).

These gatekeepers are involved in all aspects of the research process, from funding and choosing the research topic, through to publication and use of the research outcome. Spender highlights the problem of accomplishing and publishing feminist research when the majority of these gatekeepers are white males. As research that is unpublished is essentially non-existent research (Spender, 1981:188) it is imperative to overcome the obstacles presented by the gatekeepers who include publishers, reviewers, editors and advisers. To this end some feminist researchers have bypassed the academic publishing hierarchy, opting instead to approach the editors of feminist publications. While this may allow their work to be published, it creates two problems. Firstly, this is frequently used to denigrate the literature of feminist research as lacking the accepted (male) standards that are required for mainstream publication and therefore further marginalising feminist research (Spender, 1981:197). Secondly, it limits the audience to pro-feminist readers, thereby reducing the ability to inform the wider population, albeit academic population (Spender, 1981:198).

This further compounds the (non) reputation of feminist academics, as published literature is instrumental in setting the parameters of future debate (Spender, 1981:190). If feminist writing is not in the open arena for debate it is ignored, limiting further the ability to publish at a later date. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Two, the gatekeepers to public information on Maori issues have kept much of this knowledge away from the public arena. Although there is much information on the consequences

to Maori of the Treaty/te Tiriti, the mainstream media does not give it in-depth coverage, choosing instead to marginalise Maori news, frequently using it against Maori. It is the Maori outlets, such as Waka Huia, Marae and Mana news, all of which are specifically aimed at Maori, which publicise Maori news in a straightforward manner. Presenting the information only in these forums marginalises it in the same way women's issues are marginalised if they are published only in feminist publications.

Spender maintains that feminists must break through into mainstream publications to give their work credibility and validity in the broader research community. Feminists need to dismantle the domination of male gatekeepers and gain access. She recommends that we can use the established outlets to make visible the fact that feminist writing is being excluded, and cites Eichler's suggestion to research the history of feminist scholarship and publish the experience of feminist scholars (Spender, 1981:200). To prevent feminist research from being marginalised it is important to be accepted into the broader research community, a strategy that becomes easier as other groups use the theory, concepts and methodology to improve their own positions in society.

A further political and ethical issue arises once the research has been published as it is then in the public arena and the results can be used by others to suit their own purposes. Feminist research is based on the belief that research should not further disadvantage minority groups (Bryson, 1979:89) so it is imperative for feminists to be aware of the negative ways in which their research may be interpreted and used against an oppressed group.

The Enlightenment Model

According to Finch, researchers may adopt one of four possible positions: those of enlightenment, adviser, advocate or one of direct involvement with policy (Finch, 1986:211-217). I see my position as in an enlightenment role, whereby the researcher is

not actively involved in problem solving or action, but provides insight. The enlightenment role emphasises the indirect effects of the research findings, so that the policy issues can be reconceptualised and reorientated as a result of the research (Finch, 1986:211-212). This provides an emphasis on the ways of thinking about the issue, generating an understanding of the role values play in social processes (Finch, 1986:212). The enlightenment model implies that the researcher needs to stay with the research project over a longer time-scale than the official end of the project (Finch, 1986:220) as this model stresses interpretation of the findings within the political context. Therefore the possibility for reinterpretation and misinterpretation makes it crucial for the researcher to stay with the project. Janowitz claims that while the enlightenment model:

seeks specific answers, its emphasis is on creating the intellectual conditions for problem solving ... by weakening myths, refuting distortions and preventing an imbalanced view of social reality from dominating collective decisions (Bulmer, 1982:48).

An aspect of the enlightenment model is that academic freedom is retained by the researcher (Janowitz in Bulmer, 1982:48). As this research is being carried out by myself as part of my MA thesis requirements, this academic freedom will be retained. This research project has not been commissioned by any other agency who might influence my judgements. However, the concept of a politically free research project is not as simplistic as this may seem, as I have previously demonstrated. Having discussed feminist theory and research methods in general, I shall now turn to the specifics of the research process for this thesis. This includes the choice of topic, participants, data collection, data handling, processing and analysing, and the various ethical issues which arise from this piece of research.

Choice of Topic

The most fundamental act of research is the choice of a topic (Bryson, 1979:90). Bryson states that much research is for commercial gain, which supports the owning class, or is academic research undertaken for the professional advantage of the researcher (Bryson, 1979:90). Topics are “manageable” within a short time for quick publication or to complete a degree, thereby avoiding long term or difficult analysis (Bryson, 1979:91). Topics may also be commissioned by particular organisations, wishing to reinforce their own stance. Most research involves *studying down*, looking at groups who are disadvantaged and powerless (Bryson, 1979:94). In comparison, my thesis, to some extent, involves *studying up*, to examine the attitudes and rationale of the (potentially)¹ economically, politically and socially powerful. Nadar, an anthropologist, asks:

What if, in reinventing anthropology, anthropologists were to study the coloniser rather than the colonised, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless, the culture of affluence rather than the culture of poverty (Nadar in Bryson, 1979:05).

An understanding of the powerful and privileged is necessary before we can influence them to share their power and privilege. We try to acquire this understanding through the feminist research methods of open ended questions in qualitative research. I am basing this thesis on the identification of first year tertiary students’ perceptions and attitudes to the Treaty/te Tiriti issues and researching if and how these attitudes change as a result of the inclusion of Treaty/te Tiriti issues in their various degrees.

¹ I use the word “potentially” here because the participants in my thesis research are students who are likely to have this power in the future.

The Participants

The participants in this research are first year tertiary students from degree programmes in nursing, business studies and media studies.² I had planned to use a randomly selected tutorial group of students from each of first year degree programmes to represent the body of first year students in each of those degree courses. Each tutorial group held approximately eighteen to twenty students. The random selection of each tutorial group was dependent on a tutorial timetable that did not conflict with my own lecturing duties. No other criteria was used. For both the business and media studies students this selection process worked well. However, I encountered a problem with the nursing students, as the Nursing Department had a policy that prevented me from using an already established tutorial group. Their concern was that students could not be expected to participate in any research project, a concern I shared. The only option they allowed me was to approach the entire first year nursing body of students and ask for volunteers. This produced eighteen volunteers from within the first year student body of approximately one hundred students. As these participants self selected, it is probable that the group as a whole had a greater interest in this topic than may have been found in a randomly selected group, and this may have affected the results from this group. A second problem in choosing individual volunteers, instead of a randomly selected tutorial group, became evident later when I began the follow up process. In maintaining the protection of the participants' anonymity, I was not able to identify the students individually and, therefore, had to rely on the nursing students turning up for the second part of the data collection. In the event, fifteen of the eighteen who began the research process, returned for the follow-up questionnaire. This problem did not eventuate for the other participants. Although I could not identify them individually, they were all part of the same tutorial group so their lecturers could identify anyone who was missing from the second session, and arranged for them to complete that section later.

² The media students are not part of my findings as ultimately they did not receive the Treaty/te Tiriti education.

At the beginning of this research I approached all three groups and explained who I was, the nature of my research, what would be expected from them and what they could expect from me. As well, all participants were given an information sheet³ on the research and their role in it. I emphasised that student participation in this research was not compulsory, although no student in the randomly selected tutorial groups objected to his/her inclusion in the study. To avoid the potential difficulty of a student having to publicly object to his/her participation in this research, the first questionnaire was given to all who were present, with the suggestion that students hand it back with the others, regardless of whether they chose to participate or not. I explained the process that this research would take, and asked for volunteers for some indepth interviews. A total of nine students (three from each group) volunteered to participate in the interviews. This was done by students stating their availability for an interview and including a contact name and telephone number in the space provided at the end of the first questionnaire.

Towards the end of the research process, I encountered another problem concerning the participants. A change of lecturer in the course component where the Treaty/te Tiriti issues were normally taught, for the media studies students, resulted in a change of programme. This meant that this intake of media studies students did not receive the expected education on Treaty/Tiriti issues. Consequently, I was not able to ascertain whether the education process would have changed their attitudes or not. I was, therefore, forced to withdraw their data from my results, leaving me with only two sample groups.

Data Collection

The data was collected through a combination of methods. I began with the content analysis of literature and course details that was used for these topics in each of the sample groups. This included both an analysis of the course documents and a detailed discussion/interview with staff members involved in the teaching process in relation to

³ See Appendix Two for a copy of the information sheet.

the content and approach each lecturer took. The content of each of the three degree courses was examined and compared to ascertain where similarities and differences exist in the course content and teaching approach.

Each of the sample groups of first year students from the different degree programmes completed a questionnaire both before and after exposure to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi component of their respective courses. The second questionnaire was administered approximately three weeks after the education process. This gave enough time for the students to consider what they had covered but not so long that they had forgotten, as they moved on to other priorities in their studies. The structure of the questionnaires was a combination of quantitative and qualitative questions, with the emphasis on the qualitative component. This proved invaluable in gathering data on the participants attitudes and perceptions. Frequently, when the participants were asked to choose from alternatives, such as “Is New Zealand a bicultural country?” a straight quantitative choice between “yes” or “no” did not always give accurate data. When this response is compared with the response to a more open ended qualitative question “Explain what you understand by the term *bicultural*” the quantitative responses above are put into another light and can only be interpreted in relation to the participants’ understanding of biculturalism. The difference between the quantitative and qualitative responses is demonstrated in the analysis of the primary data in Chapter Six.

Quantitative data was mainly restricted to demographic information, with qualitative data gathered on attitudinal responses. As I wanted to track individual attitudinal changes as well as collective attitudinal changes, I required a method which would identify individual students without compromising students’ anonymity as promised. To accomplish this, students were asked to use the numbers representing their birthday, date/month/year as an identifier. For simplicity it was a means of identification that students would not forget over the time between the administration of the first and second questionnaires. The reason for this was explained to the participants when the first questionnaire was administered. Confidentiality was

preserved as I had no way of matching birthdates with individual participants. Chapter Five will describe both the detail of the questionnaires and the responses of the participants. Chapter Six will then follow with an analysis of the data.

Each of the questionnaires were followed by one on one interviews with the three volunteers from each of the sample groups. The participants were told that the interviews would last approximately an hour, although on a couple of occasions these were longer, with the participants permission. These interviews allowed me to gain more insight by taking some of the questions from the preceding questionnaire to a deeper level. The interviews were semi-structured, in that while the participants were given considerable leeway to discuss whatever they chose, I influenced the direction of the interview to ensure we had covered all aspects of the topic that I required. Before the interviews took place I assured each of the participants to the interviews that anything they said would be treated as confidential and they would not be identified in any way. The interviews were taped, with the agreement of each participant. Each participant to the interviews first signed a consent form⁴ agreeing to the interview and agreeing to my using the information given in the interview. Feminist theory believes that research needs to be as reflexive as possible by continually questioning the means by which data is collated and checking to ensure that what the researched group actually say and mean is being clearly understood (Stanley and Wise, 1990:24; Lather, 1986:444; McRobbie, 1982:97). I endeavoured to do that by paraphrasing and seeking clarification as to what students meant by what they had said. As well, all interviewees received a copy of the interview transcript and had the right to comment on, clarify or withdraw, any statements recorded in the transcript, before it was included in the written report of the thesis.

Lastly, I observed each of the classes in action through the education process. This included the content, method of delivery, physical environment, class atmosphere, comments, participation and attitudes of the students and lecturers taking the course,

⁴ See Appendix Five for a copy of the consent form

throughout all lectures/tutorials/workshops etcetera for each of the sample groups. This required my obtaining permission from the lecturers concerned, to allow me to sit in on their class and observe what took place. In the case of the nursing students, it also involved my obtaining permission from the group of students who were present in that particular workshop. Because my sample group of nursing students were not from the one tutorial, it was not possible for me to observe the particular group of nursing students who were participating in the questionnaires and interviews. Consequently my observation of the teaching process in the nursing department involved a tutorial group comprising of students who had not necessarily volunteered to participate in the research at the beginning of the year. My observations of the teaching process are recorded in Chapter Five.

Data Processing and Analysis

The information gathered from the above methods was analysed both descriptively and statistically. Statistical analysis was used on the demographical data and parts of the questionnaires where quantitative data is available. However the main thrust was through descriptive analysis, using the information gained in the interviews, open ended sections of the questionnaires and observation of the teaching processes. The information from the questionnaires was accumulated for each of the sample groups separately. As each group experienced a different teaching process, I was able to observe the different responses. All tapes of the interviews were transcribed. The data was then separated into various categories to give some structure to the findings. These categories are described fully in Chapter Five, where the data gathered is also recorded.

With the exception of a transcript typist, who signed a declaration of confidentiality,⁵ all data was processed by myself. The tapes displayed no identification of the participants and have been kept on a floppy disk. None of the raw data has been recorded on a hard disk. All raw data, including tapes, transcripts and questionnaires

⁵ See Appendix Seven for a copy of the declaration of confidentiality.

have been kept in a locked filing cabinet with myself holding the only key. All information on the tapes will be erased and the questionnaires will be destroyed.

Ethical Issues

Prior to the commencement of this research, ethical approval was gained from the Human Ethics Committees of both Massey University and the educational institution the participants were attending. Both of these were required because this research was part of my MA requirements at Massey University and because the students' rights needed protection.⁶

Potential risks existed in that students may have perceived that anything they said could be used negatively to influence grades in their courses of study. I needed to assure them that this will not happen. Assurance was given concerning the confidentiality of their responses, in that no other lecturer would see any of the raw data. There was also a potential risk that the validity of this research may be questioned if I participated in group discussion within the tutorial groups. Students may have given a response that they believed I wanted. To overcome this possibility I ensured that my presence at such times was as an observer and not a participant.

There is a potential risk also that individual lecturers may have felt that they and/or their programmes were under scrutiny. I tried to overcome this possible perception by gaining the support of the appropriate lecturers. None of the individual lecturers are identified in the thesis. Although I prepared consent forms for each of the lectures to sign agreeing to my presence in their classes, none of the lecturers chose to sign because they considered this was unnecessary. All staff members approached have warmly supported this research and given freely of their time to discuss their Treaty/Tiriti programmes.

⁶ To maintain confidentiality the educational institution of the participants has not been named. Therefore, the ethics approval document is not included in the appendix. See Appendix One for approval from the Human Ethics Committee, Massey University.

Another ethical question is the degree of confidentiality of the raw data and the protection of those taking part in the research project (Finch, 1986:203). No material which is likely to embarrass or incriminate individuals should be made public. This can be addressed in the final document which is made public by eliminating all references that would allow identification of the participant. However, there is also the question of protecting the privacy of participants in regard to the raw data. It is important to know who owns or gets access to the raw data before privacy has been protected within the public document. The ownership of all raw data gathered in the interviews remains the property of the individual participant, who has the right to edit it before making it available for use within the thesis. All other data and materials produced are owned by the researcher, as it is not possible to identify any individual participant in the questionnaires. Finch discusses both the individual level and collective level of confidentiality (Finch, 1986:202-207). As I shall be the only one to have access to the raw data, the question of confidentiality and protection should not pose a problem in this instance. As well none of the raw data had any personal identification attached to it. Participants answered the questionnaires anonymously, and interviewees were identified by a code known only to myself. The only other person who had access to any of the raw data is the transcript typist, who also signed a confidentiality form.

Ethical issues also extend to whether the researcher has the informed consent of those under investigation, to the information acquired. The rights, interests and sensitivities of the participants will be protected at all times. At the top of the questionnaires is a statement informing participants that completing all or any part of the questionnaire was deemed to constitute their consent. When handing out the questionnaires I also drew this statement of consent to the students' attention. Therefore all participants have given informed consent. Anyone in each of the sample research groups had the option of not participating. All of those who participated in the interviews volunteered and, in addition, each of them signed a consent form before the interview commenced. The issue of confidentiality is paramount and will be upheld through the following

processes. Participants in the interviews were assured of total confidentiality and again are not able to be identified by name in any written report.

Summary

Throughout this chapter I have discussed the theories, concepts and methodology that are applied to feminist research explaining that feminist research is equally valid for the research of all groups, and should not be marginalised for women only, but should add to or replace the broader knowledge of research. I explained how qualitative research methods, which are based on the view from below, give more in-depth knowledge than is possible with quantitative research, especially when researching peoples attitudes and perceptions. I identified the political and ethical reasons for these preferences. In the discussion around the political issues surrounding the commissioning and publishing of feminist research I explained why writers representing oppressed groups must discover ways to overcome and join the gatekeepers of knowledge, research and publications. Finally, I have detailed the research design, methods and ethical considerations that apply to the research process of this thesis, illustrating how the use of qualitative research methods has given me a richer pool of data to use in my analysis of this thesis topic. In Chapter Five I shall record the data that was collected by the research methods used, as described in this chapter. Later in Chapter Six, the data will be analysed to allow conclusions to be drawn from this research.

Chapter Five: The Empirical Data

*Think the only people who are people
Are the people who look and think like you
But if you walk the footsteps of a stranger
You'll learn the things you never knew you never knew*

Stephen Schwartz

Lyrics from "Paint with all the Colours of the Wind"

Introduction

This chapter deals with the primary research data gathered when I investigated the perceptions of first year tertiary students on the current relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, the educational process they encountered on this issue during their first year of tertiary study, and the degree to which their attitudes and perceptions changed as a result of education in the topic. The following chapter will analyse this data and draw conclusions from it.

In Chapter Four I discussed the methods used for this research piece. In this chapter I shall detail the approach used in selecting the participants for this research, and the rationale for the procedures and information requested in the questionnaires¹ and the interviews,² which were used to gather the data. I shall record also the responses of the students, both before and after the education process, and my observations of the education process. Firstly I shall consider the selection of the participants in this research project.

Participant Selection

Participants were selected as follows:

From each of the nursing, business studies and media studies degree programmes, a group of approximately eighteen students were selected from a first year semester

¹ A copy of each of the questionnaires used is attached in Appendix Eight.

² A list of questions that formed the focus for the interviews is attached in Appendix Nine.

one intake of students.³ From the business studies first year students, one tutorial group was randomly selected⁴ to represent the body of first year students in this degree course. As that option was not made available to me with the nursing students a group of eighteen students from the first year student body in that year volunteered to participate.⁵ Within the business studies group, students were also made aware that participation in this research was not compulsory, although no student in the randomly selected tutorial group declined to participate in the study. A total of six students (three students from each tutorial group included in the study) volunteered to take part in the individual interviews. The next section will give a description of how the data was collected.

Data Collection

The data collected has been separated into three major components.

- i. The first component of the data consisted of a preliminary questionnaire and interview of students at the beginning of their undergraduate courses, to ascertain their perceptions, attitudes and prior knowledge, and to identify what has influenced these perceptions. The format of the questionnaires will be elaborated on later in this chapter. All students in the sample group participated in the questionnaires whereas only the smaller sub-group of self selected students participated in the interviews.
- ii. The second component of the data was gained by my observation of the education process the students experienced. Each of the two undergraduate groups was exposed to a different approach and had a different emphasis placed on the information they received and the way in which that information was delivered.

³ When this research project began it included a survey group of media studies students but, for reasons explained previously in Chapter Four, the results from these students have not been included in this thesis.

⁴ The selection of the tutorial group was dependent on a tutorial timetable that did not conflict with my own lecturing duties with other classes. No other criteria was used.

⁵ The Department of Nursing had a policy that prevented my using a randomly selected tutorial group for any research purposes. Therefore my only option was to approach the entire first year nursing student body and ask for volunteers.

Observation of the education process included the content, method of delivery, physical environment, class atmosphere, comments, participation and attitudes of the students throughout all lectures, tutorials and workshops for each of the two degree courses. Content analysis of the course details included both an analysis of the course documents and a detailed discussion/interview with staff members involved in the teaching process, in relation to the content and approach each lecturer took. The different approaches taken by each department will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. These different styles had an effect on the students' overall reaction to the education process. Again, these differences will be discussed in the students' responses later in this chapter, and further compared in the following chapter.

iii. The third component of the data consisted of a follow up questionnaire and interview of students at the end of their education process on the Treaty/te Tiriti course. The second questionnaire was aimed at identifying what students learned about Treaty/Tiriti issues through the course, what their perceptions and attitudes were at the end of their study on Treaty/Tiriti issues and the degree to which their study in each course had been instrumental in changing their attitudes, including the direction of any attitudinal changes that may have taken place. Again, all students in the sample group participated in the questionnaires and the smaller sub-group of self selected students participated in the one on one follow up interviews. I shall now turn to an in-depth description of the content of the questionnaires.

The Questionnaires

The First Questionnaire

The first questionnaire comprised three elements.

- i. The first section covered the quantitative data, which included each student's background in terms of identification of the student's gender, ethnic group, groups

with which the student had close cultural ties, country of birth, length of time the student or their family had lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand.⁶

- ii. The second section examined the students' perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. This section included students' preferences for the Treaty or te Tiriti as the most relevant of the two documents. It also explored the students' knowledge of, understanding of and attitude towards the concept of Maori sovereignty and biculturalism.
- iii. The third, and final section, asked what had influenced their perceptions and attitudes concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. This section was divided into the four parts which have the most influence on students.⁷ These four parts are (a) family and friends, (b) school or general education, (c) the media, and (d) current Treaty/Tiriti issues.

The interviews followed much the same format as the questionnaires but allowed for more in-depth questioning and comment, particularly in relation to the influences which had impacted on the students' attitudes. The interviews were semi-structured, allowing the students reasonable latitude to express whatever they chose. The only structure given to the interview was to ensure that all the required subject matter had been covered by the end of the interview.

The Follow - Up Questionnaire

The second questionnaire comprised two main elements:

⁶ Students who had not been born in Aotearoa/New Zealand stated the number of years they had lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Those who had been born here stated the number of generations each of their parents had lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This allowed me to examine whether there were any significant attitudinal differences between those who were recent Aotearoa/New Zealand residents/citizens and those whose connection with Aotearoa/New Zealand went back for several generations.

⁷ I did not include the influence of the State here, as this is a thesis in itself. As well, the ideology of the State has both direct and indirect influence on the concepts that are expounded in the school system and the media. Therefore, these also influence individual perceptions such as those of family and friends.

- i. The first section of this began with an acknowledgment as to whether the student had participated in the various activities relating to the education process on Treaty/Tiriti issues. Unless the participant had been involved with the education process it was not possible to analyse the effect education may have had in changing students' perceptions on the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti. Further exploration questioned the students' perception of the manner in which the course was conducted, as both the method and the content are important components of the education process.
- ii. The second part of the follow-up questionnaire essentially examined the same information that had been previously examined in the second section of the first questionnaire. This included the students' perceptions as to the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti today, the choice between the Treaty and te Tiriti as the most relevant, and students' understanding of and attitude to the concept of Maori sovereignty and biculturalism. This information was used as a comparison with the information gathered in the first questionnaire, to ascertain whether students' perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi had changed as a result of the education they had encountered.

Again the interviews followed much the same format as the questionnaires but allowed for more open ended responses. It is pertinent now to record the results of the data gathered, beginning with the observations of the nursing students which will be followed, later in the chapter, by observations of the business students. The conclusions drawn from this data will be discussed in the following chapter.

Nursing Students

Quantitative Statistics - Nursing Students

The 18 nursing students who took part in the research project were all volunteers from the wider intake of first year students in the year of study. As such, they self selected to participate rather than being part of a random selection as applied to the participants from the business students. As discussed earlier in this chapter this decision was imposed on me by the nursing department. Although eighteen students

volunteered to participate at the beginning the research, the final data covers only fourteen of the original eighteen.⁸ Because these students self selected it is probable that the group as a whole had a greater interest in this topic than may have been found in a randomly selected group and this is may have slightly skewed the results of this group. Certainly, with five of the fourteen students in the survey group identifying their ethnic group as Maori, this represents 36% of the sample group, which is a much higher percentage than the approximately 6% of Maori students found within the total first year nursing student population in the year of study.

Participants identified themselves as primarily⁹ belonging to the following ethnic¹⁰ groups:

Pakeha	2
NZ European ¹¹	1
European ¹²	3
Maori	5
Asian (Chinese/Japanese)	3

⁸ As the nursing students who participated were not part of the same tutorial group it was more difficult to locate all of them for the follow up questionnaire. As part of the confidentiality process I did not have a list of their names and therefore had to rely on each student following through on the whole process. In the event, three of the original students did not participate in the second questionnaire so I removed their input gathered from the first questionnaire from the results. One other student who participated in both questionnaires did not attend the education process at this institute with the other students. I removed her data also as it was not possible to ascertain a change in her attitudes as a result of the education process. Refer to Chapter Four on methodology for an explanation of how these student could be identified while their anonymity was maintained.

⁹ When students nominated more than one ethnic group, the first one listed was taken to be the primary ethnic group.

¹⁰ Participants were not given a list to choose from. This was an open ended question with the ethnic group listed being selected by the individual student without any prompting.

¹¹ This group, although Aotearoa/New Zealand born did not identify with the term "Pakeha." See Chapter Two for further elaboration.

¹² This was a differentiation between those students who identified themselves as European as distinct from New Zealand/European. The former group were not New Zealand born whereas the latter group were New Zealand born.

However, when asked with which ethnic groups they had close cultural ties, five responded with “no close cultural ties”. Of the others, one identified as Pakeha, five as Maori, and two as Chinese and one as Asian. Most notably, it was the majority of the participants who identified their ethnic group as either Pakeha, European, or European/New Zealander who did not consider they had any close cultural ties. This raises an interesting question. Is this lack of a cultural identity in themselves an important factor when non-Maori New Zealanders dismiss the difference in culture and insist on calling us all one people (New Zealanders) instead of two peoples (New Zealand Maori and New Zealand Pakeha)? To this extent perhaps they find it difficult to appreciate the bicultural nature of our nation. Interestingly, four of the five participants who identified themselves as having strong Maori cultural ties also identified other cultural ties, one being Tongan, the others being a combination of European, English and Scottish.

Nine of the participants were born in Aotearoa/New Zealand, eight in the North Island and one in the South Island. All of this sub-group had at least one parent whose family had been in Aotearoa/New Zealand for a minimum of three generations, while the families of over half of the Aotearoa/New Zealand born group (5) had been in Aotearoa/New Zealand for over five generations. Of the five participants who were not Aotearoa/New Zealand born, two were from Taiwan, and one each was from West Germany, Holland and Malaysia. All had lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand for reasonably long periods of time, 3 years, 5 years, 7 years, 12 years and 14 years. All were planning to remain in Aotearoa/New Zealand after their education had finished. Of the whole group, twelve were female and two were male.

In the next section of this chapter I shall record the various responses given by the nursing students in relation to the first questionnaire and the initial interviews, which were administered to discover what perceptions the students held concerning the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and what had

influenced the students into forming these attitudes. These will be set out in the format as described earlier in this chapter. An analysis of these responses will follow in Chapter Six.

Nursing Students Perceptions of the Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

In this section students were asked whether they considered the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant in Aotearoa/New Zealand today. Of the fourteen students surveyed twelve considered that the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant today, while two thought it was no longer relevant. Those who responded in the affirmative elaborated with the following comments:

- *Important for Maori*
- *Maori people first residents - own this land too. The Treaty must be honoured*
- *Base for European settlers and Maori to work out peaceful agreement. Beginning to iron out problems (3)¹³*
- *Agreement between English Crown and Maori - descendants of both are still here so it's still relevant (3)*

Some of the responses from students who did consider the Treaty/te Tiriti was relevant gave more ambivalent comments such as:

- *Treaty important but it has detrimental effects*
- *Parts of Treaty are relevant*

¹³ The numbers in brackets after the quotes from students, represent the number of students who gave the same, or a similar, response.

These students, although stating that they believe the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant consider that there should be restrictions on the degree of its application. Typical comments negating the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti included:

- *Land claims - but long ago*
- *We are multicultural and can't live in the past*
- *Part of New Zealand history but should not be used for political gain*

The above comments come from students who consider the Treaty/te Tiriti is no more than a piece of history from which we need to move on.

Treaty or Tiriti?

Probing further, I followed with the question as to which of the two documents, the Treaty or te Tiriti, as elaborated in Chapter Three, was considered the more relevant. Seven participants considered the Maori version, te Tiriti, was more relevant than the English version of the Treaty, explaining that:

- *Maori here first*
- *Informed consent means Maori version most relevant (2)*

One considered the English version of the Treaty was more relevant than te Maori Tiriti, elaborating as follows:

- *English, because it must be available for the majority to understand*

This comment fails to take into account that most people will read the English translation of the Tiriti and that these are two different documents saying different things. On the other hand, five participants believed that neither version was relevant for the following reasons:

- *Both have difficulties - the different versions vary on important issues(2)*
- *Neither version, there are compromises but the Maori version is the most fair*
- *Both equally relevant as neither understood the other's views*

Given that at least three of these five students had already agreed that they considered the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant in the question above, my interpretation of a “neither version” response is an indication that the participant does not accept the Treaty/te Tiriti in its original form and wants to either change or relegate the Treaty/te Tiriti to an historical document with little relevance today. To try to rewrite the Treaty/te Tiriti to suit particular interest groups today is, in effect, to consider the original document redundant. One student answered that she did not know because she did not know what each version stated.

Maori sovereignty

The next segment of this section questioned the students' understanding of the concept of Maori sovereignty. Although the term “Maori sovereignty” is used frequently these days, when I attempted to discover what interpretation(s) members of this group held, only half of the students had any understanding of the concept at all. Of those who did respond one stated:

- *Maori have total control or have 50% of control*

However, a more common response to the understanding of Maori sovereignty was the following:

- *Maori are independent and rule themselves/ self determination*
[or variations of this response] (6)

Of the rest, the response was either “I don’t understand” (3) or no response at all. Three agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty if it meant Maori controlling their own lives only and as long as it did not impinge on the rest of Aotearoa/New Zealand society, although they still expressed fears about its application. One disagreed as:

- *Stronger tribes would assert power over smaller tribes*

Of the rest, one agreed with the concept of Maori having 50% political say. Three had no opinion and six did not respond to the question. When I pressed further to ascertain whether students could differentiate between te tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga, only two gave any interpretation while the other twelve either responded that they did not know(6) or they did not respond to the question(6). I interpreted a non response as a lack of understanding of the terms. Of the two who did respond they interpreted te tino rangatiratanga as *self determination*, and kawanatanga as *affiliation to overall government body*, or *Government telling us what to do*.

Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Bicultural Society?

Finally, in attempting to discover the students’ views on a bicultural society, I questioned whether the political power structure should be altered to give Maori equal say in political and economic decisions. These responses were varied. Two were not sure how the current political power operated, while one student had not given the concept a thought. Other responses were:

- *Yes - Maori need a voice, both political and economic/ stated in the Treaty (2)*
- *Should be according to the population percentage only of Maori seats (2)*

Other responses indicated either a monocultural perspective, such as:

- *Yes - We should be united as one*
- *Maori must attain the position themselves - they are capable of it*

or bypassed the bi-cultural aspect for a multicultural perspective.

- *Yes - everyone needs a voice - we're multicultural*

Where Prior Perceptions Originated

Having established the students' attitudes on the Treaty/te Tiriti I endeavoured to discover what had influenced these attitudes and perceptions by establishing influences such as (a) family, friends and church, (b) the influence of school, the extent of their reading of Treaty/Tiriti related literature (c) what media outlets the student had experienced, how the media may have influenced their perceptions, and (d) the impact of the Maori land settlement claims and the Maori activism. As discussed in Chapter One, land occupation that was current at the time may have influenced students' perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Family and Friends

Eight of the survey group considered their views had been influenced by family whereas only three considered they had been influenced by friends.

School and General Education

Six of the students considered aspects of their schooling had influenced how they felt on the Treaty/te Tiriti relevance.

I have included in the category of education the effect of literature on attitudes towards the Treaty/te Tiriti and general Maori topics. Of the fourteen in the survey group three had read (part of) Claudia Orange's "The Treaty of Waitangi" (Orange, 1987), two had read "Maori sovereignty" by Donna Awatere (Awatere:1984), one "Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge" by Alan Duff. Half of the group (7) had read "Once were Warriors" by Alan Duff. This lead me to conclude that there was little

evidence that these students had done much reading of relevant literature on the Treaty/te Tiriti, and therefore had gained little information from this quarter which was likely to affect their perceptions and attitudes.

The Media

When asked if they read, watched or listened to any of the media outlets identified below, the responses were as is set out in Table 1 below. The term “Maori issues” rather than “Treaty issues” is used here deliberately, as a number of Pakeha interpret the current discussion on the Treaty/te Tiriti as a concern for Maori alone. The issue of te tino rangatiratanga is at the core of the problem for Maori, and, as such, almost all Maori issues stem from the Treaty/te Tiriti. Most of what is reported in the media relating to Maori originally stems from Treaty/Tiriti issues. I was concerned that students participating in this survey might not recognise such things as access to education, health services, welfare, language, culture, resources, sovereignty etcetera as being related to the Treaty/te Tiriti. Indications are that most Pakeha think of land as being the only Treaty/te Tiriti issue. Therefore I did not want to restrict their interpretation of what is a Treaty/Tiriti issue when discussing the media.

Table 5.1

Table 5. 1 showing the number of nursing students who used the following media outlets.

	Always or mostly	Some- times	Seldom or Never
Items in the general news in the NZ Herald (or equivalent) concerning Maori issues.	2	7	5
News items on commercial radio on Maori issues	2	9	3
Mana News on National Radio	0	2	12
Relevant in depth interviews and/or documentaries concerning Maori issues on National Radio.	0	5	9
TV programs such as 20/20, 60 Minutes on Maori issues.	4	5	5
Marae on TV1	2	2	10
Radio Aotearoa	1	2	11

Table 1 shows that, of the fourteen students surveyed, very few always or mostly gained information from the various media outputs. Only two regularly read the NZ Herald (or local equivalent) or listened to news items on commercial radio that pertained to Maori issues. Two regularly watched Marae on TV1, one listened to Radio Aotearoa and four watched programmes such as 20/20 or 60 Minutes on a regular basis when Maori issues were being discussed. None listened to Mana News or other interviews on National radio. A greater proportion said they sometimes read, watched or listened to such programmes, NZ Herald (7), commercial radio (9), Marae (2), Radio Aotearoa (2), TV documentaries (5), Mana News (2) and National Radio (5). A disturbing number seldom or never used the media for input on Maori issues. In particular, media outlets not used by the survey group were Marae (10),

Radio Aotearoa (11), Mana News (12), interviews on National Radio (9), while a smaller, but still significant number seldom or never watched TV documentaries (5), read the newspaper (5), or listened to commercial radio (3) when these issues were being discussed. This reveals that few of the survey group of nursing students gained any input on Maori issues from those media outlets such as Mana News, Marae or National Radio which were more likely to cover these issues seriously, in more depth and in a non confrontational manner. Instead the main influence came from media outlets such as newspapers, commercial radio news items and TV news items where the approach was more likely to be sensationalised and dealt with in a small soundbite or headline and where in-depth discussion was more likely to be absent. Nine students considered that they had been influenced by one or more of the media outlets which included only newspaper, commercial radio and TV documentaries, while five did not consider they had been influenced at all. Media influence was considered to be either neutral or tended to incite negativity. Typical comments made by those who did consider the media had influenced them were:

- *Enabled me to see both sides - but hasn't changed my mind(2)*
- *I can understand what Maori are trying to do but I can't take an impartial view because of my Pakeha background*

While more negative responses were:

- *Being manipulated to suit one people in New Zealand (Referring to Maori)*
- *News of Maori radicals makes me angry when they are trying to change society*

Two students, one Maori, one Pakeha were concerned that the media gave a distorted view which reflected the mainstream Pakeha interests, putting Maori in a bad light.

- *I take it most seriously due to the influence on the masses - very negative*

This student, one of my interviewees, who had been present as a child at the police storming of Bastion Point had subsequently seen the headlines in the NZ Herald the next day - an interpretation that he felt did not correspond to the events he had witnessed.

- *I remember seeing this huddle of old people and young people just standing there looking kind of sad in the middle of this huge ball of power. They just peacefully stood there and the police closed in on them and arrested the lot of them.... The photograph in the Herald the next day showed really glaring police. There were none of the old people and the headline was "Bastion Point Protest," whereas, from the perspective I saw, it could easily have been written "Peaceful Protest ends in Over Reaction by Police and Army"*

Current Treaty/Tiriti Issues¹⁴

The survey group considered their views had been strongly influenced by recent occurrences which had been portrayed in the news such as recent Maori land settlement cases (7) and recent Maori "activism" including land occupation (8). It is difficult to separate these responses from the influence of the media. One can question whether it was the land claims and Maori activism, per se, which influenced the students attitudes, or the way the media portrayed the events that was the greater influence. When asked if they considered land occupation was an acceptable method of protest four replied in the negative, claiming history belongs in the past. Six replied "yes" with the qualification that it should be only as a last resort and only if it

¹⁴ See Chapter One for more discussion on current Treaty/Tiriti issues

was a peaceful occupation with no violence directed at either people or property. The remaining students either said they did not know or gave no response.

In the last three sections of this chapter I have recorded the responses of the nursing students to the initial questionnaire and interviews. In Chapter Six I shall analyse these responses and compare them with the responses of the business students. I shall now move on to discuss my observation of the education process as it related to the nursing students.

The Education Process - Nursing

The group of nursing students that I observed was not the same group that was participating in the rest of my research. This was because my research group had not come from one tutorial group (as stated previously the nursing students were a group of self selected participants). As I was not able to observe the particular students who were participating in the research project I concentrated at this stage on the education programme that the students were exposed to. I was assured that the same process was followed with each tutorial group although, obviously, other groups may have responded differently from the group I observed. This was a randomly selected tutorial group of 20 first year students and two nursing lecturers who were together for a two day workshop. The tutorial group comprised 18 women and two men. The women all knew each other as they were part of the normal tutorial group who studied together all semester. The two men had been unable to join their usual tutorial groups for this session and were new to this group.

The physical environment was relaxing with everyone, students and lecturers, sitting in a circle on mattresses on the floor, so that everyone was facing into the centre of the room and all were at the same level. The process began with the students setting the ground rules for the workshop. Throughout the entire two days there was feeling of personal emotional safety within a quiet, peaceful atmosphere where everyone listened to and showed respect for others. Everyone was encouraged to express their

feelings and experiences at each stage of the workshop. Although one of the ground rules set was that students had the right not to speak, no-one exercised that right. The first day began with students individually expressing how they felt about being in that workshop for two days and what they were expecting from it. One older student commented:

- *Growing up I always thought that we were the same and lived together harmoniously. Lately, that doesn't seem to be the case and I don't know what the problem is*

They were then encouraged to talk about their own lives, family backgrounds, ancestry, special occasions within their families, the values and norms during their school experiences, messages they were being given and those they were giving to others. These exercises were leading them to understand their own culture, and further, to understand how the dominant ideology affects our society and our expectations of what is normal. Within this environment they started to question the so called *givens* in society. This was further developed by watching a video on, and discussion of, the practice of eugenics in Nazi Germany which was also linked into their nursing course.

On the second day they began by filling in an historical time line from 800 AD to 1996 AD showing what was happening in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the rest of the world. Oral history and written history indicated that Maori were as advanced in navigation, science, health and justice systems as was found in Europe at the same period in history. Because they may be different did not make them inferior, again extending the understanding of the influence of the dominant ideology. At this stage students studied the Treaty and te Tiriti concurrently, examining the differences in meanings and understanding of each of the paragraphs. They ended with a video “Koha - Land Loss” followed by a discussion of the video.

The two days were a mixture of lecturer talking and facilitating class discussion, small groups working on material provided which allowed the students to discover information themselves and come to their own conclusions. Videos were also used to provide further thought and discussion. The atmosphere was relaxed and the students were interested throughout the workshop. The next component of this chapter records the data gathered after the students had been through the education process and looks at what changes had occurred as a result of the education they had received.

The Follow-Up

Nursing Students' Participation in the Education Process

The nursing students who were surveyed all participated in the two day Treaty/Tiriti workshop. This was a compulsory part of their nursing course of study. One Maori student, from the research group, spent the second day with other Maori students and a Maori tutor instead of rejoining the main group. This was an option that was available for all Maori students. All the other Maori students in the survey chose to continue the second day with the rest of their tutorial group. However, it may be pertinent to record that all the first year Maori students in the first semester intake in the year of the survey were in the same tutorial group and therefore felt they had support from each other and the rest of their tutorial group. One of these students remarked in an interview:

- *We really talked it out before we went in there. We're not going to go in there and fight, you know, we're going in there as friends and we're going to come out as better friends, closer friends*

The one Maori student who chose to join the Maori lecturer for the second day was not able to attend the Treaty workshop at the same time as the rest of his usual tutorial class. Therefore, he was not only with a group of students he did not know

very well, but was also the only Maori in the workshop he did attend. He acknowledged that this had affected his decision as to where he spent the second day.

What Students Learned

Students were asked to identify what they had learned on the course that had significance for them. The following comments were made:

- *The different versions and interpretations of the Treaty...the way the Treaty was written (11)*
- *Land loss through legal injustices/ unfairness of the land courts/ the amount of land taken during and after the land wars (6)*
- *I understood my own culture more (4)*
- *The Declaration of Independence*

Overall it was significant that eleven out of fourteen students felt that they had not previously understood the difference between the two versions of the Treaty/te Tiriti and that the information they had gained had made a major impression on them. Given that this is our founding document we, as New Zealanders, should be aware of the interpretation given to both documents. Eleven students thought that they had gained extra information on the course that had made them rethink their opinion on Treaty/Tiriti issues. Of the three who did not feel they had changed their view, one indicated that he had not learned anything new during the course of study. This particular student had already had a good knowledge of Treaty/Tiriti issues and had previously stated that he believed the Treaty/te Tiriti was highly relevant today.

Students' Attitudes to the Workshop

Students were also asked to comment on the methods used to teach the topic and the appropriateness of each method. Except for two students who gave no response to this question, all the nursing students spoke positively of the manner in which the course was run. Most commented on the relaxed style of teaching which encouraged students to open up and the positive atmosphere and the feeling that there were no bad vibes. Group discussion was beneficial for all and they appreciated the

participation of the whole class. Specifically, one student recognised how the environment from our childhood influences how we see the world as adults. This was a warm, nurturing, safe environment where students could discuss a potentially controversial subject and all gain from the experience. It was difficult to see how a student could feel threatened or not benefit from this experience (as had been widely reported in the media the previous year). In fact one participant asked the tutor if anything had been changed as a result of the previous year's publicity and was told that the course had not changed. Students generally agreed that they could not see what all the fuss had been about. Perhaps this was just another case of the media sensationalising a trivial matter and politicians pushing their own agenda. I shall now record the nursing students post-workshop responses to the question of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti today.

Students' Perceptions of the Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Here I used the same instrument employed prior to the education process, with appropriate modifications, so the responses in this section can be compared directly with the responses in the earlier section.

Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Of the fourteen students surveyed eleven (12)¹⁵ considered that the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant today, while two (2) thought it was no longer relevant today. One (0) student was now unsure of its relevance. Although these figures showed little difference before and after the workshop, the reasons given to back this up appeared to be more positive, and less ambivalent, than they had been before the Treaty workshop.

- *Maori people were here first - they have the right to make decisions*

¹⁵ The figures in brackets immediately following the numerical data indicate the previous figures for these same questions

- *Treaty was entered into by Maori with trust - the legal intent of the English re land needs to be addressed*
- *Document forming commonwealth of New Zealand - largely ignored by the English after the signing - we're only just beginning to return to our founding document*
- *Acknowledges the rights of people who identify as New Zealanders. It allowed for the arrival of ancestors of non Maori provided they respect the guarantees to Maori found in the Treaty*
- *Many wrongs were committed after the signing - wouldn't have happened in the first place if Maori version had been upheld*

Treaty or Tiriti?

Eight (7) participants considered the Maori version, te Tiriti, was more relevant than the English version of the Treaty/te Tiriti, explaining that:

- *Maori needed to understand what they were signing/ International law recognises the indigenous version above others (3)*
- *Maori version had more signatures - more understanding*

There was zero (1) favouring the English version of the Treaty/te Tiriti, whereas six (5) participants believed that neither version was relevant. It is interesting to note that five of the six students who responded "neither version" were all immigrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand and all stressed that Aotearoa/New Zealand is multicultural and should not follow only one version of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Nine participants considered that Maori have justified grievances concerning the Treaty/te Tiriti. Again, of the four who disagreed that there were justified grievances, three were recent immigrants. The responses of the immigrants may be placed in the

context of the Asian backlash that was prevalent at the time. At the time the questionnaires were administered Winston Peters was pushing an anti-immigration policy. There was much vocal support for his anti-immigration stance and new (especially Asian) immigrants were feeling threatened. Alternatively, this response may have implications for the future if we do not sort out the bicultural issue before we increase our immigrant population. It is not clearly understood in Aotearoa/New Zealand that the bicultural issue is quite separate from the multicultural issue. This is not an either /or debate. One student did not respond to the question.

In identifying what participants considered to be justified grievances the following were quoted:

- *Land rights (7), fishing rights (2) and forestry rights (2) should have stayed in Maori possession*
- *Poor health/education facilities and poor representation in Parliament*
- *Right to self determination*

However, students were more circumspect when it came to suggesting how the grievances should be resolved with the main suggestions being:

- *Talking, communicating, presenting documentation to Government*
- *Government acknowledgment and recognition of injustices (3)*
- *Understanding history/ inform non-Maori of Maori rights to self determination (2)*
- *Maori gain claim to land but keep landowners happy*

Only three (3) considered that land occupation was appropriate while four (4) said it was not acceptable, demonstrating no change in these attitudes.

Maori sovereignty

An understanding of Maori sovereignty changed only slightly with seven (6) stating variations of:

- *Maori totally self governing, own laws and justice system*

Five either didn't know or did not respond.

Seven (3) now agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty but often with qualifications.

- *Yes - the results of a monoculture Pakeha system has resulted in poor health, education, economic and spiritual states. People need not fear this*
- *Yes - that was agreed in the Treaty, but as a Pakeha I feel threatened*
- *Yes - though it's hard to accept*
- *Yes - ultimately it would be better to rearrange the whole Government system to incorporate Maori ideas*

One disagreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty

- *No - I want New Zealand to be a melting pot of all nationalities. Maori and Pakeha need to recognise each others concerns and live together*

Six (6) gave no response to this question. Only two (2) could differentiate between tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga while the other twelve (12) either responded that they did not know or did not respond to the question, indicating no change.

Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Bicultural Society?

I continued by investigating students' attitudes regarding Aotearoa/New Zealand as a bicultural society. The following responses were elicited from students as an explanation of their understanding of the term *bicultural*. Nine replied with the statement below or one that was similar.

- *Two different cultures existing together*

Other comments included:

- *Having a level of understanding of both Maori and Pakeha cultures*
- *Mixing between races*

One student described a monocultural state with:

- *Two cultures combined to form one*

while another student declined to define bicultural by stating:

- *I don't like it - prefer multicultural*

When further questioned as to whether, in their opinion, Aotearoa/New Zealand was a bicultural country, ten replied in the affirmative and four replied in the negative. Further investigation of this topic showed that twelve students thought that Aotearoa/New Zealand should be bicultural (although two qualified their responses by saying they believed multicultural was preferable). One thought Aotearoa/New Zealand should not be bicultural and one student gave no response.

In attempting to ascertain whether a bicultural influence permeated to other parts of their nursing course, I asked whether there was endorsement of the ideas discussed in the Treaty/te Tiriti workshop. These students generally felt that the same attitudes were reinforced by lecturers teaching other subjects within the nursing course. Four considered other lecturers on their degree course totally supported these attitudes, five considered there was general support, three considered there was a neutral response and only one thought the attitudes were ignored. None of the participants thought that the attitudes of teaching staff in other papers negated the attitudes portrayed throughout the Treaty/te Tiriti workshop.

In the next part of this chapter I shall continue by examining how the same criteria applied to the business students.

Business Studies Students

Quantitative Statistics - Business Students

The 18 business students who took part in the research project were from the same tutorial group which had been randomly selected from a first year semester one intake of students. Participants identified themselves as primarily belonging to the following ethnic groups:

Pakeha	5
NZ European	7
European	2
Polynesian	1
Chinese	1
Fijian	1
Indian	1

When asked with which ethnic groups they had close cultural ties, eight responded with “none”, four identified as Pakeha, four as European, one as Indian and one as

Chinese. Most notably, none of the students identified close cultural ties as a European New Zealander. Only one student identified more than one ethnic group with which they had close cultural ties, namely New Zealand Pakeha and Malaysian.

Thirteen of the participants were born in Aotearoa/New Zealand, nine in the Auckland area, two in Hamilton, one in Lower Hutt and one in Christchurch. Of this sub-group nine had at least one parent whose family had been in Aotearoa/New Zealand for at least three generations, while the families of four of this group were new arrivals who had only been in Aotearoa/New Zealand for one generation. Of the five participants who were not Aotearoa/New Zealand born (country of birth: Taiwan, India, Fiji, Ireland and Australia) the most recent arrival had been living in Aotearoa/New Zealand for only five months, one for two and a half years, and the other three had lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand for 10, 15 and 17 years respectively. All were planning to remain in Aotearoa/New Zealand after their education had finished. Of the whole student group in the survey, seven were male and eleven were female.

Business Students' Perception of the Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Of the eighteen students surveyed fifteen considered that the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant today, while two thought it was no longer relevant and one did not respond to the question. Affirmative comments included:

- *New Zealand's founding document / New Zealand owes its state of existence to the Treaty (5)*
- *Need to sort out some of the cultural conflict (3)*
- *Maori dispossessed of land illegally and should be compensated (2)*

Some of the responses from students who did consider the Treaty/te Tiriti was relevant gave more ambivalent comments such as:

- *It's part of our history - that's its only relevance*

The business students were more explicit than the nursing students in their negative comments:

- *Outdated - New Zealand now multicultural*
- *Land squabbles are getting out of hand - this is related to 1840 not the 1990s*

Treaty or Tiriti?

Six participants considered the Maori version, te Tiriti was more relevant than the English version of the Treaty/te Tiriti, explaining that:

- *Maori version was signed and understood by Maori / Informed consent means Maori version most relevant (3)*
- *Europeans don't care about the Treaty so the Maori version is more important to Maori*
- *Maori version because the Treaty contributes to their (Maori) state today*

Three considered the English version of the Treaty/te Tiriti was more relevant than the Maori Tiriti, elaborating as follows:

- *English, because most people understand the language*
- *We're primarily ruled through English speaking Government and it was written by the English*

Five participants believed that neither version was relevant for the following reasons:

- *Neither is more relevant - not equal descriptions so we need to find a median (2)*
- *Neither version, they are contradictory*
- *Both equally relevant as neither understood the other's views*

Two students answered that they did not know and another two did not respond to the question.

Maori sovereignty

“Maori sovereignty” was defined as:

- *Maori controlling themselves/ self governing [or variations of this response] (8)*
- *Maori having a contribution in the running of the economy and society*
- *Maori being in charge*
- *Maori given back land and the Treaty of Waitangi abolished*
- *Nothing*

Four students did not respond to this question.

Four agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty if it meant Maori controlling their own lives, one saying:

- *Yes - it was promised in the Treaty.*

However the other three who agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty modified their responses as follows:

- *Only if they get into parliament - not as of right*
- *But they don't have the right to take back land*
- *Only if it doesn't interfere with the rest of society*

Eleven disagreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty with comments such as:

- *The idea of individual groups separating themselves is unacceptable and unnecessary*
- *I don't understand - it makes no sense*
- *Reinforces tribalism*

Five of the students who disagreed with Maori sovereignty referred to the multicultural argument as below.

- *We should be multicultural - treated all the same*
- *A minority should not run the country - we're multicultural*

When questioned further to ascertain whether students could differentiate between tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga only two gave any interpretation while the other sixteen responded that they did not know.

Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Bicultural Society

Finally, the students' views on a bicultural society were examined by questioning whether the political power structure should be altered to give Maori equal say in political and economic decisions. These responses were varied. Seven gave similar responses which indicated that the status quo should remain.

- *The structure of the government is fine as it is - They already do [have equal power](5)*

- *New Zealand is a democracy - currently Maori have equal opportunity to influence political decisions(2)*

An equal number of students (three each) gave the same elaboration to both a “yes” and “no” response.

- *Yes - everyone should be treated equally*
- *No - everyone should be treated equally*

It would appear that the first three believe everyone is *not* treated equally at present, while the second three believe we already have equal treatment, as discussed in Chapter Two. Three others also answered that in the affirmative as follows:

- *Yes - we have an obligation to the “people of the land” to be involved in political decisions*
- *Maori should be given more self determination - like Indians in Canada and USA*
- *Yes - Maori elders should have more say but not extremists*

Where Prior Perceptions Originated

Family and Friends

Six of the participants felt that both family and friends had exerted equal influence on this survey group.

School and General Education

Ten of the students considered their experiences at school had influenced the way they felt about the Treaty/te Tiriti. When exploring further to discover how literature may have influenced their perceptions, very few had read any recent literature on the subject.¹⁶ Of the eighteen in the survey group only one had read each of Claudia

¹⁶ For a list of the books student were questioned on refer to Questionnaire One in Appendix Eight.

Orange's "The Treaty of Waitangi", "Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge" by Alan Duff, and "A Question of Honour" by Jane Kelsey. As with the nursing students a greater number (6) had read "Once were Warriors" by Alan Duff. Again, it appeared that these students had not read much on the subject of the Treaty/te Tiriti, and therefore had gained little information from this quarter to affect their perceptions and attitudes.

The Media

Table 2 relates to the B Bus students responses as to whether they read, watched or listened to any of the following media outlets.

Table 5.2

Table 5.2 showing the number of business students who used the following media outlets.

	Always or mostly	Some-times	Seldom or Never
Items in the general news in the NZ Herald (or equivalent) concerning Maori issues	3	14	1
News items on commercial radio on Maori issues	3	10	5
Mana News on National Radio	0	0	18
Relevant in depth interviews and/or documentaries concerning Maori issues on National Radio	0	4	14
TV programs such as 20/20, 60 Minutes on Maori issues	2	10	6
Marae on TV1	0	0	18
Radio Aotearoa	0	1	17

Table 2 shows that of the eighteen students surveyed not one of them had been exposed to programmes such as Marae or Mana News, and only one to Radio Aotearoa. Four occasionally listened to other interviews and documentaries on

National radio where they may hear Maori and Treaty/Tiriti issues handled more seriously and in greater depth than the other commercial media outlets. Only three regularly read the NZ Herald (or local equivalent) or listened to news items on commercial radio that pertained to Maori issues. Two regularly watched programmes such as 20/20 or 60 Minutes when Maori issues were being discussed. None always or mostly listened to interviews on National Radio. A greater proportion said they sometimes read, watched or listened to such programmes, NZ Herald (14), commercial radio (10), TV documentaries (10). A disturbing number seldom or never used the media for input on Maori issues.

This reveals that few of the survey group of business students gained any input on Maori issues from those media outlets such as Mana News, Marae or National Radio which mainly covered these issues seriously, in more depth and in a non confrontational manner. Instead the main influence came from media outlets such as newspapers, commercial radio news items and TV news items where the approach was more likely to be sensationalised and lacking in background depth. Six students considered that they had been influenced by one or more of the media outlets which included only newspaper, commercial radio and TV documentaries, while twelve did not consider they had been influenced at all. Students were more inclined to believe that they had been informed rather than influenced.

Current Treaty/Tiriti Issues

Recent Maori “activism” and land occupation (12) had influenced the greatest number of business students in terms of their attitudes towards the Treaty/te Tiriti, with a strong influence also stemming from recent Maori land settlement cases (10)). Fifteen of this group of students believed land occupation was not an acceptable method of protest with only three business students considering it was acceptable, but again, with the qualification that no harm should come to either people or property. This was an area on which this survey group was less compromising than the nursing survey group and were likely to react more negatively than the nursing students did.

The Education Process - Business Students

The business students in the survey group began this process in their tutorial group with a video, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, a general discussion and were given an article to read which had been written by Mr Justice Temm. Nearly half of the group reported that they did not read the article. This was followed up by a morning session (4 hours) in a large hall with the entire first year intake of students (approximately 170 students). This was not a tiered lecture theatre so students sat in rows filling up the hall while the lecture proceeded for two hours. Many of the students became very restless and stopped listening. The lecture covered a quick history of Maori and Pakeha involvement prior to the signing of the Treaty/*te Tiriti*, reasons for both parties to want to enter into an agreement, and a comparison of the text of both documents. This covered the expectations relating to both resources and sovereignty. It ended with the shift of power as a result of legislation by the settler Government which was established in 1852. Following a short break over two-thirds of the student body failed to return and therefore missed the second half of this session. The lecture continued for a shorter time discussing the present time and the implications of *te Tiriti* in today's business and wider society. Those students who were still present separated into smaller groups in the same hall to discuss some of the present day issues. Neither the physical environment nor the number of people present were conducive to any positive learning, particularly as many of these students viewed this session as just something to get over and done with.

Two days later the final session was held during a tutorial class which lasted 65 minutes. This consisted of a video telling the story of *Parihaka*. Many of the students were restless while the video was showing, some openly continuing their own conversations instead of watching. A short discussion completed the course. Students who did speak were mainly antagonistic about what had been said in the previous lecture. The tutorial session was led by a different member of staff who did not appear to have much interest in or knowledge of the subject. As a result the discussion was without obvious direction and disintegrated into students airing their

negative views without being led into discussing the issues that had been raised in light of any new information they had gained. Although 14 of the 18 students in the survey group claimed to have been present for this discussion, my observation of this class showed that at least half of the students left before the discussion began or walked out during the discussion.

The Follow -Up

The following is an analysis of the data gathered after the business students had been through the education process and of the changes had occurred as a result of the education they had received.

Business Students' Participation in the Education Process

The business students had three sessions over the course of a week covering this topic as discussed above. Although this was a compulsory component of their business course of study it was not compulsory for students to attend any of the sessions, unlike the nursing students for whom attendance was compulsory. The entire course could be broken up into six components which had the following numbers in attendance out of the possible eighteen in the survey group.

The initial group session, including the video "Te Tiriti o Waitangi	17
The first half of the lecture	18
The second half of the lecture/discussion	7
The first part of the second group session including the video "Parihaka"	16
The second half of the group session/discussion	14 ¹⁷
Read the "Treaty of Waitangi" article by Mr Justice Temm	10

¹⁷ My observation of this group session revealed that only half of these students remained for the entire discussion. Many left at the beginning of or through the session.

As shown above, most of the course was reasonably well attended with the exception of the discussion after the lecture. Students had been given a morning tea break after the first half of this session and many did not return for the second half of this session which included a group discussion on the topic. The following reasons were given for not attending the second half of that session.

- *I found the first half too one-sided so I left [variations of this response] (9)*
- *Too long - getting nowhere/ bored at end of first session (2)*
- *Heard it all before*
- *Couldn't see the relevance of the Treaty in today's business world*

What Students Learned

In identifying what they had learned of significance on the Treaty Course they made the following comments:

- *The different versions and interpretations of the Treaty the way the Treaty was written (9)*
- *The story of Parihaka - peaceful protest (8)*
- *Maori were cheated more than I thought - vast amounts of land confiscated. Laws were passed that allowed the taking of land (3)*

In comparison with the nursing students more of the business students made comments that reflected a different perspective such as one that justified Pakeha and other cultures being in Aotearoa/New Zealand. These included:

- *The English were promised more than they got when they came to New Zealand*
- *Some Maori were well travelled and spoke fluent English but they didn't bother to read the English version*
- *The British rulers wanted peace and to avoid the mistakes made with other native peoples so they wrote the Treaty*
- *Some Maori feel they deserve everything New Zealand has and we should have a Maori Government*

Although sixteen students thought they had gained extra information on the course which may cause them rethink their opinion on Treaty/Tiriti issues the comments they made to elaborate their position were more likely than the nursing students to become antagonistic to the information they were given. Particularly, the business students were more inclined to “shoot the messenger” because they found the message threatening to their own interests.

Students' Attitudes to the Course

In general, students thought the method of delivery during the tutorial sessions was reasonably appropriate, being a combination of discussion, videos and handouts to read, although a number could not see the relevance of the topic in relation to business in Aotearoa/New Zealand today. The lecture that was held in a large hall with 170 students present was not received as favourably. On the whole the business students commented:

- *The lecturer was biased/too extreme - another opinion would have given more balance/pro Maori - beat down Europeans (8)*
- *Too long and not relevant to business*

In the event, two-thirds of the first year business student body did not return after morning tea for the second half of the session. When questioned about the

appropriateness of the venue, the physical environment and the length of the lecture/discussion the general response was supportive.

- *Yes - that was the most efficient way to deal with it. There are too many tutorial groups to teach separately. One session over four hours gets it over and done with*

However this view was modified by the comments that many students did not feel comfortable speaking up in such a large group especially in front of people they did not know. They would have preferred smaller groups of no more than six for the discussion activity of that session.

Students' Perception of the Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

After the education process, of the eighteen students surveyed, sixteen(15) considered that the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant today, while two (2) thought it was no longer relevant today. Although nine (50%) business students said:

- *There are many grievances from the breach of the Treaty - those need to be resolved (two continued this by saying) It's causing conflict and therefore social and political changes*

Many of the business students, however, seemed to differ from the nursing students as to the Treaty/te Tiriti's relevance today. Their responses indicated that they used the information given to justify Pakeha being in Aotearoa/New Zealand, rather than looking at the issue from a Maori perspective. Other comments which followed a positive responses to the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti included:

- *Yes - because it is the document signed granting British sovereignty and rule of New Zealand, empowering and enforcing British laws*
- *It's the bringing together of two to make them one which is still important today. It sets out the guidelines for all New Zealanders living together*

The two negative responses were:

- *It happened 150 years ago and is not relevant today*
- *Disputes will never be settled satisfactorily - compensation should lead to integration.*

Treaty or Tiriti?

Amongst the business students seven (6) students opted for the Maori version, four (3) for the English version, and seven (5) participants believed that neither version was relevant. Those supporting the Maori Tiriti said:

- *It was the version Maori signed (3)*
- *What Maori agreed to should be law and Maori already owned this land*
- *The law states that if there are two versions, the one signed by the party in the weaker position should be adhered to*

However, those students who supported the English version of the Treaty maintained:

- *It was written in English THEN translated into Maori*

- *The details of the English version set out the way New Zealand operates today*
- *I don't speak Maori*
- *What the English wanted was conveyed in the English version and therefore is relevant*

Those who believe neither version is relevant commented as below:

- *A new Treaty needs to be written*
- *Both are equally important/both contradict each other*

Thirteen participants considered that Maori have justified grievances concerning the Treaty/te Tiriti. Three disagreed that there were justified grievances, and two did not respond. In identifying what participants considered to be justified grievances the following were quoted:

- *Land confiscation (5) [but this is modified to some extent with] some claims are justified but they need to prove that legislation was broken to be justified.*

Given that many of the grievances began with the settler Government legislation that was aimed at removing more Maori land from the rightful owners, this would seem to reduce the number of grievances this student would find to be justified.

- *Treaty not honoured (3)*

Here again, business students were more circumspect than the nursing students when it came to suggesting how the grievances should be resolved with the main suggestions being:

- *Corrected through proper legal channels (2)*
- *Compensation to provide education/health care*
- *Negotiation/Government acknowledgment and apologies for injustices (3)*
- *Return land if possible - if not compensate via fiscal envelope (3)*
- *Put in more money and speed up the process*

The general impression from the business students was that this should be settled through legal channels, do it as soon as possible and get it out of the way, presumably so they can get on with their lives in business without any other interference. Only three (3) considered that land occupation was appropriate with the proviso that it be peaceful and the law is not broken. Fifteen (15) said it was not acceptable, demonstrating no change in these attitudes.

Maori sovereignty

An understanding of Maori sovereignty changed with ten (6) stating variations of

- *Ownership of land and all decisions on their way of life determined by them*

Five either did not know or did not respond. Six (4) now agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty but often with qualifications, while eight (11) now disagreed. Four gave no response to this question.

Again, only three (2) could differentiate between tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga while the other fifteen (16) either responded that they did not know or did not respond to the question, indicating little change.

Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Bicultural Society?

Next, I explored the business students' thoughts on Aotearoa/New Zealand as a bicultural society. Students gave the following responses as an explanation of their understanding of the term *bicultural*.

- *Two separate cultures living together, with equal rights and opportunities (4)*
- *Two cultures co-existing together - which can be integrated (2)*
- *Two cultures living as one, integrated into a version of the English system (2)*
- *One culture*

Three students gave no response.

Further exploration as to whether, in their opinion, Aotearoa/New Zealand was a bicultural country, six replied in the affirmative, eight replied in the negative, and four did not respond. Questioned as to whether Aotearoa/New Zealand should be bicultural resulted in an equal number (7) for and against the concept. Four students gave no response.

Students were asked whether, within the wider business course, there was endorsement of the ideas discussed in the Treaty/te Tiriti part of their business course. These students generally felt that the same attitudes were reinforced by lecturers teaching other subjects within the business course. One thought other lecturers on their degree course totally supported these attitudes, nine considered there was general support, while six considered there was a neutral response. None of the business student felt that the lecturers of their other papers undermined what was taught in this course.

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the primary research data gathered when I investigated the perceptions of first year tertiary students on the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi today. Two groups of students, nursing and business students, were surveyed to examine what their perceptions were on entering the degree course of their choice, the educational process they encountered on this issue during their first year of study, and the degree to which their attitudes and perceptions changed as a result of education in the topic. I have discussed the methods used for this research piece, described the details of the participant selection, the questionnaires and the interviews which were used to gather the data. I also recorded the responses of the students, both before and after the education process, and my observations of the education process. In the following chapter I shall analyse this data, compare the responses from the two groups, including the different approaches to the educational processes each group of students encountered. Finally I shall draw conclusions from this research.

Chapter Six: Analysis of Data

Introduction

In Chapter Four I discussed the approach and research methods used for this thesis. Following on from this, Chapter Five recorded the data collected through the research process. This chapter will analyse that data from each of the sample groups to establish similarities and differences between them. In particular I shall compare the composition of the two sample groups, establishing similarities and differences. I shall then proceed to compare the perceptions each of these groups had prior to the education process to identify any differences in these groups' perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi today. An analysis of the students' responses to the questionnaires and the interviews both before and after the education process is recorded under the following headings: (a) is the Treaty/te Tiriti relevant today? (b) which version the Treaty or te Tiriti is most relevant? (c) what is the understanding of and attitude to Maori sovereignty? and (d) what are the feelings concerning Aotearoa/New Zealand as a bicultural society?

Included in this chapter is an analysis and comparison of the degree of influence from family and friends, school, the media and the current Treaty/te Tiriti issues, that each of the two sample groups experienced in the formation of their attitudes to this topic. Subsequent to this is a comparison of the different educational process each group encountered and an analysis of the effect each of these processes had on the students' perception of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Here I shall begin with an analysis of the two sample groups who participated in the research for this thesis.

The Participants

The participants in this research come from two sample groups of first year tertiary students. One is a group of fourteen nursing students, whose career choice may

indicate they are more “people oriented.” This sample group has also self-selected¹ from the wider student body of first year nursing students, with the possible outcome that, as a group, they are more likely to have a previous interest in this topic than would a randomly selected group. The second sample group is a group of eighteen business students who were members of a randomly selected tutorial class. Their choice of career may tend to indicate that they are more “business oriented.” It is difficult to assess whether the attributes that led to differences in career choice have any relevance to the attitudes they may have to Treaty/Tiriti issues. The attitudes each group of students had at the beginning of this research is examined in the responses each of these groups give to the first questionnaire and interviews.

There are some differences in the composition of ethnicity between these two groups. Five of the nursing students identified their primary ethnicity as Maori, to which they all acknowledged close cultural ties, whereas none of the business students record their primary ethnicity as Maori. Two of the business students do identify Maori as a second ethnic group they belong to after selecting New Zealand European as their primary ethnic group. Neither of these students acknowledged any close ties to Maori culture. It is highly probable that this difference in ethnic origin may have an influence on their attitudes towards the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti also.

Both of the student groups have five members who are immigrants to New Zealand. However each has a different mixture of country of origin. Of the nursing students, three are from Asia, the other two from Western Europe, namely West Germany and Holland. Only one of the business students is from Asia, the others from more diverse origins - India, Ireland, Australia and Fiji. As they are close neighbours in the Pacific, Australia and Fiji are likely to have closer ties to Aotearoa/New Zealand, as maybe does Ireland, being part of the United Kingdom. Again, the composition of

¹ See Chapter Four for an explanation of this selection procedure.

the nationalities of the immigrant participants may have some influence on their attitudes.

Nine of the nursing students are Aotearoa/New Zealand born, with only one from Auckland, the other eight coming from smaller mainly North Island towns, one from the South Island. Thirteen of the business students are Aotearoa/New Zealand born. In comparison to the nursing students, nine of these are from Auckland, three from other large North Island cities such as Hamilton and one from Christchurch in the South Island. These Aotearoa/New Zealand origins may also have an influence on the students' attitudes, the business students coming mainly from Auckland or other large cities, the nursing students coming mainly from small North Island towns such as Kawakawa or smaller cities such as Gisborne or Invercargill in the South Island.

Although the attitudes and perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti may be influenced by any of the differences discussed above, namely: the individual attributes and interests of the students that lead them into one career choice versus the other; the ethnicity of Aotearoa/New Zealand born students; the diversity of the country of birth for the immigrants; the size of town/city students came from in Aotearoa/New Zealand; it is difficult to ascertain to what extent any of these factors (or combination of factors) have influenced the students' attitudes and perceptions at the beginning of their tertiary study. All I can do, at this stage, is analyse the perceptions displayed by their responses prior to the education process. This will form the next section of this thesis.

Perceptions Before Treaty/Tiriti Education

Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

When the participants were asked whether they considered the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant in Aotearoa/New Zealand today twelve (86%)² of the fourteen nursing

² Throughout this chapter the percentage figures shown in brackets represent the percentage of the whole sample group as it relates to nursing or business students.

students agreed that the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant today, while two (14%) thought it was no longer relevant. Of the eighteen business students surveyed fifteen (83%) considered that the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant today, while two (11%) thought it is no longer relevant and one did not respond to the question. These figures indicate very little difference between the two groups on this issue. However, further exploration by means of the open ended explanations of the quantitative data show some differences in each group's response.

Six (43%) of the nursing students and five (28%) of the business students commented that the Treaty/te Tiriti is Aotearoa/New Zealand's founding document and that Aotearoa/New Zealand owes its state of existence to the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Five (28%) of the business students and three (21%) of the nursing students considered the Treaty/te Tiriti is relevant because the cultural conflict between Maori and Pakeha and compensation to Maori for land confiscation needed to be worked out. However two (14%) of the nursing students said that honouring the Treaty/te Tiriti is important, while the honouring of the Treaty/te Tiriti was not mentioned by the business students. The comments of the business students seem to indicate that we should sort out the current conflict, mainly by paying out compensation to Maori, then get on with our lives as before, whereas at least some of the nursing students, in calling for the Treaty/te Tiriti to be honoured, go beyond compensation for past injustices and look for a future partnership as Maori originally interpreted the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Other more ambivalent support for the Treaty/te Tiriti was given as follows. Two of the nursing students felt that although the Treaty/te Tiriti was relevant they had some misgivings about it in its entirety and only parts are still relevant. These students, although stating that they believe the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant consider that there should be restrictions on the degree of its application. In comparison one

business student, although confirming it was still relevant, immediately qualified this support for the Treaty/te Tiriti saying that its relevance is historical only.

Both the nursing and business students who negated the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti today emphasised that we are a multicultural society and cannot live in the past. Another reason given by both nursing and business students related to the current friction particularly around land which, they felt, is getting out of hand and which related to 1840 not the 1990s.

Treaty or Tiriti?

Probing further into which of the two documents, the Treaty or te Tiriti, as elaborated in Chapter Three, is considered the more relevant showed that seven (50%) nursing students and six (33%) business students considered the Maori version, te Tiriti, was more relevant than the English version of the Treaty. One reason frequently given by both nursing and business students for choosing te Tiriti was:

- *Maori version was signed and understood by Maori / Informed consent means Maori version most relevant*

However, one business student only justified the choice of te Tiriti because:

- *Europeans don't care about the Treaty so the Maori version is more important to Maori*

This comment indicates a lack of understanding that the Treaty/te Tiriti is a partnership and both partners need to understand its significance. The main intercultural problem at present stems from the lack of Pakeha commitment to the Treaty/te Tiriti. To not “care” causes the problem. Partnerships do not work when one party does not care.

One (7%) of the nursing students and three (17%) of the business students considered the English Treaty is more relevant than te Maori Tiriti, citing that English is what the majority understand. This comment fails to take into account that most people will read the English translation of te Tiriti and that these are not perfect translations of the same document. (This has been previously discussed in Chapter Three).

On the other hand, five each of the nursing (36%) and business (28%) students believe that neither version is relevant because they vary on important issues. Given the high support for the relevancy of the Treaty/te Tiriti above, nursing (86%) and business (83%) these figures put the original response into question. My interpretation of a “neither version” response is an indication that the participant is relegating the Treaty/te Tiriti to an historical document with little relevance today. These participants support the Treaty/te Tiriti with reservations, wanting at least parts of it to be rewritten in light of today’s society. To try to rewrite the Treaty/te Tiriti to suit particular interest groups today is, in effect, to consider the original document redundant. One nursing student and two business students answered that they do not know. Two business students did not respond to this question.

Maori Sovereignty

Although the term “Maori sovereignty” is used frequently these days, the interpretation of this is frequently debated, as I have already discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. Only seven (50%) of the nursing students and twelve (67%) of the business students attempted to define any understanding of the concept of Maori sovereignty. Seven (50%) of nursing students and five (28%) of the business students stated that they did not know or did not respond to the question. I interpreted a non-response as a lack of knowledge or understanding of the concept.

Of those who did respond six nursing students (47% of the nursing sample group) and eight business students (44% of the business sample group) replied with some variations of Maori sovereignty meaning self determination or Maori being independent and ruling themselves. However two of the business students thought

that Maori sovereignty meant Maori would be in full charge, get the land back and the Treaty/te Tiriti would be void. Two business students also thought it meant having a Maori King or Queen. None of the nursing students referred to the last two interpretations.

Four (29%) nursing students and four (22%) business students agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty, if it meant Maori controlling their own lives only and as long as it did not impinge on the rest of Aotearoa/New Zealand society, although they still expressed fears about its application. Although only one nursing student disagreed, fourteen (78%) business students disagreed with the idea of Maori sovereignty. Five of the business students who disagreed expressed support for a multicultural society, whereas none of the nursing students responded to the concept of Maori sovereignty with a push for multiculturalism. However three (21%) of the nursing students said they had no opinion on the matter and six (42%) failed to respond to the question, whereas none of the business students failed to respond. The non-response of the nursing students is closely in line with the number who did not or could not explain the term Maori sovereignty. Of the four business students who did not give a definition of Maori sovereignty I can only wonder at what they thought they were either agreeing or disagreeing to in the following question when asked if they agreed with Maori sovereignty.

When I pressed further to ascertain whether students could differentiate between *te tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*, only two (14%) of the nursing students gave any interpretation while, of the other twelve, six (43%) responded that they did not know and six (43%) did not respond to the question. Similarly, only two (11%) of the business students gave a response while sixteen (89%) business students could not explain these terms. I interpreted a non response as a lack of understanding of the terms. Of the two from each group of students who did respond, their interpretation of *te tino rangatiratanga* was *self determination*, and of *kawanatanga* was *affiliation to overall government body*, or *Government telling us what to do*.

Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Bicultural Society?

Finally, in attempting to discover how students viewed a bicultural society, I questioned whether the political power structure should be altered to give Maori equal say in political and economic decisions. These responses were varied. Two (14%) nursing students admitted they were not sure how the current political power operated, while one nursing student hadn't given the concept a thought. Two (14%) nursing students and two (11%) business students agreed with the idea of a bicultural society, maintaining Maori should have self determination referring back to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. Twelve (67%) of the business students believed the political structure of Aotearoa/New Zealand was a democracy and that Maori already had equal power with Pakeha, on a proportional basis, whereas only four (29%) of the nursing students proffered the same response. Two business students suggested that, although the structure did not need changing, perhaps Maori elders (definitely not extremists!) should be consulted on issues that concerned Maori. Three (17%) of business students answered *Yes - everyone should be treated equally*. As three business students had already replied *No - everyone should be treated equally* it would appear that each of these groups of students have conflicting views about what constitutes equality of political access. On the other hand none of the business students but two (14%) of the nursing students replied that equality required being a multicultural society. One nursing student thought equal political and economic say should occur through a monocultural society, when we are all united as one.

Having established both groups of students' attitudes on the Treaty/te Tiriti I shall now look at the cultural or social aspects which had influenced these attitudes and perceptions.

Where Prior Perceptions Originated

Family and Friends

While the business students considered their views had been influenced equally by family and friends, six in each case, (33%), eight (57%) of the nursing students thought family had influence their attitudes but only three (21%) considered they had been influenced by friends. Family seemed to have had a greater influence on nursing students than on business students, whereas friends appeared to have had a greater influence on business students than on nursing students.

Six (43%) of the nursing students and ten (56%) of the business students considered aspects of their schooling had influenced how they felt on the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti. When the subject of relevant literature was broached very few had read much literature on the topic of the Treaty/te Tiriti. From a selected list³ three (21%) nursing students and only one (6%) business students had read (at least part of) Claudia Orange's "The Treaty of Waitangi" (Orange, 1987), two (14%) of nursing and one (6%) of business students had read "Maori Sovereignty" by Donna Awatere (Awatere, 1984), one student from each group had read "Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge" by Alan Duff and only one nursing student had read "A Question of Honour" by Jane Kelsey (Kelsey, 1990). However half of the nursing students (7) and one third of the business students had read "Once were Warriors" by Alan Duff. This lead me to conclude that there was little evidence that these students had done much reading of relevant literature on the Treaty/te Tiriti which was likely to affect their perceptions and attitudes.

The Media

The major influence from the media came from newspapers such as the New Zealand Herald. Nine nursing students (64%) sometimes or mostly read items concerning Maori issues while seventeen (94%) business students gained information from this

³ For the list of books see the first questionnaire in Appendix Eight.

source. Commercial radio news items on Maori issues were the next major source of information with nursing (78%) and business (73%) students sometimes or mostly gaining information from this source. Next were television programmes such as “60 Minutes” and “20/20” with nursing (65%) and business (67%) students gaining information from this source.

The above news sources are more likely to give sensationalised headlines or soundbites or little background information. In the case of “60 Minutes” and “20/20” there may be more information but it is usually contrasted against the more widely held Pakeha views. This then, forms the major source of information that students received from the media.

In comparison, only fourteen percent of nursing students and none of the business students gained any information on Maori issues from those news sources which are more likely to provide a balanced, serious approach to Maori issues, such as Mana News on National radio and Marae on TV1.

Nine (64%) nursing students and six (28%) business students considered that they had been influenced by one or more of the media outlets which included only newspaper, commercial radio and TV documentaries, while five (36%) nursing and twelve (67%) business students did not consider they had been influenced at all. Further exploration of this issue, through interviews, indicated that business students felt they had not been influenced because what they knew was obvious. This is an example of the *givens* of the dominant ideology being so imbued in their psyches that they do not even question where the knowledge came from. Nursing students indicated they considered media influence was either neutral or tended to incite negativity while business students were more inclined to believe that they had been informed rather than influenced. However, the depth of the background to any news story in the media would impact on the information students had received, which was then used as a basis to form opinions about the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Current Treaty/Tiriti Issues⁴

The nursing students considered their views had been strongly influenced by recent occurrences which had been portrayed in the news such as recent Maori land settlement cases (50%) and recent Maori “activism” including land occupation (57%). Recent Maori “activism” and land occupation had influenced the greatest number of business students (67%) in terms of their attitudes towards the Treaty/te Tiriti, with a strong influence also stemming from recent Maori land settlement cases (56%). Fifteen (84%) business students but only four (29%) nursing students believed land occupation was not an acceptable method of protest with three business students and six nursing students considering it was acceptable, all with the qualification that it should only be a last resort and only if it was a peaceful occupation with no violence directed at either people or property. The remaining students either said they did not know or gave no response. This was an area on which the business students were less compromising than the nursing students.

It is difficult to separate these responses from the influence of the media. One can question whether it was the land claims and Maori activism, per se, which influenced the students attitudes, or the way the media portrayed the events that was the greater influence.

The Education Process

The education process differed greatly between the two student groups. The nursing students’ education was undertaken in a small tutorial class of twenty students who spent two days in a Treaty/Tiriti workshop. The physical environment was warm and relaxing, with mattresses and cushions on the floor around the walls of the room to sit on. Students and lecturers could sprawl out comfortably, and everyone was facing into the centre of the room facing everyone else. The process began with the students setting the ground rules for the workshop. Throughout the two days there was feeling of personal, emotional safety within a quiet, peaceful atmosphere where everyone

⁴ See Chapter One for more discussion on current Treaty/Tiriti issues

listened to and showed respect for others. Everyone was encouraged to express their feelings and experiences at each stage of the workshop, although no-one was forced to speak. The two lecturer facilitators demonstrated a personal interest in and knowledge of the subject. The Treaty/te Tiriti two day workshop was compulsory for the nursing students. If individual students could not attend the workshop that was timed for their normal tutorial group, they were allocated a different time with another group. They did not have the option not to attend. As well, on the second day Maori students had the option of participating with the main group or attending a specific session for Maori only. This option was to ensure that Maori students had support from each other.

In comparison, the business students covered this work over the course of a week, with Treaty/Tiriti work being interspersed with their other studies. There was not the same feeling the nursing students experienced that this was important enough to warrant individual attention for the duration of the education process. As a result, the education process for the business students was disjointed as they had a variety of activities at different times through the week. The physical environment for business students was not conducive to intimate discussion. Students sat in desks in rows, or in a lecture hall in rows of chairs all facing the front of the room. There was no development and continuity of emotional support. This was just another lecture or tutorial in the middle of other subjects. Students often appeared hassled from all the other demands on their time that week, and therefore were not particularly relaxed, as they fitted it in between everything else. As with all their other subjects, there was no compulsion to attend any of the lectures or tutorial, their only need to do so was that the work might be tested later in an assignment. There is the possibility then that business students may write what was required to get the grades later, but that understanding the ideological background, serious thought about the issues and changes to students' perceptions as a result of this would be incidental.

For the nursing students the two days were a mixture of lecturer imparting knowledge and facilitating class discussion, small groups discussions which allowed the students to discover information themselves and come to their own conclusions. Videos were also used to provide further thought and discussion. Throughout the two days much of the work covered was linked back into their nursing practice.

The business students had three sessions. In the first session the educational process began in their tutorial group of eighteen with a general discussion that was generated by a video. They were given an article, which had been written by Mr Justice Temm, to read in their own time. Nearly half of the group reported that they did not read the article. This can be compared to the approach for the nursing students who, when given similar articles to read, did this in the workshop which was followed immediately by a discussion of the article in both small groups of three or four students and then a general discussion with the whole tutorial group. This way the information in the article was analysed by all.

The business students' second, and main, session consisted of a four hour lecture conducted by one lecturer in a large hall. This included the entire first year intake of approximately 170 students. In this environment many of the students became very restless and stopped listening. Neither the physical environment nor the number of people present were conducive to any positive learning. Comments students made later in the interviews were that this was an appropriate manner in which to handle this topic, as it got it over and done with in one go. To the business students I interviewed, this was an efficient use of resources!

Two days later the third and final session was held during a tutorial class which lasted 65 minutes. The tutorial consisted of a video telling the story of Parihaka followed by a short discussion. Many of the students were restless while the video was showing, some openly continuing their own conversations instead of watching. The tutorial session was led by a different lecturer who had not attended the four

hour lecture in the hall and who did not appear to have much interest in or knowledge of the subject. As a result there was very little facilitation of the discussion which disintegrated into students airing their negative views without being led into discussing the issues that had been raised in light of any new information they had gained. Students who did speak were mainly antagonistic about what had been said in the previous lecture. Although fourteen (78%) of the business students claimed to have been present for this discussion my observation of the process recorded that at least half of the students left before the discussion began or walked out during the discussion. Therefore fewer business students actually participated in this activity than they indicated themselves.

What Students Learned

In identifying what they had learned of significance on the course nursing (79%) and business (50%) students felt that they had not previously understood the difference between the two versions of the Treaty/te Tiriti and that this information had made a major impression on them. Given that this is our founding document we, as New Zealanders, should be aware of the interpretation given to both documents. Both nursing (43%) and business (17%) students commented that they had been unaware of the extent of the land loss, especially the legal injustices which perpetuated this land loss. Although the figures seem much lower for the business students this is mitigated by the special mention of the story of Parihaka (44%) and the fact that they had not known about the peaceful protest at Parihaka.

Nursing students (29%) also commented on the greater understanding they had of their own culture as a result of the Treaty/te Tiriti workshop. None of the business students commented on gaining an understanding of their own culture. Eleven nursing (79%) and sixteen (89%) business students thought that they had gained extra information on the course that had made them rethink their opinion on Treaty/te Tiriti issues. However, while the nursing students' reappraisal was more in favour of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti, a disturbing number of the business students reflected a different perspective, one which justified Pakeha and other

peoples being in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In particular 22% of business students thought the British had not got what they had anticipated when they arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and therefore the British had cause for concern over the way they had been treated.

Although sixteen business students (89%) thought they had gained extra information on the course which may cause them rethink their opinion on Treaty/te Tiriti issues some of the information they gained was used against Maori and for Pakeha. Business students were more likely than the nursing students to become defensive because of the information they were given. Half of the business students remarked that the lecturer was biased and they would have benefited from another opinion. Eleven (61%) business students walked out of the four hour session after two hours. My observation of this session was that the lecture was delivered in an interesting, straight forward manner and, in my opinion, was not antagonistic, as many of the business students perceived. The lecturer frequently questioned their set of *givens* trying to get the students to think out the issues for themselves and debate the issues. The responses of half the students were that this was one-sided, even racist. I felt the business students' reactions said more about themselves than the lecturer concerned. That said, I also felt the physical environment, length of lecture time and number of students present were not conducive to any meaningful interaction between the lecturer and students. These factors did not encourage student discussion or genuine analysis of the issues. When I discussed this approach with the lecturer concerned I was informed that there were not enough resources allocated to this topic, to enable it to be run with small workshops for all sessions. My observation also concluded not enough resources were put into ensuring all staff members facilitating this course had enough information to carry out this task.

In comparison, all the nursing students, with the exception of two who gave no comment, spoke positively of the manner in which the course was run. Most commented on the relaxed style of teaching which encouraged students to open up

and the positive atmosphere over the two days. Group discussion was beneficial for all and they appreciated the participation of the whole class. This was a warm, nurturing, safe environment where students felt able to discuss a potentially controversial subject and benefit from the experience.

Students' Perceptions After Treaty/Tiriti Education

The questionnaire and interviews administered after the education process were based on the same questions, with appropriate modifications, as had been used prior to the Treaty/te Tiriti education. Accordingly, the responses in this section can be compared directly with the responses in the earlier section.

Relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti

Among the nursing students eleven (79%) now considered that the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant today, as opposed to twelve (86%) before the education process. Sixteen (89%) of the business students thought it was still relevant today, in comparison to fifteen (83%) previously. Although these absolute figures showed little difference before and after the workshop, the change in perception was demonstrated more accurately by the reasons given to support these choices. The nursing students' comments were now more positive, and less ambivalent, than they had been before the Treaty workshop, focussing on the need to return to the Treaty/te Tiriti as our founding document, address the loss Maori have encountered since 1840 and, in future, respect what was agreed to in the Treaty/te Tiriti. Business students, on the other hand, rendered different reasons for their belief that the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant. Although eighty-nine percent of business students agreed the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant, only nine (50%) referred to the need for grievances to be resolved, with two of these students adding that the grievances were causing conflict which were leading to social and political changes. The tone of this response seemed to indicate that it was more important to deal with the grievances to stop the social and political changes than because the Treaty/te Tiriti itself should be honoured. Two (11%) of the business students, who were among those who supported the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti, justified this decision by commenting

that the Treaty/te Tiriti is the document that grants British sovereignty and the right to apply British laws to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Other business students emphasised the need to make New Zealanders “one people.”

By examining the different justifications given by both nursing and business students to support their beliefs that the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant I have shown that although nursing students, on the whole, empathised with the injustices done to Maori since 1840 and the need to return to our founding document and honour it, business students were more inclined to see the Treaty/te Tiriti as a document to justify Pakeha presence in Aotearoa/New Zealand, deal with the grievances and move on - the inference being so that they can get on with their lives much as before. I gained this impression from my observations of their demeanour throughout the tutorial discussions on the topic. To some extent this impression was confirmed in the interviews. When asked how they thought the Treaty/te Tiriti may affect their lives, both now and in the future, nine (50%) business students but only three (21%) nursing students thought their lives would not be affected at all, two (11%) business students and six (43%) nursing students thought they would be more aware and culturally sensitive in the future, five (28%) business students but only one (7%) nursing student considered the settlement of Maori grievances would adversely affect them, by restricting their use of certain areas, particularly fishing and forestry, and by causing racial tension. The remaining students did not comment. Overall, the business students seemed to be more threatened by the Treaty/te Tiriti than the nursing students.

Treaty or Tiriti?

Eight (57%) nursing students and seven (39%) business students considered the Maori version, te Tiriti, was more relevant than the English version, the Treaty. The main reason for this stance from both groups of students was because Maori needed to understand what they were signing and international law recognises the indigenous version above others. Six from both nursing (43%) and business (33%) participants believed that neither version was relevant. It is interesting to note that

five of the six nursing students who responded “neither version” were immigrants to Aotearoa/New Zealand and all stressed that Aotearoa/New Zealand is multicultural and should not follow only one version of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

Although six (33%) of the business students favoured the English version of the Treaty, none of the nursing students preferred the English Treaty. These business students justified their support for the English Treaty because the details of the English version sets out the way Aotearoa/New Zealand operates today and what the English wanted was conveyed in the English version. Those business students who believe neither version is relevant commented that a new Treaty needed to be written because both versions are equally important and both contradict each other.

Nine (64%) nursing students and thirteen (72%) business students considered that Maori have justified grievances concerning the Treaty/te Tiriti. Again, of the four nursing students who disagreed that there were justified grievances, three were recent immigrants. Three (17%) business students considered the grievances were not justified. The remaining students did not respond.

In identifying what participants considered to be justified grievances the following were quoted: land rights (nursing 50%; business 28%), fishing rights and forestry rights (nursing 14% each, business 0%). Although business (17%) students stated the Treaty/te Tiriti had not been honoured, only the nursing (14%) students mentioned the issue of self determination.

When it came to suggesting how the grievances should be resolved the main suggestions from both groups were by talking, communicating and presenting documentation to Government. Both groups felt that the Government needed to acknowledge and recognise the injustices to Maori, but only the nursing students suggested that grievances should be addressed by understanding the history and educating Pakeha about Maori rights to self determination. The general impression

from the business students was that grievances should be settled through legal channels as soon as possible to get it over and done with.

On the issue of land occupation there was no change in the attitudes of either group.

Maori Sovereignty

An understanding of Maori sovereignty changed only slightly among the nursing students with seven (50%) instead of six stating it meant all decisions relating to Maori would be made by Maori. All seven, as opposed to three previously, now agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty though often with qualifications that as Pakeha they felt somewhat threatened by the idea. Maori students however, commented that people need not fear Maori sovereignty. Now ten (56%) business students, an increase from six previously, gave a similar definition of Maori sovereignty and six (33%) business students, up from four, agreed with the concept of Maori sovereignty, again often with reservations. One nursing (7%) and eight (44%) business students now disagreed with the concept of Maori Sovereignty.

Neither group of students had gained any more understanding of the difference between *te tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*, with only two from both the nursing and business groups attempting to differentiate between them.

Aotearoa/New Zealand as a Bicultural Society?

When I explored the students' thoughts on Aotearoa/New Zealand as a bicultural society ten (71%) nursing and only four (22%) business students explained the term *bicultural* as meaning two cultures existing together having equal status. Two business students defined biculturalism as two cultures co-existing together, which can be integrated, while another two business students and one nursing student saw it as two cultures living as one, the business students adding that it was integrated into a version of the English system.

Further exploration as to whether, in their opinion, Aotearoa/New Zealand was a bicultural country, showed ten (71%) nursing students and six (33%) business students replying in the affirmative, four (29%) nursing and eight (44%) business

replied in the negative, while four (22%) business students did not respond. Questioned as to whether Aotearoa/New Zealand *should* be bicultural resulted in twelve (86%) nursing students but only seven (39%) business students supporting a bicultural society in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Four business students gave no response.

Summary

The attitudes and perceptions that New Zealanders hold concerning the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti today may be influenced by a number of factors. Throughout this thesis I have examined the cultural aspects, as discussed in Chapter Two, that may influence these perceptions and also explored how education may change these previously held perceptions. In Chapter Five I recorded the data collected for this research. In this penultimate chapter I have analysed the data and compared the two sample groups of students.

First, I identified a number of differences between the two groups, namely the personal attributes that led them into the career of their choice, the mix of ethnicity, both indigenous and foreign, and the size of town in which students from each group grew up. The data indicates considerable differences between the two sample groups in each of these elements. In this thesis it is only possible to acknowledge that these factors may have been influential in determining the students' attitudes, but not to measure how influential they are.

Prior to the education process, I demonstrated that although the majority of both groups of students considered the Treaty/te Tiriti was relevant, reasons given for this differed with each group. Both groups of students acknowledged equally the need for compensation for Maori for the confiscated land, but a greater percentage of nursing students than business students referred to the Treaty/te Tiriti as the founding document for Aotearoa/New Zealand. More nursing students than business students also preferred te Tiriti over the Treaty as the more important of the two documents. Both groups had similar responses to the issue of Maori sovereignty. However, the

majority of the business students thought that the current political structure, as a democracy, gave equality to Maori, whereas a much smaller proportion of nursing students thought the same.

The areas of influence that I examined showed that family seemed to have had a greater influence on nursing students than on business students, whereas friends appeared to have had a greater influence on business students than on nursing students. Nursing students indicated they believed the media influence was either neutral or negative while business students were more inclined to believe that they had been informed rather than influenced. However, the lack of depth to any news story in the media would influence the basis of the information students acquired and on which their opinions about the Treaty/te Tiriti were formed. Both nursing and business students considered their opinions had been strongly influenced by recent occurrences such as recent Maori land settlement cases and recent Maori “activism” including land occupation.

The education process that each group encountered was very different for nursing and business students. The differences were manifest in a number of ways. The first difference was the physical environment in which the education process occurred. Secondly, the numbers of students participating in each group varied from a small tutorial group of twenty for the nursing students to 170 business students attending an extremely long lecture. Thirdly, the Treaty/te Tiriti workshop was compulsory for the nursing students, but the business students could choose whether to attend or not, just as they do for any other class. Fourth, the number of outside academic distractions was minimised for the nursing students during this time, but was not taken into account for the business students. Lastly, the rapport the nursing students developed with the facilitators of this workshop was much closer than the relationship the business students enjoyed with the facilitators of their course. The education process that the nursing students experienced appeared to be more effective than the education process that the business students encountered. Only the

nursing students learned something about their own culture, which encouraged them to understand that the Pakeha students did have customs and family traditions of their own. Also, only the nursing students gained some understanding of the ideological *givens* of their society. Both of these components of the education process gave extra strength to the students' understanding of the issues.

Following the education process there was no discernible difference in the number of students from each group who now considered the Treaty/te Tiriti was still relevant. However by examining the different justifications given by both nursing and business students to support their beliefs that the Treaty/te Tiriti is still relevant I have shown that although nursing students, on the whole, empathised with the injustices imposed on Maori since 1840 and the need to return to our founding document and honour it, business students were more inclined to see the Treaty/te Tiriti as a document to justify Pakeha presence in Aotearoa/New Zealand, wanting to deal with the grievances and move on as quickly as possible. Maori self determination was more widely supported by nursing students than business students as was the support for a bicultural society in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In the final chapter I shall bring together all the threads of this thesis, discuss the implications of my findings and suggest how other future research can further develop what has been started here.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

*Oh tree doctor, can you come right away
You said to call your mobile any time of the day
I got a tree with a gaping wound in its side
And it's anyone's guess if it will live or die
It's no ordinary tree in no ordinary place
Doctor, doctor, tell me - can you save my tree?*

*Oh tree doctor, now what else can you mend
Can you rebuild trust? Restore a friend?
Can you dress a wound a hundred years old
Do you have a tonic called damage control
Can you fix up trees once they've been felled
Doctor, doctor, tell me - can you save my tree?*

Ross Mullins

Lyrics from "Tree Doctor"

Introduction

Throughout this thesis I have focussed on New Zealanders' perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, and how education on Treaty/Tiriti issues may (or may not) change those perceptions. I have used two sample groups of first year undergraduate students to gather data on what their original attitudes were at the beginning of their tertiary studies, and the extent to which these attitudes changed as a result of the Treaty/te Tiriti education they received through their first year of study. In the process I also observed the Treaty/te Tiriti education programme that each of these groups encountered. In this final chapter I shall bring together the various strands which have formed the discourse for this thesis, draw conclusions and suggest areas for future research.

The feminist theory and methodology on which the research in this thesis is based challenges the traditional assumptions that research can be value free (Mies, 1983). Feminists acknowledge the academic influence of critical theorists on feminist theory (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986:136). Fay (1987) and Smith and Noble-Spruell (1986) assert that feminist theory is a critical theory, in that it aims to gain major changes in society, across both depth and breadth. This transformation of society is founded on new understandings that emerge from an analysis of the origin

and nature of the power relations between men and women. Similarly, critical theory, as discussed earlier in Chapter Two, can be applied to achieve new understandings that emanate from a study of the origin and structure of power relations between Pakeha and Maori. Critical theory attempts to recognise the oppressive structures of society, and in that recognition and understanding supply the foundation for change. Fay maintains that, to be useful, theory must be scientific, critical and practical (Fay, 1987:24). To be scientific it must provide a distinct understanding of the problem, to be critical it must present a negative appraisal of the current situation, and to be practical it must provide a basis on which the current situation can be changed. Critical theory must give a different way of considering society, one which enlightens, motivates and empowers. Maori are starting to find this for themselves. To prevent further dissension, Pakeha also need to consider alternative ways of perceiving societal structures, which will lead to a bicultural society instead of a monocultural society for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In his critical social science, Fay provides a framework for reconstruction which embodies a complex of theories which are systematically related (Fay, 1987:28). These consist of: *A theory of false consciousness*, giving a critique of the ideology that supports and explains the current social situation together with a counter ideology that provides an alternative, more preferable situation; *A theory of crisis* providing an elucidation of the nature of the crisis together with an explanation of the historical background which caused this crisis, based on both false consciousness and the structure this false consciousness has developed; *A theory of education* suggesting a way to gain enlightenment and the state of rational self clarity; and *A theory of transformative action* which indicates the changes that must occur in order to resolve the crisis (Fay, 1987:32). Here I shall address how each of these theories have been employed within this thesis illustrating some of these concepts with the students' words.

A Theory of False Consciousness

Fay's theoretical framework begins by elucidating the current ideologies and economic and social structures so that an understanding of these can be used to illustrate why we are at the point we are at, in order that new understandings and new structures can be constructed. A major emphasis in this thesis revolves around the understanding of the ideologies that set up the structure of our society in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In Chapter Two I illustrated how the dominant ideology can influence the way society perceives the situation and events around us and therefore how that can influence our perceptions of those situations. New Zealanders' perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi today are frequently influenced by the current ideology. However, most people do not realise that what is "obvious" is so only because a particular ideology has led society in general to believe it is natural. This is the false consciousness that Fay (1987) refers to. I continued by discussing the concept of ideology, how it is concerned with the nature of ideas, how those ideas are viewed within society, and how the dominant ideology at any particular time can be challenged and resisted by other groups with conflicting ideologies. One of the themes of this thesis was to explore how this recent challenge by Maori has swayed our perceptions of the Treaty/te Tiriti. In Chapter Five I recorded students reactions to the current upsurge in Maori activities, be they land and compensation claims through the Waitangi Tribunal or more radical activism such as land occupation. Student responses, particularly prior to the education process, indicated that recent Maori activism and land claims had strongly influenced their perceptions on the Treaty/te Tiriti. The research data showed that the students had been influenced mainly by family, friends and mainstream media, and that these influences are likely to be uninformed and continue to perpetrate their own prejudices, without having any understanding of the issues on which to base an opinion. With the exception of Seventh Form History, very little of our history had been learned at school. Many of the students felt they had not been influenced by anybody as they "just knew." This

indicated a false consciousness or the unquestioning acceptance of the current ideology's *givens* without an understanding of how these ideas became generally accepted. However, responses after the education process also indicated that students' previous perceptions had been largely based on a lack of historical knowledge of the issues - a false consciousness. This is demonstrated below by the students' comments:

- *You see people who are quite intelligent, fully functioning adults, but when it comes to cultural issues people seem to struggle with things that are clearly presented as facts, by their own bias or feelings. That ignorance builds up a whole lot of "pre ideas," you know. Those attitudes are really hard to get around, a problem in themselves. I just believe they come from a background where they don't understand it*
- *It's easier for people at my level. I think we really need to start learning about it at an early stage - perhaps as they get older through primary school. I think people finding out through education is a good start. There's a vast majority of people in an older generation who are quite ignorant of what really happened, and I think they are quite closed off to it too*
- *I think the majority of New Zealanders are quite ignorant to what happened. I don't know a lot about it - just what I've been exposed to recently. I think people, if they were more informed about what happened, how things were, like land wars, how things were before the grievances happened, I think they would be more open as they were educated to what actually happened.*

By explaining how the libertarian ideology was established in an historical and cultural location of western paternalism and envisaged rights and freedoms in the terms of a white capitalist male experience in society, I demonstrated how the political and economic structures that were based on this ideology ignored the

experiences and interests of Maori, allowing only the freedom to participate on Pakeha terms. The long held, mistaken beliefs of Pakeha, that Aotearoa/New Zealand provided equal opportunities for all, disregards the disadvantage that Maori have been experiencing since 1840.

- *At the time that Maori were so-called “fine” they basically weren’t. Maori haven’t been fine since the signing of the Treaty and I think it indicates the level of ignorance of the people at the time when they perceived them to be fine. That’s a direct result of the propaganda machine which was at its height then in terms of this image of one nation and one people*

The colonial imperialism, which was imposed on Maori society immediately after the signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti, ignored the structure and culture of Maori in preference to the imported British culture. The colonial government took control of the political and legal system by dismissing Maori custom, appropriating sovereignty and adopting British law and customs, to the disadvantage of Maori.

Greenland discussed how ethnicity, and culture are embedded in politics and why land formed the basis of Maori society. The alienation of Maori land, through Pakeha political processes based on Pakeha ideology, has led to many of the social and economic ills experienced by Maori today, as indicated in Chapter Three. Maori are now making a positive ethnic consciousness as a step towards ethnic nationhood, self-determination, sovereignty and biculturalism, to replace of the Pakeha ideology of integration and assimilation as part of their equal rights approach to individualism (Greenland, 1991). However the data in Chapter Five of this thesis indicates that it is this very push for a positive Maori ethnic consciousness and the subsequent continual challenges to Pakeha structures that is causing unrest among Pakeha. The majority of the students in this research thought the Maori “activism” was getting out of hand, without any understanding of the ideologies that create the structures we have today

and without understanding that these *givens* are not necessarily natural, but are part of the structure and systems that have been created since 1840. If we understand the influence of ideology on society in general, we can begin to understand why we perceive ideas in certain ways, and in turn have a basis to challenge the *givens*. If we are not exposed to conflicting ideologies, such as the Maori perspective, we are unlikely to fully understand the current Maori grievances.

- *Well he (the lecturer) had a completely different way of looking at it. To him it was a central issue, whereas I suppose to me, it was just something that you see on TV, something I didn't really care about, and it concerned me that he was so involved with it. It concerned me that it was such a big part of someone's life, something so long ago, such a big part of his life*

To achieve equality we need to change to a bicultural structure that includes the values of Maori and Pakeha. An ideology that incorporated tikanga Maori into our political, economic and social structures would create very different structures from those which are applied through the libertarian ideology currently in practice in New Zealand. To achieve equal outcomes, social structures, relationships and organisations need to be changed so that Maori experiences are part of those structures and their past, cumulative disadvantages are eradicated.

A Theory of Crisis

Fay's theory of crisis spells out what a social crisis is and indicates how a particular society is in crisis, providing an historical account of the development of this crisis, partly through the false consciousness of its members, and partly through the structural bases of society Fay (1987:31-32).

This social crisis in Aotearoa/New Zealand has manifest itself by the negative economic and social statistics for Maori in relation to those for Pakeha as discussed

in Chapter Three. The social crisis also manifests itself by the increased resistance of Maori to Pakeha structures in which the agreements in the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi have been ignored. This resistance has been such that Pakeha, in general, are, for the first time, conscious of the Maori grievances and are perceiving the Maori insistence on honouring the Treaty/te Tiriti as a threat to their way of life.

- *I mean it's fine that people protest, but the extent of it and the violence, I just don't think it's appropriate*

As discussed in Chapter One, the resistance that Maori are now demonstrating has become the cause of many Pakeha negating the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti in today's society. Maori, however are insistent that the Treaty/te Tiriti be honoured. Kelsey maintains that Pakeha consciousness of the issues surrounding the Treaty/te Tiriti has only arisen because Maori, by their current actions, have given us little choice (Kelsey, 1996:179). If Pakeha continue to ignore Maori pressure for recognition of the Treaty/te Tiriti we could face major problems in the future. In the words of one participant in this research:

- *Just look at the people (referring to Maori activists in the news) do they seem like they believe in what they're doing? Do they seem as though maybe they deserve listening to? And that's what they're doing effectively, they are asking people to listen. It's their way of getting people to listen. I think you should keep it in context, in terms of what is going on in other parts of the world right now. People are blowing each other up for a heck of a lot less, and I am really proud of Maori people for their chosen avenue, for their way, their passive resistance is what it is, in effect. I see it as something to be proud of, not ashamed of, and that's basically what I tell people.*

We cannot allow this crisis to escalate. To prevent this we need to understand how this crisis developed. In Chapter Three I examined some of the little known history relating to the Treaty/te Tiriti to give an historical account of the development of the crisis. The fact that New Zealanders are *marginally informed* (Elworthy, 1988:9) merely reinforces the false consciousness of New Zealanders, particularly Pakeha. If we do not learn the history of the Treaty/te Tiriti at school we only know the *givens* of the ideological stance, which is perpetuated through the false consciousness of our family, peers, school, laws and institutional structures. Without this knowledge the perceptions of New Zealanders are likely to be formed with *hidden* information.

- *I didn't know the scale of it, like the grievances that occurred in Waikato. I just didn't realise how big it was, the land wars and how much land was actually confiscated and how prosperous Maori were before it happened. I didn't realise there was so much blatant disregard for the Treaty*

In Chapter Three I explored the history behind the Treaty/te Tiriti and its implications for our society, with particular emphasis on the Maori perspective. To understand the history is to gain a better understanding of current Maori resistance, and the importance of the Treaty/te Tiriti to Maori. I discussed also in Chapter Three the circumstances under which the Treaty/te Tiriti was drafted and signed and argued that the Treaty and te Tiriti fail to be an exact translation of the other. In particular I examined the wording of the Treaty, comparing the English text with the Maori text, with specific reference to the terms *tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*. By providing an understanding of the different interpretations applied to each of the Maori and English texts I showed the perspectives on which both the English and Maori based their expectations. Further to that I considered how the separate ideologies of each of the Treaty/te Tiriti partners have affected their individual interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Also in Chapter Three I argued that the subsequent structure of society that the British imposed on Maori has impacted negatively on Maori well-being since the Treaty was signed. We are currently addressing some of the issues that have concerned Maori for many years, as discussed in Chapter One. These include land claims and compensation for past confiscation of land. However, that is not enough. Dalziel maintains that returning the land and resources is insufficient if the long term structural disadvantage is not addressed simultaneously (Dalziel, 1991:37). The laws and the justice system to which Maori have turned for redress have been part of the Pakeha institutional system that has created the structural alienation of Maori. As the policies which have instituted this structural inequality have been formed by mainly white, male governments, in whose interests policy is made and imposed upon Maori, it is essential that Maori achieve greater political power if they are to overcome this structural disadvantage.

- *The law is not an appropriate way to solve the problems for Maori because the early settlers manipulated the situation using the law by passing Acts that disregarded the Treaty and I suppose it's not really relevant to use the law given that they manipulated their situation*

The processes and institutions of New Zealand politics are, without a doubt, controlled by Pakeha and administered predominantly in their own interests (Vasil, 1988:15; Kelsey, 1993:240). It is easy to see that the priorities, concerns and historical experience of Maori have not been reflected. As the political power creates the economic system under which we operate in New Zealand, it is equally obvious that without equal political power Maori are unable to thrive economically and will continue to be disadvantaged. To achieve equal political and economic power for Maori, the issue of Maori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga must be placed on the agenda for discussion.

The source of a prosperous economy lies in the ownership and management of resources such as land, sea, rivers, lakes and forests, over which, according to Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori have exclusive right to control, use and manage. The equal rights accorded Maori under Article III, have systematically deprived Maori of their economic and spiritual resources, because these equal rights have been embedded in a system that is alien to Maori. Equal outcomes would have been better achieved by according Maori an equal partnership in decision making, taking into account tikanga Maori, instead of relying totally on the European ideology of individualism. I have shown that the monocultural society which has evolved from the colonial imperialism of our past is an example of the ideology of racism which developed with the establishment of capitalism, as contact between Western nations and other “races” in the world, became more prevalent. However *this contact was neither equal nor neutral* (Miles, 1984:225). To overcome this social crisis it is essential to equalise the situation between Maori and Pakeha. Before this can happen it is necessary for Pakeha to breakthrough their false consciousness and understand how Aotearoa/New Zealand does not currently provide equality for Maori. Education is the way to enlightenment so I shall now turn to a theory of education.

A Theory of Education

A theory of education offers an account of the necessary and sufficient conditions for the sort of enlightenment envisioned by the theory, and shows that given the current social situation these conditions are satisfied (Fay, 1987:32). Modern critical theory seeks to synthesise the relationship between ideas and social structure. Critical theory sees the relationship as being dialectical rather than unilinear. In other words, although ideas stem from the social conditions, they also play a causal role in creating and sustaining certain social structures. This dialectical relationship is part of the “embeddedness” of self ignorance in social structures (Fay, 1987:25). Critical theory seeks to assist people to enlightenment through education.

Enlightenment is a way for people to see themselves in a radically different way from the way they currently see themselves (Fay, 1987:28). Enlightenment occurs when the ability to apply critical thinking has been developed and is used to change the nature and direction of society. This is determined by examining the structure and fabric of society and changing whatever is unwarranted (Fay, 1987:67).

The educative conception of theory and practice focuses on social scientific theory which allows people to understand more clearly who they are and how their society is arranged so that they can change both their own way of seeing society and society itself. The belief is that people are unaware that these processes are disadvantageous to themselves and others (Fay, 1987:89). According to educative conception these negative conditions exist, at least partially, because of people's false consciousness. By showing people their false consciousness of themselves and their world, the educator acts as a catalyst for change. Knowledge is intended to show people how to have different ways of perceiving the world around them and different ways of doing things (Fay, 1987:89).

- *I really had to sit down and re-think everything that I learnt about the Treaty. Being European, I really had to re-think my land claims views, and when it came to the land claims I must admit I didn't know as much as I thought I did*

Anti-racist education creates the environment for shaping people's awareness of the inherent racist structure of our society and therefore encourages people to make changes to society. Specifically, in this thesis, the educational process the two groups of students experienced were based on giving students some of the less known and less understood aspects of our history concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, to ascertain whether their perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti would change. The greatest change in perceptions came from the nursing students, who were educated not only on the historical facts but also in

understanding how the dominant ideology impacts on our way of thinking and the ideas that are used to form the structure of our society. As well the Treaty/te Tiriti workshop for the nursing students was presented in an environment that was non-threatening for the nursing students and, indeed, supportive of the students participating. These conditions were not present for the business students, who responded less favourably than the nursing students after the education process.

Therefore I believe that the conditions that are necessary to change people's perceptions of the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti include more than just historical facts. Although a knowledge of the history of the relationship between Maori and Pakeha is a crucial component it is insufficient on its own. A second necessary component is an educational process that allows people to understand how the dominant ideology influences the way we perceive any situation, particularly in relation to the Treaty/te Tiriti. We need to understand that the current way of seeing the world is not necessarily the only relevant way, or indeed the superior way of looking at the world and the way we fashion our society. Perceptions only change if we have different ways of looking at the situation and if we are able to admit to ourselves that "different" does not mean "inferior."

- *Educating the young people, because they have families, they are connected to the older people, they influence their views, they feel differently, they have a right to feel differently. I think history has shown that when you introduce something at that level, like the Southern States of America in the 1960s, black kids into white schools, just as an example. They made the concepts a reality and those kids are adults now. Not all of them would think it ideal, but en masse, I think the main thing is there is an awareness. You would deal with that ignorance and I think ignorance is the key word, the core issue. I guess I'll really look to the future*

A third necessary component to changing perceptions about the current relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti is to ensure that the education takes place in a non-threatening environment. This means that it should occur in a small group where everyone is comfortable with each other and the educator/facilitator, who is the catalyst for change, is both knowledgeable about and interested in the subject and is trained to facilitate such a programme. If the educator is not committed first there will be no meaningful education and there is likely to be little change, or worse, an entrenchment of the old ideas. The educators in the nursing programme were committed to their subject as was the educator who took the four hour lecture for the business students, whereas the educator of the business students in the small group environment was less knowledgeable and less committed to bringing about change in students' perceptions. The results of this thesis show that the business students responded less favourably than the nursing students to the education process. However, it should be remembered that critical theorists must expect resistance from their audience because of the false consciousness they are trying to eliminate (Fay, 1987:98) therefore this education needs to be on-going and not just a one-off event.

When and how should this education be executed? This is the question I shall turn to next.

A Theory of Transformative Action

A theory of transformative action isolates those aspects of society which must be altered if the social crisis is to be resolved and details a plan of action indicating the people who are to be the "carriers" of the anticipated social transformation and some general idea of how this might be done (Fay, 1987:32). Before planning how to instigate action to overcome the social crisis it is necessary to understand where the sources of information which generate the major influences come from now and how to change the message currently being received. In this case the major "carriers" of the anticipated social transformation will be the educators and the media. I shall look at the role of each of these groups at this point.

- *I think it's going to be hard to change the ideas of the generation that's leading our companies and things like that at the moment. I think it would be harder to change their views than say my generation. There are more influences on me today than there was on my father. The issues weren't brought up as often in the generation before us so they weren't influenced by it as much because they weren't aware of the different issues, but it's different today. There are so many more influences on my generation*

The resolution of this social crisis lies primarily with education. First and foremost is the need to incorporate an accurate account of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand into the education system. This should be a compulsory part of our education, just as is reading, mathematics and writing. Only if we know our history will we know who we are and be able to progress as a nation with fairness for everyone. One of the questions remaining is at what level should this education be disseminated. Without exception, all of the students who participated in the interviews agreed that the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand including an understanding of the Treaty/te Tiriti should be a compulsory subject at school.

- *I think it should be compulsory because I know that learning English is compulsory. When you make things compulsory in the education system it gives them value, like everyone acknowledges the core subjects and by their nature it gives them value, you have to learn them and you get on in society*
- *I think it's at that introductory stage at intermediate and early secondary school that people should be learning about it*
- *Learn it from the beginning, a standardised system from when people first go to kindergarten. I think all New Zealanders should be bi-lingual. They should be able to speak Maori and English*

because with languages comes an understanding to the way people think

This education process needs to include not just a knowledge of history but also an understanding of the way any given ideology influences our ways of thinking and accepting the ideological ideas. The carriers of the education are therefore the teachers in our primary and secondary schools. This immediately poses another problem. Where do the educators get their understandings of the subject from? While there are a number of people in the community and in the schools who have the knowledge and the skills to facilitate this education, this is not the case for the majority within our schools. It is natural to assume that educators can only teach what they know themselves and as I have shown repeatedly in the thesis the majority of New Zealanders have a lack of knowledge about the real history of the Treaty/te Tiriti. Therefore it is imperative that educators are first educated themselves on this issue, otherwise they will continue to perpetuate their own lack of knowledge and their own misinformed prejudices.

The second group of people who generate a source of information and become the carriers of social conscience is the media. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, the media in the past have provided either a lack of information about Maori issues, by ignoring them and thereby making them invisible, or have largely portrayed Maori in a negative light. The media have a responsibility to inform the public, not confirm the public's misinformed prejudices.

- *I think obviously the media's the most useful tool that people have for spreading the word in this day and age, through television, through the education system, through the written word. It should begin with acknowledgment of our past as a nation. I think the most important thing for Pakeha is that they need to listen to Maori people's grievances. They need to actually sit down and listen.*

- *I think the media should play an impartial role. They should inform people about the land claims. They don't tell us why the land claim is there. If the media announced that the land had been stolen in the first place - most people don't know about that. I didn't find out until I did Seventh Form history. I used to regard Maori as always trying to cheat us and just trying to have more land, but Seventh Form history really opened my eyes. I felt that Maori had been cheated a lot*

As with the educators, the media also need to start with obtaining the knowledge themselves, then providing a factual report of any issues with arise, including all the background information. The current issues are not happening in isolation. Understanding the history behind the current issue is essential if people's perceptions are to be changed. It is extremely unfortunate that the media students who began as one of my research groups did not receive the education intended for them, so that they could be better informed when they are reporting Maori issues in their future positions.

Recommendations for Policy and Practice

Recommendations arising from this thesis include:

- i. Compulsory education on Aotearoa/New Zealand history which reflects the reality of the issues concerning the Treaty/te Tiriti, the wording of the Treaty/te Tiriti and the subsequent outcomes for Maori, as Pakeha imposed their own structure onto Maori, thereby alienating Maori from their economic, political and social base.
- ii. The immediate education of the people who are to be future carriers of the social transformation. This includes the educators in our primary and secondary schools and the members of the media.
- iii. The implementation of organisational accountabilities to incorporate a bicultural approach into institutions such as education, health, welfare, employment and

government. It is not enough to include these aspirations into institutional charters if there is insufficient implementation of the stated goals.

Limitations of this Research

The findings from the primary data in this thesis have a number of limitations. Firstly, the participants in this research came from two disparate sample groups of first year tertiary students. One group comprises nursing students, whose career choice may indicate they are more “people oriented.” The second is a group of business students, whose career choice may tend to indicate that they are more “business oriented.” It is difficult to assess whether the personal attributes and characteristics, that lead students to such disparate career choices as nursing and business have any relevance to the attitudes they may have to Treaty/Tiriti issues. Although the perceptions of each group of students at the beginning of this research is examined in the responses each of these groups gave to the first questionnaire and interviews I am not able to comment why those particular perceptions were formed. Different students may be given the same information and still respond differently to it because of their different temperaments, different backgrounds and different perspectives on people and life in general.

Secondly, the two sample groups were not selected by the same process. The business students were from a randomly selected tutorial class. The nursing students were self-selected from the wider student body of first year nursing students. A possible outcome to this different selection process is that the nursing students are more likely to have a previous interest in this topic than the randomly selected group of business students.

Thirdly, differences in the ethnic composition of these two groups may have an influence on their attitudes towards the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti also. As well, the degree to which individual students understood and had close ties to their own culture has a possible influence on how easily they may be able to empathise with

the needs and beliefs of another culture. Fourthly, the influences that may have impacted through being raised in a small town versus a large city can not be isolated in this research.

These individual characteristics relating to the participants in this research are imponderables which may have influenced the responses students made to the education process they experienced and these are areas that I have not been able to probe in this thesis.

However, another major limitation with these findings relates to the disparity of the education process that each of these groups experienced. The education process for the nursing students was given priority in the students' academic life during that week. Ground rules were established by the nursing students themselves, which guaranteed respect for each other. Nursing students experienced the intimacy and support that can only be found in a small group, a physical and emotional environment that encouraged everyone to actively participate in the Treaty/te Tiriti workshop, a rapport with their lecturer facilitator, the continual opportunity to debate their perceptions in a manner that was non-threatening for both the participant speaking and also for others in the group who were listening. From my observation all of these components were missing from the education process experienced by the business students in my sample group. It is highly probable that these factors had, at least some and probably great, influence on the changes to the perceptions of both the nursing students and business students as to the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi in today's society.

The findings in this thesis relate only to a short term study. I do not know how long students' changing perceptions would last, once they put this topic of study behind them and proceeded to other subjects of interest. To determine whether this education has long term effects would require a longitudinal study.

The limitations to my findings in this thesis give rise to the possibility of future research in this area. This is what I shall address next.

Future Research?

The research and findings discussed in this thesis represent a small step into a topic which is highly relevant in today's social climate in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It also opens up the field for more detailed research into aspects of the work I have begun here. The following are suggestions for future research in this area.

- i. How much significance do the various personal attributes, which people bring with them to the education process, have on the degree of change to their perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi?
- ii. What components of the *delivery* of the education are likely to have the greatest impact? Does the size of the group, the composition of the group, the setting of the venue or other aspects relating to the delivery of the education have any impact on the manner in which the education is received?
- iii. What elements should be included in the *content* of the education? What part do each of the following play in changing perceptions: an understanding of how ideology, or false consciousness, influences how we perceive the events around us, especially the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti; an understanding of the wording of the Treaty and te Tiriti and the different meanings conveyed to Maori and Pakeha; a knowledge of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand, especially relating to Maori/Pakeha relations?
- iv. When the audience is Pakeha, do participants respond differently to the information if it is delivered by a Pakeha rather than a Maori?
- v. A longitudinal study is needed to ascertain whether any of the changed perceptions as a result of education on the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi are permanent or temporary.

vi. Research is required to ascertain the most appropriate age to introduce this education to children/students within our education system.

Conclusion

The Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The signing of the Treaty/te Tiriti at Waitangi on February 6th 1840 provided the basis on which the British settlers took control, formed a government and established the laws and institutions on which Aotearoa/New Zealand society was developed. These laws and institutions did not grant Maori equal opportunities, let alone equal outcomes, with Pakeha. The ignorance that has been perpetuated over the years since has come from a general lack of education about our history. This has been exacerbated by the ideological influence of the dominant power group and the public's general acceptance of the *givens*, which has limited any questioning of society's structures and power base.

It is clear that we have not learned the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is equally clear that we have not understood the structural inequality that Maori have endured since the Treaty/te Tiriti. Our false consciousness, that led us to believe our society provides equal opportunities for everyone and that we are one people in this country, is being tested by the rise in Maori protest. The importance of the Treaty/te Tiriti to Maori is in direct relationship to the poor economic, political and social statistics for Maori. The Treaty/te Tiriti is important for all New Zealanders as it promised a partnership that was not delivered. The current Maori issues need to be resolved:

- *Because the Treaty was signed between two parties, the settlers from England and the native people and it was signed in good faith by both parties. Because it was broken and disregarded there is definitely a need to address the issues that have come out of it*

It is clear from the results of this thesis that education, under appropriate circumstances, can make a major difference to people's perceptions of the relevance of the Treaty/te Tiriti.

The current social crisis in Aotearoa/New Zealand needs resolution. A crisis is a turning point from which we can choose the future direction of our society. We can choose the status quo, which may bring even greater problems in the future or we can choose to change, to go forward honouring the Treaty/te Tiriti as a truly bicultural society with Maori and Pakeha sharing the power and sharing the decision making. A crisis may be defined as a deciding event in history. The decisions we make now will impact on both Maori and Pakeha. Will this be a positive or negative impact?

The students who participated in the interviews for this thesis all support the idea of compulsory education on the Treaty/te Tiriti through the school system. They believe education of the young is the answer:

- *I don't think you can do much about the older generation. They are really stuck in their ways, and it's harder to educate them. I suppose they can be partly educated through TV but it's not always going to work. It's the younger generation that's going to influence it all*

If our children receive this education, if we can then acknowledge our history and the long term effect the historical events have had on Maori well-being, and if we use that understanding to change the structures of Aotearoa/New Zealand society maybe we can begin the bicultural society envisioned by Maori at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi. However we need to consider the alternative and ask ourselves if we still have time for another, more Treaty/Tiriti literate, generation to grow up?

Appendix One

22 December 1995

facsimile

Ruth Ruka



**MASSEY
UNIVERSITY**

Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone 0-6-356 9099

Dear Ruth,

**Re: Human Ethics Application HEC95/164
New Zealanders' Perception of the Relevance of the Treaty of
Waitangi today: A study of how students' attitudes change as a
result of education.**

Thank you for your fax of 21 December.

The amendments to your Information Sheet and Questionnaire now meet the approval of the Human Ethics Committee and the ethics of your project are approved.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Philip Dewe'.

**Professor Philip Dewe
Chairperson
Human Ethics Committee**

Appendix Two: Information Sheet

WHO IS THE RESEARCHER?

The researcher is Ruth Ruka, who is currently employed as a senior economics lecturer at AIT..

WHERE CAN THE RESEARCHER BE CONTACTED?

Ruth Ruka can be contacted at AIT, Telephone [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

WHAT IS THE STUDY ABOUT?

A major issue facing New Zealand today is the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the problems surrounding a reallocation of resources and power to Maori. In this research project I propose to identify how (if at all) the programmes on the Treaty of Waitangi, as taught to tertiary students in three different degree courses, alter their attitudes concerning the Treaty of Waitangi and the issue of biculturalism.

WHAT WILL THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE TO DO?

Participants in this research project will be invited to take part on a voluntary basis only. None of the participating students will be taught by the researcher during the year of this study. Those who do choose to participate will be required to:

- (i) Complete two questionnaires
- (ii) A smaller group of self selected students will be asked to participate in two interviews on a one-to-one basis.

HOW MUCH TIME WILL BE INVOLVED?

Approximately 20 minutes for each questionnaire. For those students participating in the interviews approximately one hour for each interview.

WHAT CAN THE PARTICIPANT EXPECT FROM THE RESEARCHER?

If you take part in the study you have the right to:

- (i) refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from future participation
- (ii) ask any questions about the study that occur to you during your participation
- (iii) provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researcher. All information is collected anonymously, and it will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are prepared from the study.
- (iv) request that the tape recorder be turned off at any stage of the interview if you are one of the group who have agreed to an interview. All taped material will be erased after it has been analysed.
- (v) be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.

Appendix Three

Consent Form for Researcher To Observe Classes I Attend

Research Project Title:

New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students attitudes change as a result of education.

I have had the details of this research project fully explained to my satisfaction.

Delete one of the following options

I *consent/ do not consent* to the researcher observing the relevant classes on the understanding that I may not be identified in any part of the written report.

Appendix Four

Consent Form for Researcher To Observe Classes I Teach

Research Project Title:

New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students attitudes change as a result of education.

I have had the details of this research project fully explained to my satisfaction.

Delete one of the following options

I *consent/ do not consent* to the researcher observing the relevant classes that I teach, on the understanding that I may not be identified in any part of the written report.

Signed

Date

Appendix Five

Consent Form for Interviews

Research Project Title:

New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students attitudes change as a result of education.

I have had the details of this research project fully explained to my satisfaction.

I also understand that I am free to decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is completely confidential and that I will not be personally identified in the report.

Delete one of the options

I *consent/ do not consent* to participating in an interview for this research project.

I *consent/ do not consent* to have my interviews tape recorded

I *consent/do not consent* to have my taped interviews transcribed by a typist other than the researcher on the understanding that the transcriber has signed a confidentiality contract.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out above.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

Appendix Six

Permission Form

Research Project Title:

New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students attitudes change as a result of education.

I have read the attached transcript. I have edited this material and have removed any information that I do not want to disclose in this research project.

This information is approved by me for use in the above named research project on the understanding that it is to be used in such a way that I cannot be identified.

Signed:.....

Name:

Date:

Appendix Seven

Confidentiality Form

Research Project Title:

New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students attitudes change as a result of education.

I have agreed to transcribe the taped interviews relating to this research project on the understanding that all information I hear or see is to remain completely confidential.

Signed:.....

Name:

Date:

Appendix Eight: First Questionnaire

Project Title: New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi Today: A study of how students' attitudes change as a result of education.

Please Note: Participation in this questionnaire is deemed to constitute your consent to take part in this section of the research

Please answer the following questions.

Q1. State any ethnic group(s) you identify with.

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Q2. With which (if any) of these groups do you have close cultural ties?

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.....

Q3. Were you born in New Zealand? Please tick the appropriate box.

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

If your answer to Question 3 is Yes proceed to Question 4
If your answer to Question 3 is No proceed to Question 8

Q4. In which city/town were you born?

.....

Q5. In which suburb and city or town have you spent most of your life?

.....

Q6. Which secondary school(s) did you attend?

.....

Q7. How many generations of your family have been born and have lived in New Zealand? (If your parents were born overseas write 0)

Father	
Mother	

Please now proceed to Question 12.

Continued from Question 3

Q8. State your country of birth

.....

Q9. How long have you lived in New Zealand?

.....

Q10. In which suburb and city or town have you mainly resided since arriving in New Zealand?

.....

Q11. Have you come to New Zealand for the purpose of study and intend to return to the country of your birth at the end of your studies?

Yes	
No	

If you answered Yes to Question 11 please do not continue with this questionnaire. STOP NOW.

If you answered No to Question 11 proceed to Question 12

- Q12. Do you consider the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi is relevant to New Zealand today?

Yes	
No	

Briefly elaborate on your answer

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- Q13. Which version of the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi is most relevant in your opinion?

Maori Version	
English Version	
Neither Version	

Briefly explain the reason for your choice above.

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Q14. Do you read, watch or listen to any of the following media outlets? (Tick any or all boxes that are appropriate).

	Always or mostly	Some- times	Seldom or Never
(a) Items in the general news in the NZ Herald (or equivalent) concerning Maori issues			
b) News items on commercial radio on Maori issues			
(c) Mana News on National Radio			
d) Relevant in depth interviews and/or documentaries concerning Maori issues on National Radio			
(e) TV programmes such as 20/20, 60 Minutes on Maori issues			
(f) Marae on TV1			
(g) Radio Aotearoa			

Q15. Have your opinions on the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi been influenced by any of the media programmes listed in Question 14 above?

Yes	
No	

If you answered Yes to Question 15 proceed to Question 16, otherwise proceed to Question 17.

Q16. Using the letter (a) to (g) in question 14 identify which media programme(s) has influenced your opinion and briefly explain how you have been influenced.

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Q17. Have you read any of the following books? (Tick any or all of the appropriate boxes)

"The Treaty of Waitangi" by Claudia Orange	
"A Question of Honour" by Jane Kelsey	
"Honouring The Treaty" By Yensen, Hague and McCreanor	
"Te Ao Marama Regaining Aotearoa: Maori Writers Speak Out" edited by Witi Ihimaera	
"Maori Sovereignty" by Donna Awatere	
"Once Were Warriors" by Alan Duff	
"Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge" by Alan Duff	
"Travesty of Waitangi" by S Scott	

Q18. Have your opinions of the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi been influenced by any of the following? (Tick any or all of the boxes that are appropriate).

Family	
Friends	
School	
Church affiliations	
Recent Maori land settlement cases	
Recent Maori activism and land occupation	

Q19. Do you believe that land occupation by Maori groups is an acceptable method of protest?

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Q20. Should the political power structure in New Zealand be altered to give Maori equal say in political/economic decisions? Briefly elaborate on your answer.

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Second Questionnaire:

NB: Q1&2 are specific to each of the nursing and business students, Q3-22 apply to both groups.

Project Title: New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students' attitudes change as a result of education.

Please Note: Participation in this questionnaire is deemed to constitute your consent to take part in this section of the research

Please answer the following questions.

QUESTIONS 1 & 2: NURSING STUDENTS ONLY

Q1. Did you cover any of the issues relating to the Treaty of Waitangi/ tiriti o Waitangi or bicultural issues during your studies this year?

YES	
NO	

Q2 If you did not attend all of the Treaty Workshop please explain why not.

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Second Questionnaire:

NB: Q1&2 are specific to each of the nursing and business students, Q3-22 apply to both groups.

Project Title: New Zealanders' Perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi Today: A study of how students' attitudes change as a result of education.

Please Note: Participation in this questionnaire is deemed to constitute your consent to take part in this section of the research

Please answer the following questions.

QUESTIONS 1 & 2: BUSINESS STUDENTS ONLY

- Q1.** Did you attend the following sessions relating to the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi?
(Please tick the appropriate box for each subsection).

	Yes	No
(i) The initial group session on Monday, including the video "Te Tiriti o Waitangi"		
(ii) The lecture in the hall - before morning tea		
(iii) The lecture in the hall - after morning tea		
(iv) The first part of the group session including the video "Parihaka"		
(v) The second part of the group session including the class discussion		
(vi) Did you read the article by Mr Justice Temm?		

Q2. If you answered **NO** to any of the points above in Q1 please explain why you did not attend the appropriate session. (The numbers below relate to the corresponding items in Q1).

(i)

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(ii)

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(iii)

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(iv)

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(v)

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(vi)

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Q3 State three (3) things you have learned concerning treaty and/or bi-cultural issues in this course this year that you did not know before. Please list in order of significance.

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

Q4 Do you feel that you have gained new/extra information on this course concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi, which may cause you to rethink your opinion on treaty issues today?

Yes	
No	

Q5. Do you consider the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi is relevant to New Zealand today?

Yes	
No	

Briefly elaborate on your answer

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Q6. Which version of the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi is most relevant in your opinion?

Maori Version	
English Version	
Neither Version	

Briefly explain the reason for your choice above

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Q7 Do you believe Maori have justified grievances concerning Treaty issues?

Yes	
No	

If you answered Yes to Question 7 proceed to Question 8, otherwise proceed to Question 9.

Q8.(i) Briefly state what you believe are justified Maori grievances.

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(ii) How should these grievances be resolved?

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Proceed to Question 10

Q9. Please elaborate on your answer to Question 7

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Q10. In what way do you think the Treaty of Waitangi /Te Tiriti o Waitangi may affect your life, both now and in the future?

Now.....

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Future.....

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Q11. If Maori iwi consider they have a claim to a particular piece of land do you believe that land occupation by Maori groups is an acceptable method of protest?

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Q12. What different method(s) of protest action about Maori grievances would you consider both acceptable and effective.

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Q13. Briefly explain what you understand by the term bicultural

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Q14. In your opinion is New Zealand a bicultural country?

Yes	
No	

Q15. In your opinion should New Zealand be a bicultural country?

Yes	
No	

Q16 What do you understand by the term Maori Sovereignty?

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Q17. Do you agree with the concept of Maori Sovereignty? Briefly explain why or why not.

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Q18. Explain the difference between te tino Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga.

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- Q19. In the work that you have been doing recently on the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi in your course, please comment on the method(s) used to teach this topic and the appropriateness of each method for this subject.

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- Q20. Is the information you gained in the lectures/workshops/tutorials etc concerning the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi supported and reinforced by the attitudes of lecturers who teach other papers in your degree. (Please tick the appropriate box)

Totally supports it	
Generally supports it	
Neutral	
Ignores it	
Undermines it	

- Q21. State your date of birth.

Year	Month	Date

- Q22. Please tick the appropriate box. Are you:

Male	
Female	

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix Nine

The following is a summary of the areas I explored during the interviews.

Interview One

- What do you know about the Treaty?
- Where did you get this information from - family, friends, school, the media, personal study?
- How long have the Maori grievances about the Treaty been going on? Are the grievances justified? Which ones are justified? Why?
- How does the Treaty affect your life? Relations in New Zealand?
- How important is the Treaty in New Zealand today? Why?
- The difference between the English and Maori versions? Is the Treaty relevant today? Which is more relevant? Why?
- Is New Zealand society fair to all? Why?
- Explain tino rangatiratanga? kawanatanga?
- What does Maori sovereignty mean? Do you agree/disagree with the notion? Why?
- What does bicultural mean? Should New Zealand be bicultural? Is New Zealand bicultural?

Interview Two

- What did you learn that you did not previously know? Are you more aware of the issues surrounding the Treaty?
- Do you feel differently about the Treaty as a result of anything you learned?
- Is the Treaty relevant today? Which version? Why?
- Are any of the Maori grievances justified? Which ones? Why? Any not justified? Why not? Should they be resolved? How?
- Explain tino rangatiratanga? kawanatanga?
- What does Maori sovereignty mean? Do you agree/disagree with the notion? Why?
- What does bicultural mean? Should New Zealand be bicultural? Is New Zealand bicultural?
- How did you feel about doing this course? What did you like? Dislike? About the content? Methods? Approach?
- Do we need this information? How should we get it? Should it be compulsory at school? Which class, what age?
- Do other lecturers in different courses reinforce or negate the attitudes expressed in this course?

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