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Special Abilities: A Māori Perspective

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

This study investigated special abilities from a Māori perspective. In particular it sought to discover if traditional and contemporary concepts of special abilities existed and if so, what these concepts were. It also sought Māori opinion on effective and appropriate ways of identifying and catering for Māori CWSA.

A two-pronged approach was utilised. Possible traditional and contemporary Māori concepts were constructed from:

- a documentary analysis of a variety of resources
- informal, exploratory interviews with 33 Māori participants.

Whānau networks were used to select the interview sample of 6 kaumātua, 12 educators and 15 "others" who strongly identified themselves as being Māori and had a demonstrated commitment to Māoritanga. Participants came from a variety of educational and socio-economic backgrounds and there was wide tribal and hapū representation.

Data from documentary analysis and interviews was both equivalent and complementary. The concepts of special abilities from the past and present that emerged:

- were holistic in nature and inextricably intertwined with other Māori concepts, values, customs and beliefs.
- were broad and wide-ranging. Many abilities and qualities were valued. These included spiritual, cognitive, affective, aesthetic, artistic, musical, psychomotor, social, intuitive, creative, leadership and cultural abilities and qualities.
- were not bounded by social class, economic status or gender.
- were grounded firmly in Māori kaupapa.
- placed importance on both "qualities" and "abilities." Qualities in the intrapersonal, affective domain were particularly valued.

- incorporated an expectation that abilities and qualities would be used in the service of others.
- involved the bestowing of mana tāngata especially in the areas of service to others and cultural knowledge.

The suggestions about how Māori CWSA could be identified and catered for at home and at school contained many approaches equally applicable to all children. Culture-specific suggestions emphasised the encouragement and teaching of Māoritanga, the development of strong, supportive whānau networks, the training of teachers in Māoritanga especially aspects relevant to recognising and catering for Māori CWSA and the provision of culturally appropriate education. The latter involved teaching programmes, strategies, styles and environments particularly suited to Māori children. It was also emphasised that educational provisions for Māori CWSA should not isolate them from their culture.

The research concluded that to enable children who identify as Māori and live within Māori norms to realise their potential, identification procedures and educational provisions should be based firmly on a Māori concept of special abilities.

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During the course of this research one of the participants, Hinemoa Nepia, passed away. Hinemoa epitomised "a Māori with special abilities." She was exceptional in all areas. Her deep spirituality and concern for others touched everyone who knew her. Hinemoa's contribution to this research lies not only in her stories and words of wisdom that have a real presence in this book but also in the inspiration she gave to a fumbling researcher. E hoa, katahi ano nga tai o Maihirangi ka ngunguru.

Haere i a whiti ahu raro, haere i a whiti ahu rangi, haere ki nga kurumatarerehu; waiho ake te ao kia whitingia e te ra, haere ki te kainga o nga matua tūpuna, ki te Ataitoea, haere, haere, haere.

Table of Contents

Abstract . . . . . (ii)

Preface and Acknowledgements . . . . . (iv)

List of Figures and Tables . . . . . (viii)

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Chapter 2: Literature Review 9

Chapter 3: Methodology 35

Chapter 4: Results 49

Chapter 5: Discussion 130

Chapter 6: Conclusion 155

References 161

Appendix A: Interview Schedule 171

Appendix B: Covering Letter 173

Appendix C: Interview Guide 175

Glossary 177

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1 Sample Selection Using Whānau Networks

Figure 2 Sample Group and Gender Choice of Abilities and Qualities in the Past

Figure 3 Sample Group and Gender Choice of Abilities and Qualities in the Present

Figure 4 Distribution of Abilities and Qualities Amongst National, Iwi, Whānau and Gender Groups in the Past

Figure 5 Distribution of Abilities and Qualities Amongst National, Iwi, Whānau and Gender Groups in the Present

Figure 6 Comparison of Past and Present Ability and Quality Choices

Table 1 Sample Composition

Table 2 Gender Composition of Past Choices

Table 3 Sample Group and Gender Choice of National, Iwi and Whānau Categories from the Past

Table 4 Gender Composition of Present Choices

Table 5 Sample Group and Gender Choice of National, Iwi and Whānau Categories in the Present

Table 6 Sample Group Contribution to Research Data

Chapter 1: Introduction

Haere mai te ihi
haere mai te wehi
haere mai te mana
haere mai te tapu

1.0 Research Problem and Questions

Both in the past and the present, especially able Māori have made many valuable contributions to Māoridom and to N.Z. society. Today's Māori children with special abilities (CWSA) are tomorrows leaders who will be needed to guide Māoridom into the 21st century. They will be among those who help to rectify past wrongs and lead the way in establishing a truly bicultural N.Z. It is vitally important that these children be given every opportunity to develop their abilities. In order to achieve this however, a great deal more needs to be known in this area.

The purpose of this study therefore, is to investigate special abilities from a Māori perspective, to extend the existing knowledge base in this area and to provide suggestions from Māori people on how Māori CWSA can be appropriately identified and catered for. In Māoridom a true understanding of the present can only be gained through a consideration of the past (Reid, Paparangi, 1986; Ihimaera, 1993). Consequently both traditional and contemporary concepts of special ability will be investigated.

This research seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Did traditional Māori have a concept of special abilities and if so, what was it?

2. Is there a contemporary Māori concept of special abilities and if so, what is it?
3. What do Māori people believe are effective and appropriate ways of identifying and catering for their CWSA?

1.1 Definition and Explanation of Terms

One of the basic rules of research is to provide definitions of principle terms from the outset. This presents a real difficulty in respect to the term "special abilities" used in this study. As one of the purposes of this research is to investigate possible traditional and contemporary concepts of special abilities, to provide a definition would be to pre-empt any concept that arises from the research itself. Reference to the literature in this field does not help the situation. "Special abilities" is just one of three commonly used terms. The others are "giftedness" and "talent." McAlpine (1990) points out that while these terms are often used interchangeably, "N.Z. tends to use CWSA, U.S.A 'Gifted and Talented' and Australia 'Talented'"(p.239). For this reason "special abilities" has been used in this research.

Consideration of the various terms reveals that there are almost as many definitions of concepts as there are experts in the field. The narrow I.Q.-related concept of "giftedness" that was introduced by Galton and reinforced by the work of Binet and Terman has given away to a broad, multicategory approach. McAlpine (1992) maintains that in some cases, namely Taylor's (1978) Multiple Talent Totem Pole concept and the N.Z. Department of Education's (1986) definition, the pendulum has swung too far in favour of the multicategory approach. He suggests the wisest postion is the middle ground taken by Renzulli and Reis (1985).

These researchers define giftedness as the interaction of three clusters of traits; above average ability, creativity and task commitment. This interaction is

manifested in "gifted behaviours." Gagne (1992) however sees giftedness as competence in domains of aptitude that is transformed through learning, practice and intrapersonal and environmental catalysts into performance in particular "talent" fields. McAlpine (1992) has taken an eclectic approach combining aspects of the U.S.O.E.(1972) and the N.Z. Department of Education (1986) definitions with Renzulli's approach. He maintains that CWSA have:

> well above average ability and motivation in one or more of the following: curriculum, creativity, visual and performing arts, cultural values and performance and social/moral/ethical domains (p.36).

Despite obvious differences, a common element in concepts of giftedness, talent and special abilities is that they all involve being considerably more able than one's peers at a socially valued activity and/or possessing a socially valued quality to a degree far in excess of one's peers.

This all-encompassing statement is the definition of special abilities that will be adopted for the purposes of this research. It provides a broad framework within which a concept from any culture can fit. The specific details of a concept that is distinctly Māori will be added by investigating such questions as: What particular activities are considered special? What are socially valued qualities and how are they manifest? Are there tribal, social and gender differences in these areas? How can specific abilities and qualities be recognised and nurtured? What influence do other cultural concepts, beliefs, traditions, values and attitudes have?

As previously mentioned, the popular terms used in the literature vary from country to country. For this reason terms such as talent, giftedness, gifted and exceptional will appear in quotes cited in this research and in references relating to them. They should be interpreted in a generic sense.

Other principle terms used in this research are: Māori and Traditional.

For the purposes of this research the following definitions apply:

MĀORI is taken to mean any person of Māori ancestry who identifies him or herself as being Māori (Dept. Statistics, N.Z., 1991).

At this stage two important points should be emphasised. Firstly, both Pere (1982) and Rangihau (1975) state that because each Māori tribe has its own particular history and way of doing and viewing things, one should talk of Tuhoetanga, Arawatanga, Raukawatanga and tribal concepts rather than Māoritanga and Māori concepts. This warning is acknowledged. However because of the limited number of participants in this research a more general Māori perspective has been taken. What is being investigated is not THE Māori concept of special abilities but rather, special abilities as viewed through the eyes of a limited number of Māori people.

Secondly, it is also acknowledged that Māori, like any other culture, are a diverse group of people.

> They vary in their knowledge and practise of their own culture. These variations have increased through urbanisation, the influence of different christian denominations, mixed marriages and acculturation, but in spite of these rapid social changes the heritage passed down by Māori ancestors persists and remains wide-spread and significant. Despite colonisation, Māori institutions have survived, particularly those that are intangible. (Pere, 1991, p.34)

Similar sentiments have been expressed by Hamilton (1989). He maintains that a list of character or learning traits that hold true for every individual within any cultural or social group can never exist and that "although there is wide divergence in Māori communities, geographically, socially and in lifestyle, there is nevertheless, a common bond felt by most" (p.129).

While the danger of stereotyping and overgeneralising is acknowledged, this research seeks to discover if such a "common bond" exists amongst the participants in respect to a concept of special abilities.

TRADITIONAL refers to the 19th Century and before. This is a liberal interpretation that does not take into account any pre-contact, post-contact divisions of time.

1.2 Thesis Outline

In Chapter Two relevant literature is reviewed. Chapter Three describes the research design and explains interview and sample selection procedures. Chapter Four presents the interview data while Chapter Five discusses it and relates it to underlying theories and literature review information. Conclusions and recommendations are made in Chapter Six.

1.3 Rationale and Significance

A guiding principle in school charters throughout N.Z. is that all children should be "given an education that respects their individuality and challenges them to achieve personal standards of excellence and to reach their full potential." (Ministry of Ed., 1989, p.5).

These charters also have a clause that obliges them "to fulfil the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi by valuing N.Z.'s dual cultural heritage" (ibid.). In order to achieve these principles more must be known about a Māori concept of special abilities and about culturally appropriate means of identifying and catering for Māori CWSA. What better way to discover these things than by asking Māori people themselves?

While research specifically relating to Māori CWSA is meagre, there is an abundance of educational research on Māori children in general. Much of this research consists of comparative studies where negative statistics show Māori in an inferior light. There is widespread discontent in Māoridom with this type of research (Te Awekotuku, 1991b; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Teariki, Spoonley & Tomoana, 1992; Timutimu-Thorpe, 1992; Walker, 1992). Consequently the present research which focuses on positive aspects is indeed timely. As Apirana Ngata stated, "there are two ways of tackling problems. One is to explore the bad and feature it. The other is to discover good and encourage it" (Percy, 1989, p.5). This research intends to do the latter.

This research is timely in two other ways.
Firstly, New Zealanders are becoming more culturally sensitive and increasingly aware of their obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. The past history of education in N.Z. includes many examples of educational decisions and practices that have been detrimental to Māori; decisions and practices they have had no part in formulating. Nowadays it is acknowledged that Māori people must be consulted and empowered in all educational matters concerning them. The present research puts this belief into practice.

Secondly, there is a resurgence of interest in N.Z. in the education of CWSA. This is evidenced by the popularity of gifted education courses such as those presently offered by Massey University, Waikato University and the Advanced Studies for Teachers Unit, Palmerston North College of Education. It is also evidenced by the large numbers attending conferences on gifted education, the growing acknowledgement of CWSA in preschool/school policy statements and the increase in provisions for CWSA presently being offered by schools and other organisations such as the Special Education Service.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

This research is both theoretical and practical in nature. It is based on a number of underlying theories.

- Throughout history some people in every race, culture and time have been considered more able than their peers in some quality or activity.

This research, therefore, takes as given the fact that Māori people with special abilities existed in traditional times and still do today. However what it seeks to determine is whether a concept exists around this fact. An analogy can be drawn with Mead's (1993) explanation of how places, land features and art works become clothed with words over a period of time. Stories, songs and proverbs (kōrero) attach themselves to these places, features and art works and in this process they become animated and transformed into cultural objects. This research looks for kōrero that may have built up over time about outstanding people. If significant, it is this kōrero taumaha (heavy talk) that will provide the specifics of a Māori concept of special abilities.

- "The concept of giftedness and talent is open and changing and sensitive to time and cultural setting" (McAlpine & Reid, 1987, p.319).

Given that any culture's concept of special abilities is influenced by all its beliefs, needs, values, concepts and attitudes and that these things can alter over time, the search for a distinctive, changing, Māori concept is well grounded.

- The areas of performance in which individuals are recognised as gifted are determined by the values and needs of the prevailing culture (Renzulli, Reis & Smith, 1981). Giftedness itself is only meaningful in terms of how it reflects different social and cultural values and contexts (McAlpine, 1991).

This theory appears self-evident especially when viewed from a global perspective. In respect to this research, it is hoped that the data gathered will reveal ways in which Māori values and needs have been influential in determining exactly who is considered to have special abilities and why.

- "The concept of giftedness is anchored in the behaviour of real people. In other words, 'gifted is (the concept) as gifted does' (the behaviours)." (McAlpine & Reid, 1987, p.320).

This theory justifies the emphasis in the Interview Schedule on asking participants to name and describe people they consider very able or talented in some way.

- The means used to identify and nurture giftedness will differ according to the culture's particular concept of giftedness. (Reid, 1992).

This last theory introduces the practical aspect of this study. Māori will be consulted to determine culturally appropriate ways of identifying and catering for their CWSA. The main reason for including this aspect in the research is its practical usefulness. It is hoped that the suggestions given will be used by Māori and educationalists to ensure able Māori youngsters are identified and helped to achieve their potential. A further point is that the inclusion of both theoretical and practical aims sits comfortably with a holistic Māori philosophy.

In conclusion it should be noted that while the theories outlined above are of a relatively uncontroversial nature, they are not always acknowledged in practice. As Hurtubise (1991) points out, in N.Z. the concept of special abilities that is accepted, encouraged and provided for is based on the needs and values of white, middleclass males and does not take other cultural or female perspectives into account.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0 Previous Research

MĀORI CONCEPTS OF SPECIAL ABILITIES.

There is very little research specifically related to the questions this study seeks to answer. Reid (1989, p.31) takes a cursory glance at the traditional concept of giftedness in an article focusing on culturally appropriate identification. He concludes that intellectual, aesthetic, psychomotor, social and creative characteristics are all well represented in pre-contact New Zealand. In fairness to Reid it must be acknowledged that his comments were in the nature of an introduction and were never intended as an in-depth investigation into a traditional concept. While his conclusion may be accurate, the page of discussion it is based on does little justice to a complex and extensive topic.

However Reid (1983, 1989, 1990, 1992) does consider a contemporary Māori concept in more depth. He maintains that Pākehā and Māori concepts differ. The Pākehā concept, with the exception of recognising sporting ability, is focused "firmly at the utilitarian/academic end of the scale" (Reid,1992,p.58). The Māori concept, on the other hand, is at the non-academic/humanistic end of the continuum.

> Māori while not denigrating the intellectual and the academic, place much less value on such traits. The kind of "cleverness" esteemed by Māori is epitomized in the speechmaking and oratory on the marae and in the lobbying and politicking on tribal councils. Instead prized characteristics are much more people-orientated, to do with interpersonal relationships. The warmth, security and support of, and for, the community which is closely bound by ties of common descent, aroha and shared activities, are all important....In considering Māori conceptions of talent, there are obvious similarities (to Getzel's life

> talents) in the Māori concern for cultural identity, of being of service to others, of coping with dignity and a certain style, more especially in times of crisis: birth, marriage and death... There is also a spiritual dimension which is largely ignored by Europeans when giftedness is being considered. For example, Māori informants will cite such personal "gifts" as astral travel, healing through touch, matakite (foretelling) and makutu (sorcery), a "darker" talent (Reid, 1992, p.58).

This lengthy quote has been included as it represents the most comprehensive published statement on a contemporary Māori concept of special abilities. Doidge (1990, p.36) talks of "cultural and spiritual giftedness" that is manifest in a person's ability to lead in the areas of aroha, manaakitanga, whaikōrero and mana. Cathcart and Pou (1992) and Milne (1993) acknowledge the fact that the Māori and Pākehā concepts are different and provide checklists of "possible indicators of Māori abilities" (Milne, 1993, p.54). But, apart from Reid, no writers in this field attempt to define a Māori concept of special abilities in any depth.

IDENTIFYING AND CATERING FOR MĀORI CWSA.

More literature exists on the question of identifying and catering for Māori CWSA. It is felt that these children are not being effectively identified or adequately catered for, for a number of reasons.

Firstly, in N.Z. it is the Pākehā male who defines and shapes the direction of society. Under such a hegemonic system, it is the white, male concept of special abilities that is accepted, encouraged and provided for (Hurtubise, 1991; Cathcart & Pou, 1992; Milne, 1993).

Secondly, teachers play the major role in identifying and catering for Māori CWSA. As the majority of teachers in our schools are white, middle class, monocultural, monolingual and working in an education system that is

predominantly ethnocentric, it is natural that their own culturally laden concept of special abilities will influence who gets identified and what type of programme is provided for them (Reid, 1983, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992; McCaffery, 1988; Hurtubise, 1991; Cathcart & Pou, 1992; Milne, 1993).

Thirdly, methods of identification used are not always appropriate for Māori children. In particular criticism has been levelled at the use of and/or overemphasis on test results (Reid, ibid; Freeman, 1983; Dale, 1988; McCaffery, 1988; Doidge, 1990; Cathcart & Pou, 1992; Milne, 1993). Reid also critiques the multiple-source identification model and finds it has many weaknesses when used to identify Māori children with special abilities.

Fourthly, negative peer pressure deters Māori CWSA from striving to achieve and making the most of their educational opportunities. (Reid, 1983, 1989, 1992; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1988; Cathcart & Pou, 1992; Milne, 1993). Reid (1992) interprets the peer pressure found in Mitchell & Mitchell's research, as being evidence of the power of whakaiti-whakahīhī.

> Some high-achieving Māori students had to abandon their friends if they wished to succeed academically, while others succumbed to peer pressure. Some students begged to be taken out of top stream classes, others deliberately failed tests, and some children begged their teachers to deduct marks from their assignments and tests so that they would not appear to have done so well (Mitchell & Mitchell cited in Reid, 1992, p.55).

However Milne (1993) believes that peer pressure from the able child's Māori friends is not as great as the pressure from Pākehā students who "isolate and alienate the few Māori children who make it to the top streams" (p.57).

While the previous discussion outlines reasons why Māori CWSA are not being effectively identified and catered for, writers in this field offer a variety of

suggestions to rectify the situation. Although the specifics of these suggestions may differ, they contain a common element. This is the focusing on and valuing of diversity in identification methods and educational programmes. Doidge (1990), Cathcart and Pou (1992) and Milne (1993) point out that in a supportive teaching environment which values Māori culture, Māori CWSA will "surface" and flourish. Anderson (1990) and Milne (1993) describe such environments at Kedgley and Clover Park Intermediates. The success of the Hine Alofa and Tupuranga programmes are evidence that this approach works.

THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The previous discussion justifies this research on a number of grounds:

- There is a scarcity of literature and lack of knowledge in this area.
- There is unanimous agreement that present identification procedures are inadequate and often culturally inappropriate. Consultation with Māori is required to help rectify this situation.
- With the exception of Naida Pou's contribution, published works specifically focusing on identifying and catering for Māori CWSA are entirely from a Pākehā perspective.
- Previous writing has not been grounded in empirical research. Reid does mention consulting Māori friends and colleagues. However one suspects this may have been a rather casual affair as he does not include details about the size of his sample, the nature of his questions or the length of his interviews/conversations. In a personal communication with the writer (Nov,1992), Reid remarked that he always sent copies of his articles concerning Māori giftedness to prominent Māori educationalists but that he never received any response from them. This silence could be a sign of affirmation or negation of his views or it could, perhaps, be a comment on his culturally inappropriate approach to seeking feedback. Whatever the case, the need for empirical data from a Māori perspective to either support or refute Reid and other writers' conclusions cannot be denied.

2.1 *Documentary Analysis*

The role of a standard literature review is to critique and analyse the status of knowledge on the research subject, to identify gaps in knowledge and relate this to the research objectives. However in this research, because of the paucity of literature specifically related to the research questions, this role has had to be adapted.

The discussion in the remainder of this chapter is not a critical review as such, but is more in the nature of documentary analysis. A variety of areas have been considered and an extensive range of sources consulted to build up a picture of possible traditional and contemporary Māori concepts of special abilities.

This wide-ranging approach has a number of advantages. It adds body to the literature review and provides a means of triangulating future survey findings. In the Discussion Chapter the kōrero from literature will be compared to the kōrero in the field.

It also sits comfortably with the Māori philosophy of a holistic approach to knowledge, learning and life and is justifiable on the grounds that any culture's concept of special abilities cannot stand alone. It is affected by the myriad of attitudes, beliefs, values, customs and other concepts that are the essence of the culture itself.

2.2 *What can be Learnt from the Māori Language?*

The Māori language was searched for terms relevant to the concept of special abilities.

IHI

This refers to a quality of excellence. It is "the power of living things to develop and grow to their full maturity and state of excellence." (Barlow, 1991, p.31). Ihi is an all encompassing concept and includes an individual's physical, spiritual and psychological attributes. A person who has well-developed skills and talents would be said to have a "strong ihi".

It is interesting to note that everything including animals, plants, art works and performances has an ihi (Marsden, 1975; Barlow, 1991; Sharples & Hemara, 1993; Mead, 1993) and that an individual's ihi can be combined with others to create a group ihi (Barlow, 1991).

WEHI AND WANA

Briefly, these terms mean awe/fear-inspiring, deserving of respect and having authority. They are closely associated with ihi and have relevance to special abilities in that they refer to the effect a person with superior ability, power or influence has on someone who is less able, powerful or influential (Barlow, 1991).

PARAPARA

William's "Dictionary of the Māori Language" translates parapara as meaning "talents, gifts, faculties." It is used in the whakatauāki (proverb) "Kihai i taka te parapara o ona tūpuna; tuku iho ki a ia" which translated means, "He cannot fail to inherit the talents of his ancestors; they must descend to him." This proverb not only acknowledges the existence of special abilities in traditional times but it is also a comment on the influence of heredity in passing on these gifts and talents.

MANA

This concept is difficult to explain in a few words but includes such things as: "psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential or binding over others and that quality of the

person that others know he or she has" (Pere, 1982, p.32). Winiata (1967), Marsden (1975) and King (1977) all likened mana to the english concept of charisma.

While it is acknowledged that mana is by no means limited to able people, it has special significance in that it was often a reward for having special abilities. It is necessary however to further qualify this statement. There are four different types of mana, namely, mana atua, mana tīpuna, mana whenua and mana tāngata. It is the latter that is particularly relevant to special abilities. Barlow (1991,) explains:

> This is the power acquired by an individual according to his or her ability and effort to develop skills and to gain knowledge in particular areas. For example, a skilled warrior was able to acquire mana through the arts of combat and warfare under the code of law of Tumatauenga, the god of war (p.62).

Buck (1950) makes a similar point. In discussing the mana of the chief he states, "it was not a mysterious, indefinable quality flowing from supernatural sources; it was basically the result of successive and successful human achievements" (p.346).

He also maintains that while chiefs inherited mana from their tīpuna, it could also work the other way.

> Some of the canoe leaders may have been minor chiefs in their homeland, their position at the head of the local lineages gave them a rank and prestige which may have been partly due to the later successful achievements of their descendants. (p.343)

The fact that very able individuals were often accorded mana is a comment on the value and importance of advanced abilities in traditional Māori society. The

highest reward a person could be given was not wealth in terms of possessions but rather, mana. Wealth, in fact, was not accumulated, but shared to gain more mana (Schwimmer, 1966; Metge, 1976). This refutes Reid's (1989) claim that "wealth played a dominant role in determining opportunities to develop latent talent" (p.31).

Nowadays mana still plays an important part in Māoridom and is still frequently accorded to people with outstanding qualities and talents (Tauroa, 1989).

TOHUNGA

Two meanings relevant to special abilities are associated with this word. It means both "an expert" and "one who is chosen" (Marsden, 1975; Metge, 1976; King, 1977). The latter refers to the fact that tohunga were chosen by tutelary gods who endowed them with their knowledge and expertise. This introduces two important aspects of a traditional concept of special abilities. Firstly these abilities were considered to be gifts from the gods. People possessing them were merely vehicles through which the gods could communicate and create (Marsden, 1975; Te Awekotuku, 1991a; Puketapu-Hetet, 1975; Mead, 1993). Secondly, the gods played an important role in the identification process. They not only distributed advanced knowledge and ability but they also guided tohunga and kaumātua in choosing their students and influenced the general acceptance of the person chosen. Te Puea gives us an example of the latter. She had been shunned by the tribe because of her unacceptable life style. However when she returned at the request of Mahuta, she was welcomed with open arms.

> It was clear to me that they, like Mahuta, had been moved by forces beyond their knowledge to desire me to lead them to a different life. (King, 1977, p.53).

There were three different types of tohunga.
Tohunga ahurewa were experts in esoteric knowledge. Their job was to ensure the welfare of the tribe by mediating between the gods and tribal members. Tohunga taura/whiawhia were second-class tohunga who operated in the field of the occult or black magic. Many of these were the drop-outs who failed the entrance test to become tohunga ahurewa.
A third group of tohunga were the specialists in more earthly knowledge.These tohunga had qualifying adjectives added to their title to denote their particular field of expertise. There were experts in speechmaking, art and craft, medicinal cures, fighting, genealogy, history, composing and performing waiata and haka, building whare and waka, cultivating, fishing and hunting, understanding and interpreting the physical elements (ruanuku) to mention but a few! (Marsden,1975; Buck,1950).

These tohunga were all outstanding members of traditional Māori society. They were the tall poppies who were not only allowed to bloom, but were encouraged to do so. Specialisation was allowed "by common approval" (Best, 1924, p.99).

It should be added that knowledge in an area of expertise was not limited to the facts. All tohunga were also well versed in associated tikanga and rituals. They had a deep understanding and appreciation of exactly when, why and how their knowledge should be used. In all cases they required advanced spiritual, cognitive, social and affective ability and, depending on the area of expertise, they might also require advanced psychomotor, creative and aesthetic ability. From this it can be seen that the traditional concept of special abilities was broad and wide-ranging both in respect to areas of expertise and abilities required.

What role do tohunga play in contemporary Māori society? Tohunga ahurewa and taura/whiawhia are now a rarity. Winiata (1967) maintains that their role is essentially that of faith-healers, diagnosing and curing mate Māori. Metge (1976) sees them as having a wider role. Being experts in sacred knowledge and spiritual communication and having prophetic and healing gifts, these tohunga "are not only the counterpart of Pākehā faithhealers and practitioners of folk-medicine, they are skilled psychologists and religious counsellors, with the advantage for Māoris that they speak Māori and share Māori beliefs and values" (p.93).

This opinion would appear to be shared by Ngata and Pomare (1992), two prominent Māori doctors who believe that tohunga are still relevant and that they have an important role to play, along side western medicine, in maintaining Māori health.

The third group of tohunga experts are the modern specialist leaders. (Metge, 1976; Tauroa, 1989). Metge adds that while some fields of specialization have changed and tohunga are now drawn more evenly from all echelons of society, they still gain mana from using their knowledge to benefit Māoridom.

As in traditional times the areas of specialization are many and varied. This is illustrated in the pages of "Te Ao Hou". A perusal of all issues from 1961-1975 reveals a wide range of Māori abilities being celebrated. As would be expected, cultural performers, carvers, weavers, orators, genealogical and tikanga experts were all mentioned but so also were gifted and talented academics, architects, boxers, rugby and league players, wrestlers, gymnasts, ball-room dancers, agriculturalists, sculptors, artists, writers, entertainers, dress designers, fencers, linguists, members of parliament, educationalists, doctors, armed services personnel, lawyers and so the list goes on. Common themes in articles about the lives and achievements of these people are their humble beginnings, their dogged determination to succeed despite much adversity, their spirituality and their commitment to Māori people and Māori causes.

2.3 What can be Learnt from Educational Practices?

Traditional methods of learning and teaching also have implications for the concept of special abilities. Learning was through observation, listening, imitation and repetition. Whaikōrero was an important means of transmitting knowledge as were the less formal stories and songs told to children by their kaumātua. Games were also used to develop mental and physical agility (Best, 1924; Buck, 1950).

While all children were taught everyday skills and knowledge, the development of advanced skills and knowledge was dependent on birth, interest and individual ability. Individuals, usually males, of rangatira lineage and others who demonstrated particular aptitude and interest, were selected to receive specialist knowledge from tohunga. They received tuition in a whare wānanga instituted for that specific purpose or were given knowledge via a mentor-like relationship with a tohunga. The former was usually done in a group and the latter usually involved only one student (Best, 1924; Buck, 1950; Pewhairangi, 1975; Puketapu-Hetet, 1975; Metge, 1976; Makereti, 1986; Naumann, Harrison & Winiata, 1990).

Of those students who were chosen because of their aptitude, it was often their advanced skills in memorisation that brought them to the attention of their elders. In a society with an oral tradition this was obviously an important skill. The survival of each tribe's valued knowledge was dependent on memory. Two clear examples of its importance can be seen in whakapapa knowledge and knowledge of karakia. The former established individual and tribal rights to land and resources while the latter ensured protection from the gods. Even the tiniest mistake in ritual incantations could be fatal for the reciter or recipient. Many amazing feats of memory were attributed to individuals in traditional times. Honi Mohi Tawhai could identify by name 300 different stars (Tauroa, 1980), a Tuhoe man recited 406 waiata to Elsdon Best (1924), Eruera Stirling knew his entire tribal history and whakapapa back to Io before he was

seven years old (Stirling & Salmond, 1980) while Bruce Biggs tells the story of an informant whose whakapapa recitation in a land court sitting lasted four full days! (Te Ao Hou, No.49, 1964).

The tohi rite was also used in the education process. This was a ritual to set apart an individual for a particular calling or responsibility. It could be performed at birth or later as an initiation ceremony before an apprenticeship was begun (Buck, 1950; Makereti, 1986; Barlow, 1991). Buck tells us that the karakia of the tohi ceremony quickened the students understanding "his ears became receptive to instruction, his memory retentive and his hands skilful" (p.361). Girls also received such benefits. The tohi ceremony for weaving "fixed the knowledge she had already acquired and opened her mind and fingers to further skill" (p.362).

Today, although tohi rites have disappeared, whare wananga at the tribal and hapū level are still held. Interest is now the main qualifier for entry. Kaumātua also place much importance on interest when deciding who to hand on their knowledge to. Other considerations are sex, humility, co-operativeness, integrity, willingness to serve the group, personal and intellectual maturity, "descendants of the previous guardians of knowledge in question, those with special gifts (a good voice, a retentive memory, creativity and so on)" (Metge, 1983, p.9).

Memorisation still has an important place in Māori learning and teaching. Whakapapa, waiata, karakia and tauparapara in particular, are learnt by rote so a person with advanced powers of memorisation has a real advantage. However, as in days of old, just knowing these things is not enough. Metge (1983) explains:

> Nowadays the memorisation process itself has become a matter of "teaching" in the form of group practice led by an expert.... it is clear that rote learning is not an end in itself but the first step towards the goal of

> meaningful performance. One waiata teacher compared it to the learning of a musical score by a concert pianist. Being able to recite whakapapa and sing waiata is not enough. What really matters is knowing what to use and when, and that depends on knowing the background, being able to size up the situation and to make the right choice (p.8).

Te Awekotuku (1991a) would agree with this conclusion. In discussing "exceptional, gifted exponents" of the art of karanga, she notes that while they are now "training" their successors, they themselves "learned by merely listening, by being present. Otherwise, the improvisational elements - the poetic genius and spontaneity - would sink beneath rote-learned, hard-edged structures" (p.111).

Whether traditional or modern means of learning and teaching are used, Education has an important place in Māoridom today. This is not education in the narrow sense of Pākehā schooling, but in the wider sense of learning for life. Western and Māori knowledge and spiritual guidance are all important in feeding the mind, body, heart and soul of a Māori person. These should not be experienced separately but integrated to provide a holistic education (Durie, 1984; Erihe, 1990).

2.4 What can be Learnt from Literature?

The examination of oral literature provides much kōrero relating to special abilities. Not only were many of the narrators and composers able and talented individuals but so also were the heroes and heroines they told and sung about.

The myths and legends, for instance, provide some of the best examples of outstanding individuals. Walker (1975) maintains that larger-than-life role models provide myth-messages that are still relevant to Māori today.

As an example, Maui provides a role model for all last born children to follow. Despite his pōtiki status and unfortunate circumstances of birth, he uses his superior intelligence, cunning, resourcefulness and spiritual powers to slow down the sun, fish up Aotearoa, invent the bone fishing hook and would have gained immortality for humanity if it had not been for his father's mistake in reciting the tohi rite -another notable instance of the importance of a good memory! It is also known that knowledge is god-given because Tane brought it back from the highest heaven in te kete tuauri, te kete tuatea and te kete aronui.

In an examination of oral literature world wide, H.and N.Chadwick (cited in Parker, 1971) found Māori work to be of the highest standard. They "were astounded by the variety of literary forms and devices, by the depth of speculative thought, the vividness of imagery, the wealth of cultural allusions and the rhythm of tragic and beautiful phrases" (p.36).

The art of whaikōrero was especially highly developed and valued.The great orators of old kept listeners spellbound with their sharpness of tongue and mind and their theatrics. Two examples are Te Whiti who was "a master orator, holding his audiences under his sway for hours at a time" (Sutherland, 1940, p.362) and Te Rangikaheke who was acknowledged as a brilliant orator by both Māori and Pākehā. He impressed his listeners with the depth of his knowledge, his command of language and his "sense of theatre" (Orange, 1991, p.254).

Later leaders such as James Carroll, Maui Pomare, Peter Buck, Apirana Ngata and Frederick Bennett were also masters of whaikōrero. "At all Māori assemblies they spoke to their people in the classical oratory of the marae. People came to listen not only to the theories they expounded, but to the beauty of the language with which they were clothed" (Winiata, 1967, p.152).

Outstanding orators were judged by the power they possessed to evoke both intellectual and emotional responses from their listeners (Makereti, 1986). This fact illustrates a concept important to special abilities, namely that of hinengaro.

Hinengaro refers to the source of thoughts and emotions. A full explanation is given by Pere (1982).

> Hinengaro refers to the mental and emotional experiences that a person has in his or her learning. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, abstracting, generalising are processes which refer to the intellectual activities of the hinengaro. Emotional activities such as feeling, sensing, responding and reacting are also processes of the hinengaro. Matauranga is the Māori word for "knowledge and understanding". The process the word refers to takes place wherever we find ourselves, and through whatever we experience, covering the process of learning throughout the whole of life. The matauranga of a person is dependent on the state of his or her hinengaro (p.4).

Because no distinction was made between the processes of thinking and feeling, the narrow concept of a person being "intellectually" gifted would have had no meaning in traditional times. Rather for people to be considered as having special abilities in this area, they would have had to be outstanding in both intellectual and emotional dimensions, not as separate, complementary facets of an individual's make-up but as one, fused entity.

The concept of hinengaro is still relevant today (Durie, 1984, 1985). Its application is evident on the marae where the ability to make a person laugh one minute and cry the next is still seen as the mark of an exceptional orator (Roa, 1987). It is also evidenced in the writing of authors such as Patricia Grace and Witi Ihimaera, in the music of composers such as Hirini Melbourne and Tuini Ngawai and in the work of artists such as Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt. In the field of art, Mead (1993) explains:

> Aesthetic response cannot be a detached and cerebral experience. Rather the response is likely to be active, positive and noisy. People want to reach out to others in a spirit of shared ecstasy. Understanding what is required of them, the artists strive to build into their artistic creations the mana (power) that will move people (p.204).

2.5 What can be Learnt from Social Structure and Organisation?

LEADERSHIP

Traditional leadership has implications for the concept of special abilities. Ariki (tribal leaders) and rangatira (hapū leaders) inherited their status. Although there were many notable exceptions, these leaders were usually first born males. Having inherited mana, these chiefs could further add to it through wise leadership and administration. Equally they could lose mana if they failed or were ineffective in these areas (Winiata, 1967).

If a chief was unacceptable for reasons of "physical or mental incapacity" he would be replaced because "poor leadership lowered the prestige of the tribe" (Buck, 1950, p.345). The mantle of leadership would then be passed on to a cousin or younger brother who had demonstrated outstanding ability of some kind (Best, 1924; Mahuika, 1975; Makereti, 1986).

Commoners with outstanding skills, ability and personal qualities could also achieve leadership status (Winiata, 1967; Metge, 1976). However Winiata adds that those who did "generally stressed the part of their genealogies that showed their connections with the senior lines" (p.39).

The extent to which women and younger men played an active leadership role varied from tribe to tribe. Mahuika (1975) cites a number of Ngāti Porou women and pōtiki who were prominent leaders, adding that they constitute a much greater number than the "few" women of initiative and ability Best (1924) tells us reached the ranks of leadership.

Metge (1976) also notes that "in practice women of character and ability often exerted a powerful influence from behind the scenes" (p.25).

Other leaders in traditional Māori society were the kaumātua and previously discussed tohunga. The former were leaders at the whānau level. These were usually elder members of prominent whānau who were greatly respected for the wisdom and knowledge they possessed. Hinau, (grey hair) was actually a symbol of great knowledge and wisdom (Winiata, 1967). The extent of their knowledge is seen in Winiata's description:

> The kaumātua was the repository of the genealogies, the tribal history and tradition for the family members; he knew the boundaries of the tribal land, and kept the account of both victories and defeats in war. He was full of the oral literature, the poetry and the mythology, and he also possessed knowledge concerning etiquette and procedure in the ceremonies; concerning, too, the times of planting and harvesting, the seasons for fishing, fowling and hunting (p.179).

It can be seen from this description that the roles of kaumātua and tohunga over-lapped, as was the case for all types of leadership.

Winiata (1967) maintains that the 4-fold hierarchy of leadership classes in traditional society has changed:

> Today the ariki is on the decline, the rangatira has almost disappeared, while the tohunga continues a spasmotic existence. The kaumātua is the most persistent and universally-found class of leader (ibid.).

He notes that the old-time rangatira has been absorbed into the ariki position and that the principal function of the ariki in modern times is that of preserving Māori culture and values. He sees the ariki as more of a silent

figurehead than an active participant. It should be noted that the tohunga Winiata is referring to in the quote above is the spiritual tohunga. The tohunga in the expert sense is referred to by Winiata as a specialist leader.

The kaumātua's role has been "elevated and universalised and the kuia has become more vocal and the recognised complement of the kaumātua" (Winiata, p.101). They are still the repositories of much traditional knowledge but the kaumātua's main role is that of being the mouthpiece on the marae. Winiata goes as far as saying that without the ability to whaikōrero, the kaumātua is leader in name only. Another prerequisite for kaumātua and kuia is to take an interest in and give practical support in the life of the whānau and hapū.

> The outstanding kaumātua will defend his group, using his skill in debate and knowledge of history. The kaumātua who is able to do this graduates from leadership of the subtribe to the leadership of the tribe as a whole (Winiata, 1967, pp.87 & 88).

Time has brought about the growth of specialist and rangatahi (youth) leadership. Leaders of this class have achieved their status through outstanding ability in some area. They are often well-educated in the Pākehā sense but in order to be accepted as leaders, they must respect Māori ideals in some concrete form (Winiata, 1967).

Sometimes the specialist leader will act in an advisory capacity to ariki and kaumātua while at other times, their role is to the fore and the latter provide a symbolic presence. Their respective roles will be dependent on the situation they are in and, as in the past, these different leadership roles can overlap, an individual qualifying for both titles. Both Winiata (1967) and Tauroa (1989) see specialist leaders and kaumātua as having complementary roles.

In discussing the rangatahi leader, Winiata notes that these individual's often have their status gained in one area transferred to another. He cites examples of the skilled rugby player, expert saxaphone player, expert haka leader and leader in a women's basketball club who have become accepted as leaders outside their realm of expertise.

Winiata concludes that superior kinship ties are "now only a rarely significant qualification for leadership" and that it is the possession of skills that plays the most important role in this day and age. Tribal variations exist. Amongst Ngāti Porou, rangatira status is still important and families from rangatira lineage make sure that at least one member of the family receives a "full Pākehā education" in preparation for the leadership role s/he will be expected to play (Mahuika, 1975). So, for Ngāti Porou, while lineage may open the door to leadership, it is education and ability that enables the person to walk through it. This supports Winiata's observation that "the most important factor in gaining leadership status is education. Kinship, age, interest in communal projects etc. will help at the local level...but for national positions, education is a prerequisite" (p.167).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RELATED VALUES

Traditional and contemporary Māori society consists of three levels of organisation; iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (extended family). At all levels emphasis is placed on group provisions and solidarity. This structure and orientation of Māori society has implications for the concept of special abilities.

In days of old the care of children and the elderly were shared responsibilities and "Māori children were nurtured as much by tribal elders as by their own parents" (Durie, 1985, p.484). This organisation meant that elders were often the ones that recognised and nurtured talented youngsters. This is illustrated in the upbringing of both Te Puea and Makereti.

> Te Puea had shown promise from early childhood. Great things were expected of her because great things had been given to her. In addition to her kahui ariki status, she displayed intelligence and leadership qualities. Consequently, with Tiahuia's approval, elders had taken her aside and had tried to imbue her with a sense of responsibility to the Kingitanga and a knowledge of ritual and procedure that would enable her to take part in its activities. (King, 1977, p.42).

Makereti "was a special child, she had certain gifts and the old people took her away and they looked after and fed her the treasures of their knowledge" (Te Awekotuku, 1993, p293).

Nowadays, due mainly to urbanisation and the adoption of a western life style, the extended family does not share in the upbringing of children to nearly the same extent as in the past. However the whānau is still a strong unit within Māoridom and the practices of whānaungatanga are still relevant.

A manifestation of group solidarity in traditional times was the occurrence of group expertise. Whole whānau or hapū were acclaimed for being outstanding in a particular area. Pere (1982) mentions hapū well-renown for their exceptional hospitality which was considered to be one of the highest virtues (Best, 1924, p.101).

However it must be pointed out that group orientation did not mean that individuality was stifled.

> In actuality, the old time Māori society encouraged kids to be precocious, reasoning that getting someone to conform to a model stunted their personal growth, so in old Māori circles children were never hit, for example, and it made for a precocious child, but it also made for a showy warrior and nowadays, showy entertainers (Pat Parks cited in Bevan-Brown, 1989, p.48).

While no contemporary reference to group expertise has been found, group orientation and solidarity are still very important in Māoridom. Self-esteem is not gained solely from individual ability but also from belonging to a supportive group ie. from having a group identity. (Pomare, 1986; Potaka-Dewes, 1986; Metge, 1986, 1990).

Durie (1984) maintains that interdependence rather than independence is considered desirable in Māori society and that being a separate person is unhealthy in Māori terms. By contrast the Pākehā culture encourages and applauds independence (Durie, 1985).

Metge (1986) states that group respect is jeopardised by individuals pushing themselves forward or talking about their achievements which is seen as being whakahīhī (conceited.) "Most Māoris prefer to limit achievement to the general level rather than risk such an accusation" (p.66).

While a Māori sanction against boasting is not disputed, the belief in limiting achievement for fear of being considered whakahīhī is. Group solidarity does not mean sameness and individuals can exist within a group. Timutimu-Thorpe (1988) maintains that being a strong individual and a co-operative member of a group are values that did not clash in traditional times and, despite arguments to the contrary, do not today. Arapere (1992) supports this point and argues that the myth of Māori children being actively discouraged to stand out is simply untrue.

> This myth should be confined to the grave, the more it is used the more it becomes a "truth". This view has been largely promulgated by Pākehā academics and Pākehā teachers, and educators act accordingly. I have a fear that future researchers may trace a relationship between this and the tall poppy syndrome thereby placing the blame on Māori for this kiwi disease (p.2).

A good example of a group working together towards excellence can be seen in Roma Potiki's (1989) explanation of the Māori drama group she is involved in:

> When we say drama we don't mean drama in the conventional sense. What we are really looking at is Māori creative development, which is to be part of a healing process. It's a holistic - physical, emotional and spiritual - way of learning about your history and herstory... For all things Māori our strength comes from being in a group... It may be that I have an ability with organising daily training modules, that's my particular strength. But someone like Wirimu Grace has other abilities. Hemi has wonderful skills with waiata and is great at teaching movement. Everyone brings their own mana to the work (p.115 & p.117).

Hiwi Tauroa (1980) takes the idea of everyone having something to contribute a step further. In discussing art and craft he says:

> Each person is known to have a certain gift and a certain ability, and is therefore able to make a contribution to the whole. There will be tohunga - the expert in bone carving; the expert in weaving, but there is in the whānau a place for all (p.57).

These last two quotes introduce a Māori value that has important implications for a concept of special abilities, namely the value of service to others as manifest in manaakitanga, āwhinatanga and aroha-ki-te tāngata.

Back in traditional times it was believed that god-given gifts were to be used for the benefit of the whānau, hapū and iwi and not for personal aggrandisement. As with all koha (gifts), ownership was not necessarily a permanent state. Rather the person having been endowed was considered to be the guardian of a taonga (valued possession) and if it was abused in any way, it could be withdrawn (Marsden, 1975). Intertwined with these ideas is the concept of utu (reciprocity). Gifts and mana brought with them inherent

responsibilities and commitments to reciprocate and be accountable (Timutimu-Thorpe, 1988). Thus we learn of famous tohunga not only serving their own tribe but travelling afar to respond to requests from other tribes for their service (Metge, 1976).

Māori history has numerous examples of able individuals who have spent their lives in giving service to others. In traditional times there were the charismatic leaders such as Te Ua Haumene, Rua Kenana, Te Kooti, Tawhiao, Titokowaru, Te Whiti and Tohu who all worked in various ways to achieve self-determination and improved conditions for Māori. In the early 20th Century the "aristocrats of knowledge," Peter Buck, James Carroll, Maui Pomare, Boyd Ellison and Apirana Ngata, all used their education for the betterment of Māoridom (Winiata, 1967).

Similarly today many Māori are using their education, skills and talents in the service of Māoridom. This is seen not only at the national and tribal levels, but also at the local level where the talented weaver passes on her/his craft to interested friends and relatives, the outstanding singer takes waiata classes and the healer ministers to those who seek her/his help.

WHAKAPAPA

In traditional times, tīpuna were an important part of the social structure at all levels of society. They maintained an influence which is illustrated in the importance placed on whakapapa knowledge. Mana was passed down via an individual's whakapapa. This was especially so in the case of rangatira, so it can be understood why whakapapa knowledge "was one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts were made to preserve it" (Barlow, 1991, p.174).

People who were whakapapa experts were highly respected, not only because of their exceptional memories, but also because of the great value placed on the knowledge they possessed.

Whakapapa knowledge remains important today. Māori gain identity, self-esteem and tūrangawaewae rights from knowing where they come from and who they are connected to. While whakapapa experts are not as numerous, they are still considered outstanding individuals and accorded mana for their ability and knowledge.

2.6 What can be Learnt from Spirituality?

In traditional times spirituality was an important and integral part of Māori society. Right from conception wairua was implanted and through exposure to rituals, tapu and karakia, children found the spiritual world was "just as meaningful and as present as the physical world that surrounded them" (Pere, 1982, p.54).

Some implications of this for a concept of special abilities have been discussed previously. However a number of points remain to be made.

The influence of taha wairua can be seen in the wide range of spiritual gifts that were displayed. Tohunga ahurewa and taura/whiawhia were attributed with powers of vision, prophecy, telepathy and hypnotism (Best,1924). Titokowaru was credited with being able to stop bullets on command and control the wind, Papahurihia could converse with the dead and throw his voice in many directions and his father, Te Whareti, was said to be able "to cover vast distances in an instant" (Orange, 1991, p.87).

Apart from having special abilities themselves, spiritual tohunga also had an influence on the lives of other outstanding Māori. They were often directly involved in their conception, birth or early childhood as evidenced in the lives of Apirana Ngata (King, 1988), James Carroll and Maui Pomare (Winiata, 1967).

Spirituality was manifest in the acceptance of tohu as being indicators of future ability. These were signs such as cloud formations, the behaviour of animals or physical signs on the person themselves. Te Kooti, for instance, had one finger missing, Te Rauparaha was said to have had an extra finger on each hand and Eruera Stirling had moles on his chin and lower lip (Stirling & Salmond, 1976; Orange, 1991).

While the influence of tohu and tapu have lessened and spiritual tohunga are few and far between, taha wairua still plays an important part in Māori life. (Metge, 1976; Marsden, 1986).

> Māoris continue to believe in a spiritual reality that transcends limitations of time, space and human senses, and at the same time pervades and operates in the world of human experience ... While agreeing on the existence of this spiritual reality, Māoris vary considerably in the ways they formulate their beliefs in detail and how they translate them into action (Metge, 1976, p.54).

2.7 *What can be Learnt from the Traditional Lifestyle?*

Two influential factors in traditional times were the subsistent level of existence and the threat of intertribal warfare. Food gathering, cultivating, hunting, fishing and fighting all required a healthy, strong and alert body. Many games, sports and pastimes were specifically designed to sharpen the senses, to develop dexterity and agility and to strengthen the body. Consequently it is likely that individuals who had outstanding physical skills would be celebrated for their special abilities. This supposition is supported by Buck's (1950) description of inter and intra-tribal competitions in running and wrestling where the champions gained much acclaim and mana.

Although the traditional lifestyle involved much hard work, the large number of waiata that have been handed down bear testament to the fact that life had its lighter moments and musical ability was greatly appreciated.

While Māori today are no longer dependent on their physical prowess for individual and tribal survival, excellence in the physical arena is still appreciated and admired. One manifestation of outstanding physical ability can be seen in Māori achievements in sport. Musical ability is also still held in high esteem and this is evidenced by the large number of successful Māori entertainers.

2.8 Conclusion

The wide-ranging discussion in this section has shown that in traditional times as today, enough kōrero exists to substantiate a Māori concept of special abilities. The contemporary concept is influenced by and similar to that which existed in traditional times. Some essential components are:

- Holistic in nature and inextricably intertwined with other concepts, values, customs and beliefs.
- A broad range of abilities and qualities were/are valued. These include spiritual, cognitive, affective, aesthetic, musical, psychomotor, social, artistic, creative, leadership and intuitive abilities and qualities. Of special value were/are the areas that involve cultural knowledge eg. whaikōrero, healing, traditional arts, crafts and music, tribal history, whakapapa and tikanga.
- In traditional times it was believed that advanced ability was a gift from the gods, not for the individual's sake but for the benefit of the whole tribe. There was an obligation to use special abilities in the service of others. Nowadays, while the belief in god-given gifts may be debated, the obligation to serve still exists.
- Special abilities were/are valued, nurtured and often rewarded in the bestowing of mana tāngata on the outstanding person. Ability was/is also measured by the wehi inspired in others.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In order to obtain the previously mentioned "kōrero in the field," qualitative survey methodology was used. This approach is considered particularly appropriate for Māori research and will be discussed further in section 3.5, ethical considerations. A series of informal, exploratory interviews were conducted with 33 participants.

3.0 The Sample

These participants represented a non-probability, purposive sample and were drawn from three different groups.

Group One

Kaumātua - both female and male elders who are respected for their knowledge and practise of Māoritanga.

Group Two

Educators - teachers at all levels from preschool (kōhanga reo) to tertiary (university,polytechnic and college of education). At primary level, teachers were in both mainstream schools and kura kaupapa Māori.

Group Three

"Others" - people who strongly identify themselves as being Māori and who have a demonstrated commitment to things Māori. This was judged by indicators such as attendance at immersion wānanga and reo classes and involvement in Māori organisations and marae upkeep.

The following Table represents a break-down of the sample according to group, age and gender.

	YEARS					
	10-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+
Kaumātua (6)						
Male					1	1
Female					1	3
Group Totals					2	4
Educators (12)						
Male		1	2	2		
Female		1	4	2		
Group Totals		2	6	4		
Others (15)						
Male			1	2		
Female	4	2	4	2		
Group Totals	4	2	5	4		
Sample (33)						
Male (10)		1	3	4	1	1
Female (23)	4	3	8	4	1	3
Overall Totals	4	4	11	8	2	4

Table 1: Sample Composition

As it can be seen the groups are not of equal size but the variation in numbers reflects a difference likely to be found in these groups in N.Z. society. However, there is a disproportionate number of females overall and in particular, in group 3, 10-20 and 31-40 age ranges. The explanation for this can be found in section 3.1. The sample includes three young women who are still at secondary school.

Participants constitute a wide representation of tribes and hapū: Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Nga Puhi, Ngāti Kahungungu, Tuhoe, Rangitane, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Te Arawa, Ngai Tahu, Ngāti Awa, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti

Ranginui, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngai te Rangi, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Kapumanawāwhiti, Ngāti Wehiwehi, Ngāti Huia, Tukorehe, Nga Tokowaru, Ngāti Matau, Ngāti Pikiao.

The sample includes people from many walks of life, socio-economic levels and educational backgrounds. Participants are resident in the East Coast, Wairarapa, Wellington, Horowhenua and Manawatu. They represent a mixture of urban, suburban and rural dwellers.

3.1 Sample Selection

Why were Kaumātua, educators and others chosen?
Kaumātua were chosen because of their position of respect in Māori society and their status as repositories of traditional Māori knowledge and values.

The others were chosen to provide a sound, "flax roots" perspective.

The inclusion of educators as a group was a decision that was debated. There was a fear that their opinions would be too influenced by book learning and be removed from flax-roots Māori opinion. However their knowledge of the education system and its role in catering for Māori CWSA made them too valuable a source of information to omit.

How was the sample selected?
Whānau networks were utilised in the selection process. This process involved spreading the word about the research topic amongst friends, family, colleagues and acquaintances. Suggestions of people to interview were sought. Next a list was drawn up of prospective participants. This list was a combination of the writer's own friends, relatives, colleagues and acquaintances and the suggestions made by others in the course of discussion. Then over a period of eight months people from each group were approached to be

interviewed. This process had a "snowballing" effect and many interviews were set up as a result of prior ones. In some cases the writer made the approach to the suggested person but in other cases the suggestor made the arrangements. This same technique of "snowball interviewing" was used in the Māori Women's Welfare League's research into the health of Māori women (Murchie,1984).

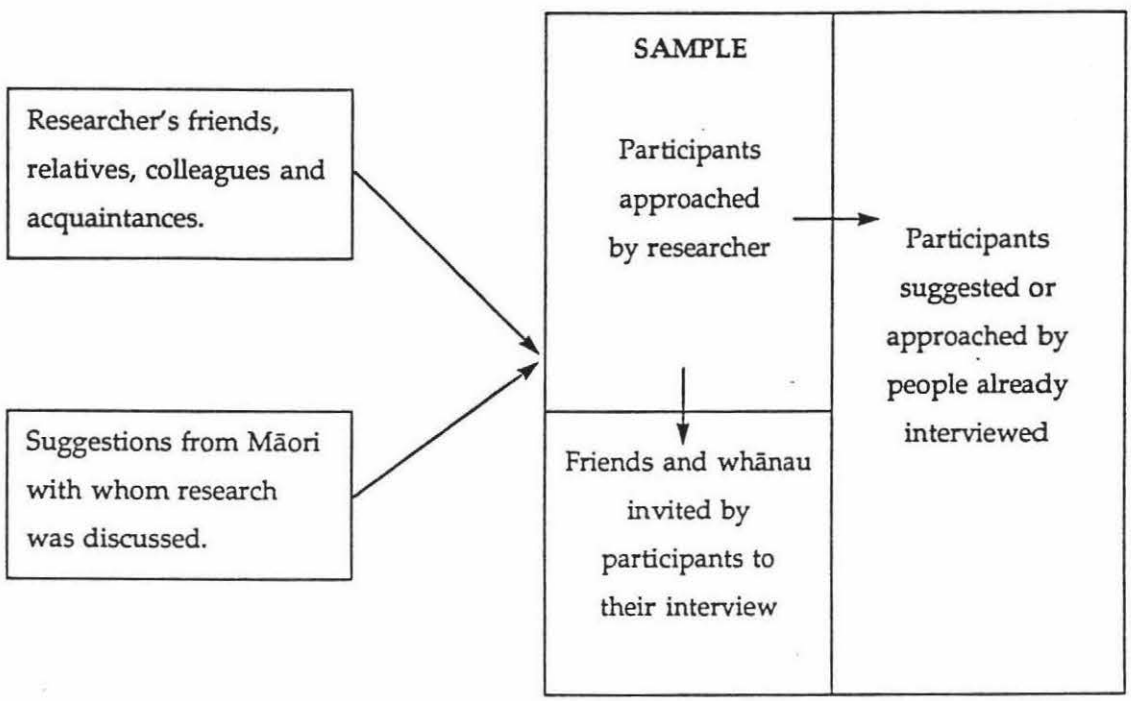

Fig 1: Sample Selection Using Whānau Networks

When people were approached to be interviewed they were always invited to include family and friends. Many women did invite others to participate but only one man invited someone else to attend. As a consequence the intention that this research include an equal number of men and women did not eventuate. Because women invited other women, there ended up a ratio of 2.3 females to every male.

Another outcome of using whānau networks is that while the writer's choice of participants was based on group representativeness, availability, tribal, gender and age spread, the overwhelming criteria for whānau suggestions were either people they considered had special abilities or who had whānau in this

category. This fact resulted in the sample containing a relatively large number of able people. Their talents include artistic, musical, academic, sporting, organisational, spiritual and cultural expertise. No-one nominated themselves as having special abilities.

No apology is made for using whānau networks in sample selection. While this may not result in the objective, balanced group random sampling would achieve, it is a method that is culturally appropriate for Māori research. In fact Marsden (1975) and Walker (1992) make the point that Māori research is more concerned with subjectivity than objectivity. Marsden (1975) states "the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map. It is not the same thing as a taste of reality" (p.191).

It can be argued that using whānau networks also enables more informative, honest interviews. Te Awekotuku (1991b), Bishop and Glynn (1992), Timutimu-Thorpe (1992), Walker (1992) and Teariki et al (1992) all report a Māori mistrust of research because of its tendency to present Māori in a negative light. Many Māori are reluctant to hand on precious knowledge which may be misinterpreted, undervalued or misused. The use of whānau networks is one means of overcoming this mistrust. In this research participants either previously knew and trusted the interviewer or trusted the judgment of the mutual friend who recommended them.

3.2 *Interview Schedule and "Dummy Runs"*

The final schedule was arrived at after two prior attempts. The major difficulty in preparing the schedule was devising an instrument that would cater for the wide range of people to be interviewed. Another problem was producing a document that would include sufficient questions to stimulate discussion while not being so lengthy and detailed as to be off-putting to prospective participants. The language used also had to take into account a wide range of linguistic ability.

The first pilot Interview Schedule was based on Simon's approach in her research into ideology in the schooling of Māori children (Simon,1986). It consisted of open-ended, introductory questions followed by an outline of general areas of discussion. Two people were interviewed using this schedule but it was found to be ineffective in stimulating discussion. The older informant, in particular, never became really involved in the interview. Consequently it was decided to revamp the Interview Schedule.

The second model was very detailed including many questions aimed at stimulating discussion. This model was used with three participants but was not particularly successful. The participants appeared to be somewhat overcome by the multitude of questions. There was concern about missing questions out and the schedule was frequently referred to to ensure this did not happen. This process stilted the interview and conversation did not flow as it should have.

The third and last model (Appendix A) is a compromise between the two approaches. The Interview Schedule is short and user-friendly. Each section is built around a specific research question. An Interview Guide (Appendix C) was also prepared. The aim of this document was to stimulate the participant's thinking prior to the interview and thus add depth to the discussion. However this document was not given to everyone. Judgment was used to decide which participants would appreciate such a guide and which might be put off by its length and detail. For the latter group, the Interview Guide questions were used, when necessary, as probes during the interview situation. This proved an effective method of stimulating discussion. The final Interview Schedule and Guide worked well. All interviews based on them flowed smoothly and were both informative and enjoyable.

3.3 *Data Collection*

When prospective participants were initially contacted, the purpose and method of research and the use of information were all explained. In most cases people were given a copy of the Interview Schedule (Appendix A), the covering letter of explanation (Appendix B) and an Interview Guide (Appendix C) to consider at their leisure. The few occasions where this did not happen were when the informant chose to be interviewed immediately or the interview was arranged by a third person who did not have an Interview Schedule to pass on. After having time to consider the request to be interviewed, the informants were contacted again to ascertain their decision. With one exception, they all agreed. They were given a choice of time and place of interview and as mentioned previously, invited to include their friends and relatives. The one person who declined to be interviewed agreed initially but then found he could not spare the time. There was also a number of people who agreed to be interviewed but owing to a lack of time on the writer's part, these interviews did not eventuate.

The majority of interviews were conducted in the participant's or friend's home. Three people were interviewed at their workplace, three on the marae and two in a tent where they were camping at the time. With the exception of two participants, all agreed to be taped and to be personally acknowledged for their contribution.

The interviews themselves were very informal, social, enjoyable occasions. The Interview Schedule acted as a guide to conversation as the three areas of concern were "talked through." All questions in the Interview Schedule were covered but this was not so for the Interview Guide. This was not a concern as the Guide's purpose was to stimulate participants' thinking prior to the interview or act as a prompt if conversation flagged. Interviews ranged from between one to three hours in length with 26, 90 minute audio tapes being recorded. All interviews were conducted in English although a translator was

present for interviews where this service may have been needed. This proved unnecessary as all participants appeared to be comfortable and happy to be interviewed in English.

A disadvantage of interviews involving more than one person must be noted. Individual coverage of questions was not as even as in interviews with only one informant.In a few instances one person would dominate a particular area of discussion leaving the second person to take over in another area. On the other hand, an advantage of having more than one person being interviewed was that the thoughts of one person often acted as a springboard to the second participant. This was particularly evident in one interview involving a father and daughter. The father is usually very shy and, as he admits himself, is "a man of few words." In the interview situation, with his daughter's support and initiation, he spoke at length and appeared to really enjoy the whole experience.

3.4 Data Analysis

(a) Preparing data for analysis.

After interviews were transcribed, a conceptual framework based on the three research questions was drawn up and a series of codes for classifying the research data was devised. These codes included both factual and inferential categories. The transcriptions were then read through and coded. During this stage, code categories were amended, deleted and added to. Also a preanalytic diary was kept. This involved noting ideas, patterns, relationships, interpretations, leads and theories that arose during the coding process and warranted future investigation. Next, initial summary sheets were devised and coded information was transferred to them. A variety of summary sheets allowed for different clusterings of the same data eg. by research group, concept, time period etc.

The final step in preparing data for analysis involved summarising and precising some raw data and recording this reduced information on to secondary summary sheets.

(b) Drawing conclusions.

The preanalytic diary and summary sheets were consulted and a range of operations were performed to draw conclusions from the research data. These included:

- –sifting through the information to identify and record recurring themes, concepts and relationships,
- counting data to determine frequencies and consistencies upon which conclusions and generalisations could be based,
- searching for initial, plausible explanations and interpretations of raw data,
- grouping, regrouping, categorising, recategorising and tabulating data in various different ways to discover patterns or test emerging theories,
- comparing data for similarities and differences,
- making inferences by deduction and induction,
- weighting data according to frequency counts and/or emphasis of informants,
- searching for metaphors to explain and describe data,
- teasing out various concepts by examining their component parts and
- conversely, integrating data by subsuming particulars into more general classes of information,
- searching for relationships between variables and considering possible intervening variables
- finally, giving conceptual coherence to the research by relating conclusions drawn back to the underlying theories presented in the Introduction.

(c) Confirming conclusions.

The validity of the findings was tested by a number of methods. Generally this involved double-checking data to see if it supported the conclusions drawn

and searching for evidence of bias. More specific techniques used included checking for:

- over-weighting the importance or frequency of particular evidence,
- over-reliance on information from a limited number of participants or informants from a single group,
- too heavy a reliance on plausibility with weak or meagre confirming data,
- inferences drawn from weak data,
- consideration of confirming data while ignoring contradictory data, rival explanations or exceptions to the rule,
- possible researcher influence in interview situation eg. loaded questions,
- misinterpretation of participant's opinions.

It must be added that to help judge the validity of research conclusions they were discussed with two different people. Both had been involved in the research process itself, one as a transcriber and the other as the translator who attended interviews where this service may have been needed. The latter proved particularly helpful in data interpretation and in acting as "the devil's advocate" in respect to various research conclusions.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Because of the nature of this research it must not only meet the ethical standards outlined in Massey University's "Code of Ethical Conduct...(1990)," but it must also satisfy ethical requirements for Māori research. Some of the principles of the latter have been articulated by Te Awekotuku (1991b), Bishop and Glynn (1992), Timutimu-Thorpe (1992), Teariki et al.(1992) and Walker (1992). A number of these principles are identical to those outlined for general research while others are Māori-specific.

- "Informed Consent."

As previously indicated, the purpose, method and use of the research was

explained to participants when they were first approached to be interviewed. The majority were then given sufficient time to consider the Interview Schedule before being asked to opt in or out. The reasons this did not happen in every case have already been discussed in the data collection section.

After the interview, participants were given a copy of the tape transcript and were asked to add, withdraw or amend anything they wished. All were happy with what they had said and approved the use of their information in the research. All participants were offered the tapes of their interviews back but only one person requested this.

Māori protocol dictates that tribal representatives should be consulted if a significant number of participants are from one tribal area. As this was not the case, tribal runanga were not formally approached although this research was discussed informally with some Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Raukawa runanga members. Feedback from discussion has been very positive and the need for research to focus on and celebrate positive aspects of Māoridom was reiterated.

- "Confidentiality."

While ethical guides advise the concealment of informant's identity, the writer learnt from previous experience of doing Māori research that many participants did not want confidentiality and felt slighted when their contributions were not personally acknowledged. For this reason the question of confidentiality was discussed with all participants and only two requested to remain anonymous. These two had personal reasons for their request which were unrelated to the research process.

Confidentiality also had to be considered in respect to the people nominated as having special abilities. While the participants might be quite happy to have their contributions acknowledged, the people they cited were never approached for permission to have their names included in this research. For

this reason no list of names has been included in the Results section, "Who was chosen?" Rather they have been described in anonymous groups. Fictitious names have been used in participants' quotes except where the people referred to are well known figures and identification is deemed appropriate or in cases where people gave permission for their own names to be used. To avoid identification, fictitious place names have also been used.

- "Truthfulness and minimizing of harm."

—

The nature of the research topic is a non-threatening one. The reasons for the research and the use of information were both fully explained from the outset. There was no hidden agenda and all participants' questions were answered openly and honestly. As previously mentioned, participants were given the opportunity to view and amend their transcripts.

An important principle of Māori research is that of reciprocity. One of its manifestations is the obligation of researchers to respect the trust placed in them by valuing the knowledge they have been given and using it in a way that will protect the mana of the givers. Reciprocity is a very powerful control when it comes to issues of honesty, responsibility and accountability.

Reciprocity is also manifest in this research in the offer of a specially written summary of research findings. While it is not feasible or appropriate to give all participants a copy of this thesis, those who have expressed an interest (refer Appendix B) will be given a summary of findings.

- "Social Sensitivity and Cultural Appropriateness."

Māori tikanga has been respected throughout this research. From conception the kaupapa was Māori and its design and execution have been from a Māori perspective.

Walker, (1992) makes the point:

> It is not acceptable for a person to claim that by virtue of their being a Māori researcher their research will be "more valid" than that of a Pākehā, when the tools both are using are viewed by Māori as coming from the same deficient cultural tool box (p.1).

Taking cognisance of Walker's point, effort has been made to use only "tools" that are acceptable in Māori terms. For instance, a much larger sample could have been tapped if a written questionnaire had been chosen; the task of data analysis would also have been a lot easier. However this type of survey would have been a completely inappropriate way of gathering the information for this research. Deeply held Māori concepts and values, family whakapapa and stories need to be talked about in a warm, trusting environment, need to be laughed and cried over not reduced to sterile entries on a predetermined form.

For the same reason whānau networks were chosen as the means of determining sample selection. Such a procedure may present difficulties eg. the previously mentioned over-representation of women. However this must be accepted as a valid comment on a role Māori women are playing in Māori society. While one may wonder whether the gender of the writer influenced the composition of the eventual sample, the sample itself remains valid. Not to use information from an interview in order to maintain a gender balance would be tantamount to selecting a culturally appropriate "tool" and then altering its design to fit the researcher's own interests.

In reporting, Māori values have been kept in mind. The literature review does not fit neatly into the usual academic mould. Its structure has been altered to meet a Māori kaupapa. There is an element of this same alteration in the Results section of this research. This involves the inclusion of more raw data than is generally included in academic research. The justification for this is that if the people interviewed are truly partners in research, then their words should not be analysed out but remain an important, visible part of the research.

- "Beneficial to Participants."

Māori research should go beyond the "minimizing of harm" required by Massey's Code of Ethics. Te Awekotuku (1991b), Timutimu-Thorpe (1992) Teariki et al.(1992) and Walker (1992) maintain that research should, in fact, be of value to and benefit not only the researcher but those being researched. While not necessarily benefitting individual participants, it is hoped that this research might play some small part in improving future educational provisions for Māori CWSA.

- "Empowering and Inclusive."

For too long Māori research has been an exercise in exclusion and control. (Te Awekotuku, 1991b; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Timutimu-Thorpe, 1992; Teariki et al, 1992; Walker, 1992). These writers maintain it should be empowering, enabling and inclusive. This research attempts to achieve this through a partnership of participants and researcher. While the Interview Schedule provided a guide for questioning, discussion went far beyond it. Participants were encouraged to discuss all their causes for concern and opinions about the research topic. In presenting the results, these issues have been included and discussed as an integral and important part of the research findings. To ignore points that were not directly related to the Interview Schedule would be to offer empowerment and then to withdraw it.

Every effort was made to avoid educational and academic jargon and to ensure the research process was as user-friendly as possible.

Chapter 4: Results

4.0 The Past

The first section of the Interview Schedule was directed at answering the question, did traditional Māori have a concept of special abilities and if so, what was it? As previously explained, the research definition of traditional refers to the 19th century and before. However people born in the 19th century but living in the 20th were accepted as examples of traditional Māori.

The term "traditional" was not included in the Interview Schedule. There was a fear that some participants might become so concerned about the birthdate of their particular example that the tone and flow of discussion would be affected. To avoid unnecessary concern and confusion it was decided to use the term "from the past" instead. Unfortunately this term was generally interpreted as meaning "people who had passed away." This resulted in examples ranging from people who lived their entire lives in the 19th century, to people who were not born until the 1930's. Three people were actually cited by different participants as being examples of able Māori both in the past and the present.

The problem this situation presents when interpreting the research data is obvious. However, it was decided that people should be considered in the time period they were placed by the participant. Consequently it must be emphasised that the information in this particular section relates to people "from the past" and the special abilities and qualities they possessed. Some of these people are "traditional" Māori while others lived their entire lives in the 20th century.

4.1 *Who was Chosen?*

39 individuals and two groups were chosen as outstanding people from the past. As both groups were entirely female they were counted as equivalent to two female examples. The final sample tally consisted of 19 females and 22 males. Two people were chosen by eight different participants. The rest were chosen from one to three times each.

	National		Iwi		Whānau	
Female	4	(4)	3	(2)	13	(12)
Male	14	(11)	7	(4)	7	(1)
Total	18	(15)	10	(6)	20	(13)

( ) Indicates total when national and iwi "relatives" are excluded.

Table 2: Gender Composition of Past Choices

The table shows a predominance of males in the national and iwi groups and females in the whānau group.

As previously explained, research ethics prevents the inclusion of the full list of people who were cited. However a consideration of the categories they fall into gives an insight into the type of people from the past who were thought to be outstanding in some way.

NATIONAL FIGURES (18)

Figures in this category could be further divided into three groups.
Group 1 consists of the oldest tīpuna. The only woman was chosen for her bravery and leadership ability. The remaining people in this group were all men who had a deep concern for preserving Māori land and Māoritanga both of which were under threat at the time.The methods they used ranged from open conflict to passive and spiritual resistance. Two participants commented that most of these people were not considered "successful" in their time but

have come to be greatly admired and appreciated in the present. This has been due, in no small part, to books that have been written about their lives.

Group 2. On the other hand this group achieved much "success" in their own time both in the Māori and Pākehā worlds. They were well-educated, national figures who sought to improve Māori welfare through Pākehā systems such as education and politics.

Group 3. These were the youngest members of the national category. Two gained fame for their organisational, spiritual and leadership skills used to improve the welfare of Māori in their time while the others gained recognition for their particular areas of expertise namely music, carving, whaikōrero and leadership.

While some members of groups 2 & 3 have had their fame enhanced by biographies, they are generally young enough to have much "kōrero" about them still in people's memories.

IWI FIGURES (10)

Although prominent amongst their own tribes, these people did not receive national recognition in their time. This group includes rangatira, spiritual leaders, healers, carvers, orators, historians and many experts in Māoritanga. Without exception, they were talented, knowledgeable people who had a real concern for the welfare of their tribes and gave much to the communities they lived in.

WHĀNAU FIGURES (20)

This category could be further regrouped.
Group 1 consists of the participant's close relatives. Remarkable people, their over-riding talent was an ability to survive and even flourish in extremely difficult circumstances. 12 of the 13 were women.

Group 2 is also composed of close relatives but in this case they have achieved tribal and national prominence. In statistical analysis these people have been counted in both categories for which they qualify.

GROUPS (2)

Two groups were cited as being outstanding. No individual names were given but they consisted of:

- "Nannies who lived around our pa. They were the ones who appeared to do all the work, bring up all the kids and run all the hui. The men would be up there on the paepae but it was these nannies who really ran the show!"
- A small number of Māori nurses who travelled around tending to people in their communities. They brought up numerous whangai but their individual names were not remembered.

4.2 Who Chose Whom?

	National (18)	Iwi (10)	Whānau (20)	Females (19)	Males (22)	
Whole Sample	56	12	32	46	54	
Kaumātua	32	21	47	46	54	% of each group's total choice
Educators	71	6	23	47	53	
"Others"	55.5	15	29.5	45.5	54.5	
Females	56	11	33	59	41	
Males	54	14	32	30	70	

Table 3: Sample Group and Gender Choice of National, Iwi of Whānau Categories From the Past

Table 3 gives a break-down of choice by sample group and gender. Because the group and gender distribution in this research is uneven, choice totals have been converted to percentages for the sake of comparison.

Although there are slightly more whānau than national figures, the latter, at a whole sample level, are cited 24% more often. The explanation lies in the fact that whānau members were generally selected by only one person. Certain national figures, on the other hand, were chosen by a number of participants.

Gender choice

No gender comparisons within and between groups have been made owing to the small numbers of men in each group.

Consistently across sample groups, males with special abilities were chosen slightly more often than females. However when men and women's choices are tallied there is a definite own-sex preference in selection. The question arises, if there is an own-sex preference, how can there be more male than female examples given in a research with a predominantly female sample? The answer lies in a combination of two facts.

Tables 3 and 6 show:
Firstly, own-sex preference is more pronounced amongst men who chose able males 70% of the time. Women chose females only 59% of the time.
Secondly, although men are only 30% of the whole sample, they made 56.5% of the total choices.

National/Iwi/Whānau Choice

While men and women are similar in their ratio of national, iwi and whānau choices, the same cannot be said for the sample groups. The most noticable differences occurred between the kaumātua and educator groups. Kaumātua chose three times as many iwi and twice the number of whānau examples as the educators, while the latter chose over twice as many national figures. This difference however is deceiving. An examination of the data reveals 66% of the kaumātua's whānau choices were relatives who were also counted as part of their iwi and national groups. 50% of the "other's" whānau selections also came into this category. The educators, on the other hand, had no famous relatives.

So while the educators chose more national figures than anyone else, they were also prominent in their choice of the hardworking female whānau members who constituted 60% of the whānau group.

4.3 What Qualities were Mentioned?

Information from questions 1 and 2 was combined to reveal 34 different abilities and qualities. In ordēr of frequency they were:

1. SERVICE TO MĀORIDOM (at a tribal or national level)

Many examples were given eg.fighting for retention of Māoritanga, Māori rights and land, starting up land development and rehabilitation schemes, building and developing marae facilities, encouraging and preserving Māori arts and crafts, starting up the Ataarangi movement, improving and providing health services and persuading Māori both to enlist and avoid enlisting! This last example is interesting. Two people cited Te Puea and Rua Kenana's efforts to dissuade Māori from enlisting for military service as a service to Māoridom while a third person believed Apirana Ngata's efforts to achieve the opposite were praiseworthy. He explains:

> The whole idea of him encouraging Māori people to sign up for the second world war was his belief that if Māori people sacrificed their blood for the country then the Government would be more kind in terms of some of the advantages. So they actually died, they made the ultimate sacrifice, they gave their lives so that hopefully the Government would honour this...that was his whole psyche.

Two participants made the point that, in traditional times, two different means were used to fight for Māori rights and give service to Māoridom. Firstly, there were the people like Te Kooti, Tohu and Te Whiti who "were really skilled and talented because they were able to maintain their commitment and faith in

their kaupapa which was bettering things for Māori people without having to buy into Pākehā academia" and then there were those like Apirana Ngata and Maui Pomare who succeeded in the Pākehā world and used both Pākehā and Māori means to achieve their ends. Both approaches were seen as valid.

2. LANGUAGE ABILITY

This refers to both formal and informal language in Māori and/or English. However a separate whaikōrero category has been included for people specifically referred to as experts in this field. Every person cited in this category was in either the national or iwi group. In describing people with language ability three aspects were mentioned. Firstly there was the person's ability to use language effectively to express their opinions. These people were praised for their ability to "get their point across" and influence people. Secondly, an ability to entertain was frequently mentioned. With these people it was not so much what they said but how they said it that impressed. Thirdly, a number of people were admired for the "forthrightness" of their language.

3. SPIRITUALITY

This category refers to people who have deep spiritual commitment and strength, a spiritual appreciation, sensitivity and "aura" as well as those who have specific spiritual gifts such as prophecy and visions. The three quotes below illustrate a number of these facets of spirituality. A participant speaking of her grandmother tells us:

> She was quite a religious person in that she moved throughout the country with the Ratana movement and if you've ever seen the veils they have, their awhina, she is the person that embroidered or had a vision for the embroidery of those veils. The story goes that she sat in the temple and embroidered the pattern from her vision, so she created what is still there today.

Another participant discussing a relative tells us:

> Te Puea came down wanting him to be the doctor up in a new hospital but he said he used to go around N.Z. and used to get very bad vibes from Waikato and different tribes who were really anti him and he could feel them so he would have to go and pray to his own god to get them off him....It was a tribal thing and some of the tribes tried to hoodoo him and he could feel it.

The following lengthy quote is included not only because it describes the deep spirituality of one informant's grandmother, but also because it is an excellent example of how this spirituality has an influence from one generation to the next.

> Yes I remember sleeping with her when she would say her prayers, she'd say her night time prayers, all I can remember is I'd look up and see this wrinkly old lady and I'd wake up and she was saying her morning prayers and I'd think, gee she's been praying all night! So I had this vision of her being a holy woman, you know like a Mother Teresa and so you see all my visions of that short space of time was of watching her pray and work and Sundays she'd put me on this horse and go down to church and I can remember all those old songs. It does seem to have locked in ... Also she used to hear spirits. Old people used to tell her, knock on her bed to tell her they were going... When she was little she could see spirits so they put a pot on her head which I don't know was their way of... you know [What, because they didn't want her to see spirits?] Yes, she didn't want to either. It scared her, I think. She got used to it and she would, if she had a bad dream, she'd have a dream and once it was about Mum, she didn't know what would happen but she wrote this letter to tell Mum and Dad to be careful and that she would fast until she heard from them. On the day they got the letter, Dad used to drive in a quarry and he was going down this hill and usually they just go down because they are so used to it but on this particular day he

heard a voice saying, "take it easy down the hill" and he thought, this is strange, and it said it again so he changed down and went really slow and when he got down to the end he sort of bumped the steering wheel and the whole thing came off. He knew if he had have just gone as normal that would have been bumped off on the road. And on that same day Mum had a slight miss from a car accident and then she got the letter to say take it easy and all sorts of things like that. She told a story about when she was out in the garden and she could see a bush fire coming over. She could tell it was coming so she prayed and before she got off her knees she felt the wind change and she got up - it burnt somebody else's house!! [laughter] No, not really, the wind changed. All these little stories built up over the years, which we know are true. At a time like this when we are going through all this, which is nothing, I think compared to what she went through, you know it helps so I tell all these stories to my kids because it is a part of their heritage. I may be a landless peasant but I've got that sort of heritage, so you know, that was my grandmother.

4. LEADERSHIP

Leadership was generally regarded as having the ability to influence and inspire people to follow. Only one participant elaborated on the style of leadership his chosen person had. Commenting on Apirana Ngata, it was pointed out that he used the parliamentary system and traditional tribal structures to achieve his purposes. Examples given of the latter were arranged marriages and using his own whānau as a vanguard for change.

5. MĀORI KNOWLEDGE

Māori Knowledge was referred to by many participants as an all-encompassing term. This category is also used when informants referred to a range of traditional skills but none had predominance. If however, a person was described as being exceptionally talented in a particular area such as carving, whakapapa, waiata and whaikōrero, they were recorded in the appropriate, separate category.

Well-known figures were often cited as having general and specific Māori knowledge. One informant relates the story of Apirana's parents bringing him back home to teach him waiata, haka and whakapapa to ensure that he didn't "grow away from his culture" while another recalls listening to long conversations about Māori medicine between Dr. Boyd Ellison and Dr. Peter Buck.

The importance of Māori knowledge, however, was not restricted to national figures:

> In the 1940s there was a woman, Hata Te Rei who was from the Taurima family and she was a very well respected person by the whole community. But for us as young people she was an outstanding leader in this way that she helped us to learn Māori things that we didn't know about ourselves, particularly songs... but she not only taught us those things, she taught us how to behave on the marae, she also taught you how to operate in the dining room even back to the kitchen where you had to make your way to. She was a very, very, well respected person by the whole community. She was a very special person.

6. MORAL COURAGE/STRENGTH OF CONVICTION

This category refers to those people who have beliefs, ideas and opinions that are not supported by the majority, in fact often they are actively opposed. Despite this opposition and much personal hardship, criticism and sometimes even persecution, people in this category have the courage to speak out and fight for their beliefs. Just some examples cited were Wairaka and Whaea McClutchie for daring to encroach on male-dominated areas, Te Whiti and Tohu for their passive resistance stand at Parihaka, Te Kooti for "maintaining his commitment and faith in his kaupapa despite being chased by the constabulatory" and Apirana Ngata for fighting to retain Māori land when "the social and political climate of the day was that the sole purpose of Māori land was for it's alienation and use by white people."

7. OUTSTANDING PERSONAL QUALITIES/HIGH MORAL VALUES.

It is acknowledged that certain qualities listed separately quite justifiably belong in this category. A separate listing is given where participants have placed particular emphasis on certain qualities. However, this category has been provided for people cited as having either non-specified outstanding personal qualities and/or high moral values or for specific qualities just mentioned "in passing." In this respect it acts as a catch-all for a number of qualities namely honesty, integrity, openmindedness, strength of character, aroha, patience and respect for others.

8. MANA

People from all groups were referred to as having exceptional mana. These same people were also often described as being highly respected and excellent "role models." Whānau members who were cited as having mana were also described as the ones people turned to in times of need or conflict. The point was made that mana could be lost as well as gained. This might happen if a person behaved in a way that was considered unacceptable to the majority of whānau and hapū members.

9. COMMUNICATORS/NEGOTIATORS

This category was separated out from language ability because of the emphasis placed on it by many participants. From the people cited, a good communicator and negotiator was a well respected person who had outstanding language skills. One participant talked of people coming from far and wide for her grandmother to settle their disputes. This was considered quite exceptional for a woman in the 1880-1913 period.

10. WHAKAPAPA

Only people in the national and iwi groups were cited as having this knowledge and ability. Talking specifically of members of the Young Māori Party, one participant commented that it was their "skill of being able to recite genealogy to connect themselves to whatever situation they were in" that gave them much mana and influence amongst the Māori they dealt with.

11. SERVICE TO WHĀNAU

Willingness to share Māori knowledge and the establishment of family trusts were two services mentioned. However, the great majority of examples cited were related to bringing up children, giving them values and goals, encouraging, supporting and helping them in their education and working long hours to provide the necessities of life.

> My mother milked 365 days a year, day and night, put us all through school. She only had one child of her own, she fostered three others but she brought up goodness knows how many others from families that couldn't cope. I was counting as you were saying and got as far as 32 and lost count and that was just around my older brother and my time. She was always there and if there was ever an obstacle that we as kids came across, she was there for us.

12. HARDWORKING

All the people cited in this category were in the whānau group.Ten of the eleven were women and their story is a common one - working long hours under very difficult conditions to bring up large families usually on their own. Their hardships were not only physical but also emotional with fires, estrangements, deaths and desertions adding extra burdens to already difficult lives. One participant described these women as having "the talents of a survivor."

> Yeah, they are people who seek not adulation, they just sort of grind away. They are determined and they are mainly women who will rise above circumstances that I think alot of average people would bloody crumble under... they don't go and display their public agony. They are very private people in that respect.

A common theme was the personal sacrifices made to feed and educate their children and mokopuna. These were selfless people who worked hard for their families till the day they died.

> I admire how hard working she was. I don't remember her doing anything for herself, it was always for the whānau. She had a lot of energy for an old woman. Till the day she died [at 97] she was still weeding the garden and chopping wood.

Another common theme was that these people's influence was limited by their time and circumstances.

> Had she been in another age or someone in a different position she may well have, instead of taking her family from a dirt floor to a polished home, she may have made a greater impression on society rather than just her own family.

13. WHAIKŌRERO

In discussing speakers of the past, three important ingredients emerged. First was the ability to use whakapapa knowledge in a speech. Second was the requirement that the speech have a strong "take" and third was that the speaker had to deliver it well. One of the oldest participants mentioned listening to a koroua speak on the marae when she was young. "I never understood a thing he said, but the way he said it was wonderful!"

14. TEACHING

None of the people cited in this category were trained teachers. They taught either to share their Māori knowledge, to instill values or to assist people who were struggling to cope.

15= PEOPLE SKILLS

Those in this category have been described as "being good with people." They

were good listeners, were sought after as counsellors, their opinions were respected and they often played a peace-making role. This category is very similar to the communicators and negotiators but the people in it do not necessarily have good language skills. In fact, one person cited as a respected counsellor and peacemaker, was specifically described as "not being good with words."

15= VISIONARY

This does not refer to people who had "visions." This particular ability was tallied in the spiritual category. Rather people included here were credited with a holistic understanding, appreciation and insight into what things might/could be like for Māori in the future.

15= THINKER & DOER

The distinction between this and the previous category is that the "thinkers and doers" not only had vision but they set about changing their ideas into reality.

18= MUSIC

People in this category were cited for outstanding ability in composing and/or performing Māori music.

18= INTELLIGENCE

This was an adjective used to describe five different people. It was also mentioned as a quality from the past that was important but unfortunately no participant elaborated on what intelligence in this context meant to them.

20= HUMILITY

Humility was referred to in the sense of being modest, unpretentious and not pushing oneself forward. One participant told a delightful story about a relative:

He used to have a lot to do with the Queen's husband, Prince Phillip. The second time he met him was down home. Rata, one of my relations staying with him, said she had his suit made out for him. He was still in his farm gear and she had to go somewhere else and said she'd meet him on the boat [Britannia] and then when she goes on the boat later on, she said there's Riki under the stairs talking to Prince Phillip all night, still had his old farm gear on, hadn't even changed! Last time Prince Phillip came over, he asked for Riki but he had died. They used to get on pretty well.

20= GOOD ALL ROUNDER/HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING

This category refers to two different types of people. Firstly, there are those who have talents in many areas. Secondly, there are people who have been cited as having an exceptional "holistic understanding" of things.

20= BRAVERY

This referred to people's performance in battle and in life-threatening situations such as Wairaka saving the Mataatua from destruction on the rocks.

23. HEALING

The three types cited were traditional Māori healing experienced by the participant, spiritual healing and healing using western medicines.

24= CARVING

Two carvers were mentioned. Speaking of one, a participant remarked:

He was definitely a master carver not just a good carver, a master carver. He had the appreciation, the aesthetics, the whole bit and the other side, an important side, the whakapapa... He carved over 100 carvings in his time. He knew the lot, he knew the names of the carvings and the whakapapa... It was more than just remembering the thing, more than that. Just as you were driving along in the car he could pick out all the

features and he knew all the stories as well. It was absolutely incredible. I was just absolutely spell-bound.

24= ENERGETIC

This quality was mentioned three times and in every case it referred to old people who had an incredible amount of energy for their age. There are similarities with the hardworking category as much of the energy cited was expended in service to the whānau. However there were differences. One old woman was cited as having "the energy to travel all around the country at her age!"

24= MEMORY

People skilled in whakapapa have, through necessity, a good memory. This category however relates to people who have been cited as having a good memory in general. They were praised for being able to remember waiata and haka, tribal histories, details about carvings and "every thing they read."

24= ARTISTIC ABILITY & APPRECIATION

This category refers to a general artistic ability and appreciation ie. one that is not linked to any specific activity.

24= MILITARY/FIGHTING SKILLS

Titokowaru's strategic genius was mentioned as was Rangihauiri's prowess in tribal battles. Although these people may have been brave they were not cited for that particular quality. Rather it was their physical skills and strategic military planning that was lauded.

29= RANGATIRA LINEAGE

The two people cited in this category were Te Puea and Wairaka. The participants referred to them both as being "princesses" - "and that's something special."

29= SENSE OF HUMOUR

This category includes the ability to be funny, entertain, be dramatic and employ theatrics.

29= WELL ORGANISED

The Grandmother cited as an example of this had her time organised down to the last second. This enabled her to achieve an incredible amount.

29= MANAAKITANGA

People cited as being outstandingly hospitable or generous belong in this category. One participant described her mother:

> My father's family didn't like my mother and yet when they came to our house they were fed, they were treated like royalty. Any person who came to our house was treated like royalty, and our house was dilapidated, old, there's no house in Manata that will come close to our old shack but it was clean enough to eat off the floor... She knew they didn't like her, but she treated them with respect and whatever we had they would have, even to the point that we would go without, that was the type of person she was. She would give anybody anything, her last dollar. I remember her giving her last dollar of the monthly six dollar benefit to some kuia to buy some bread which meant we had to wait another four weeks before we could have some more money. Well it wasn't really a dollar, it was her last shilling and here we were, needing shoes and things like that.

29= ACADEMIC ABILITY

This category refers specifically to academic achievement in Pākehā education.

29= ARROGANCE

The participant who included arrogance as a quality explains why:

> I count humility as a quality that's admirable but at the same time

you also see amongst these people a certain arrogance because it's a matter of balance.... Apirana Ngata was the same. He was humble but he was also arrogant, balancing out life and death, high tide, low tide, setting sun, rising sun, a bit like yin and yan, all those qualities are within people.

4.4 *The Present*

The second section of the Interview Schedule was directed at answering the question, Do contemporary Māori have a concept of special abilities and if so, what is it?

4.5 *Who was Chosen?*

76 individuals and seven groups were chosen as contemporary Māori who are very able and talented in some way. Counting the 4 single sex groups in the tally for their particular gender, the people chosen include 37 females and 43 males. They were chosen from one to three times each in an even distribution pattern across national, iwi, whānau and gender groups.

	National		Iwi		Whānau	
Female	11	(10)	5	(4)	22	(21)
Male	25	(23)	16	(14)	6	(2)
Mixed	2		1			
Total	38	(33)	22	(18)	28	(23)

( ) Indicates total when national and iwi "relatives" are excluded.

Table 4: Gender Composition of Present Choices

As in the past selections, males dominate the national and iwi group while females are predominant in the whānau group. National figures are the most frequent choice.

NATIONAL FIGURES (38)

This category could be divided into a number of distinct groups.
Group I consists of national figures who are regularly in the news and are well known by both Pākehā and Māori New Zealanders. Three are principally known for their work for Māori people while the fourth has a high political profile.

Group 2 consists of people who are well known in the Māori world. They are tribal spokespersons, activists, orators, academics and prominent members of Māori and Government Organisations. They all have been or are presently involved in work to improve conditions for Māori at a tribal or national level.

Group 3 is composed of Māori musicians, entertainers and composers. Four have achieved national fame while the others have gained wide recognition for their contributions to Māori music.

Group 4 consists of writers and artists who have gained a national reputation.

Group 5 is a selection of well known sports people who have all played or are still playing at a national level. The sports represented are Rugby Union, Rugby League and Netball.

IWI FIGURES (22)

These people are all well known at a tribal level.
Group 1 - All have been or are presently involved in education. They have been described as exceptionally good teachers or people who are outstanding in their work to promote the Māori language and culture.

Group 2 - Kaumātua who are highly respected in their areas both for their knowledge of things Māori and for their personal qualities.

Group 3 - These people have gained recognition as a result of their employment.

Group 4 - Both local artists of high repute.

Group 5 - A former, locally renown rugby player.

WHĀNAU FIGURES (28)

Group 1 consists of participant's close relatives.

Group 2 is close relatives who have achieved tribal or national prominence.

Group 3 is composed of participant's friends. These people all have considerable influence amongst their respective families, friends and colleagues. They have been cited for a wide range of personal qualities and abilities including artistic, musical, healing, language skills and Māori knowledge.

GROUPS (7)

Three groups were cited for their ability in the entertainment field, two had kaumātua status and two were comprised of close relatives cited for their language, communication and negotiation abilities. It is interesting to note that one of these groups consists entirely of children. They were sighted for their musical and performing abilities and for their knowledge of te reo.

Two other children were cited in this research. Both were considered outstanding in traditional Māori areas. One for her ability in te reo, for karanga in particular. The other child was cited for an interest and ability in things Māori well beyond his age.

4.6 Who Chose Whom?

	(38) National	(22) Iwi	(28) Whānau	(37) Females	(43) Males
Whole Sample	45	24	31	43	57
Kaumātua	33	11	56	76	24
Educators	31	39	30	40	60
"Others"	67	12	21	45	55
Females	36	22	42	54	46
Males	56	28	16	28	72

(Kaumātua, Educators, "Others": % of each group's total choice)

Table 5: Sample Group and Gender Choice of National, Iwi or Whānau Categories in the Present

As for past data, choice totals have been converted to %s for the sake of comparison.

The number of times national, iwi, whānau and gender groups were chosen at the whole sample level is in proportion to the number of people who were actually selected in these groups. However the breakdown of choice by sample group and gender reveals a different picture.

Gender Choice

There is an own-sex preference, more marked in males than females. Kaumātua showed a marked preference for females. In comparison with the educators, they chose 36% more females and 36% less males. This difference cannot be explained and levelled out, as previously, by the selection of famous relatives as only two were involved in this particular comparison - one from each group. The distribution of famous relatives was even between gender groups.

The explanation given in the past section for the greater % of men chosen in a female-dominated research also applies in the contemporary situation.

National/iwi/whānau choice

In previous comparisons the biggest differences have been between kaumātua and educators with the other group taking the middle line. In this case however, it is the educators who have chosen relatively evenly between national, iwi and whānau groups and the differences are between kaumātua and other selections. Each sample group chose a different "top" group. The kaumātua's selection of the whānau group is related to their choice of predominantly females as this group is composed largely of women. The educators selection of iwi as their top group marks the first time this group has been dominant. It is the last choice of both the kaumātua and others. The others chose national figures as their top group. Although they had the most famous relatives (4 in comparison to kaumātua's 1 and educator's 2), this did not have a marked effect on their national preference. Their famous relatives amounted to only 14% of their total national selection.

Given that the allocation of people to either national or iwi groups was a lot more subjective and debatable than whānau allocation and that the membership of these two groups is similar in comparison to the whānau group, then the educators and others could be viewed as being similar in their choices.

When comparing gender group choice of outstanding people, the own-sex preference is influencial. This is more pronounced in men. The male-dominated national and iwi groups account for 84% of their total selection.

4.7 What Qualities Were Mentioned?

Information from questions 3 and 4 on the Interview Schedule was combined to reveal 45 different abilities and qualities. In order of frequency they were:

1. SERVICE TO MĀORIDOM (at a tribal or national level).

This was by far the most frequent choice and it encompassed a wide range of services. At the national level, service appeared to be of six different types:

- Service to Māoridom in general.
- Service to particular iwi.
- Service associated with specific Māori "causes". These causes were usually related to rectifying injustices done to Māori.
- Service given as part of a person's job.
- Welfare-related service linked to particular Māori Organisations.
- Service related to various Māori Movements and initiatives such as Kōhanga reo, Kura Kaupapa and Ataarangi.

Service at a local level also came into definite categories:

- Job-related service almost exclusively associated with teaching.
- Service to Māori educational movements at a local level.
- Welfare-related service. At this level the examples given were many and varied. They include working with drug addicts, nursing and supporting the sick, helping slow learners on a voluntary basis and caring for the elderly.
- Service on the local marae as kaikōrero, kaikaranga, ringawera etc.

It must be mentioned that these categories are not mutually exclusive and more often than not people were cited as giving service in a number of areas. At the local level, Rowdy Akuhata is an excellent example.

He has promoted having Kaumātua at the health camps throughout N.Z., that's quite an achievement. I know it's in the older field but its looking after children and through that he has created a very nice relationship between the children, the camp staff and the children's parents especially the Māori parents... When he goes as an escort he meets the parents and he draws the parents in as well and he's got the personality to do that and that's a pretty tremendous thing. He always helps out wherever, he's always on call for anyone and everyone, not just religion but anyone who might need help. I see that as been very, very important as well cause you need a talent for that but if you talk to him, he will say," well I haven't got that little piece of white paper yet." He has forged that wonderful relationship. He goes to the marae, every marae there's a tangi or hui and he's been wonderful with regard to total immersion for young people and they like him as a tutor and that's all very important, cause we haven't had anyone like that amongst our people for a very long time, so we are very lucky at Ngāti Kapu.

2= LANGUAGE ABILITY

There were three distinct types of language ability mentioned. The first was the ability to present an argument or point of view in a convincing, even inspirational manner. This was usually related to supporting a particular cause. The second was an outstanding competence and confidence in the Māori language that was not mentioned in the context of giving a whaikōrero. The third was the ability to interest, amuse and entertain an audience. Story-telling ability is a good example.

The following quote refers to a woman who was cited as having outstanding language ability. It is included as it is also a good example of the next quality on the list, namely moral courage.

I've watched her negotiate with Government and we were alongside when we were trying to establish Kura Kaupapa Māori. I felt she was really like what I imagine the warrior of our tīpuna were, just absolutely not scared of anyone and some of them who we were meeting with were quite important Pākehā people in Parliament, Ministers etc. We were the amalgamated Kura groups and I just found that she instilled in everyone the sense of, this is what we want and we're here to get it! I just found that really amazing from a Māori women who is still quite young, she's definitely no kuia, and I remember thinking, how did you get so strong? She was not put off by anything. I admired that. I found her really sharp and very switched on to everything that was going on and I really admired her ability to be able to really think out something before she says something so that every time she did speak, every one thought, yea!! But at the same time very down to earth. She could get on with everyone that was there.

2= MORAL COURAGE/STRENGTH OF CONVICTION

The majority of people who were cited as having this quality were those who had the courage to speak out in support of Māori causes. As in the past, they often face much criticism and opposition. It was pointed out that to make things more difficult, this criticism sometimes came from other Māori. The issue was not always a Māori one and the participant did not always have to agree with it.

I'd say Winston Peters, doing what he believes in, not being manipulated by the bureaucrats. He's got beliefs and he doesn't just say things, he can support what he says and he stands up and says so....I don't always agree with what he's saying but I admire what he is doing...He doesn't just ramble, he has something to say and I think he really believes in what he says.

2= OUTSTANDING PERSONAL QUALITIES/HIGH MORAL VALUES

This heading serves the same general and catch-all purpose as explained in the past section. Specific qualities that were mentioned include aroha, honesty, respectfulness, serenity, industriousness, thoroughness, reliability, selflessness, responsibility and being "a genuine person."

5. VISIONARY

Visionaries refer to people who have a dream, a vision, a scheme for some future improvement for Māoridom. An example is Katerina Mataira. One informant recalls:

> When I was looking through a whole lot of old early childhood papers that someone had given our kohanga, we found a written speech that she had delivered in the early 70s to the Māori Women's Welfare League and I have really admired her since then. I just found it really amazing to think that someone in 1971 or whenever it was, standing up saying ..the Māori language will bind us together, we need to get together, all the mums, and go somewhere where we have all our little children together and just talk Māori... which was really kōhanga reo. I was really amazed to read it, in that time.

Katerina was also lauded as a visionary in her support of the Ataarangi programme.

6. PEOPLE SKILLS

As in the past this heading refers to those who are "good with people". They are good listeners and take a real interest in others. Often they are cited as being able to motivate and raise people's self esteem. One participant describes such a person:

> I look at the group of people he was working with last year. When they came in, well some of them were drug addicts. I think if you looked at them as a group no one would think much of them. Now their self-esteem is way up. Just little things like the way they dressed at the beginning of

the year, you can see them during the year feeling a lot better about themselves. A lot of people say you don't get much from learning songs and that but what he has given to them - something to value and work towards, that is why I really admire the guy.

7= LEADERSHIP

The majority of people mentioned as having leadership qualities were confident, articulate and had an "up front" leadership style. However two other styles were either specifically mentioned or alluded to. The first was a quiet, leadership-by-example style. The second was a style exemplified by the person in the following quote:

Daisy Mahaki was a student at college and I remember the qualities that she had, where she was a background worker who was always lifting people up. She was a very nondescript child to some, she didn't stand out in a crowd in any particular way but was always working in the background, making sure, propping everybody up and I always remember... that girls got leadership qualities.. We have high hopes for her when she comes back, and she knows that so she's avoiding coming back!!

7= MANA

A range of people were described as having mana. In discussing kohanga service, one participant remarked:

You talk about people who are chosen, when I look at Tere I think she is doing it for the people and not for herself. She's drawn to it for our babies so that they grow up feeling good about themselves, I can do it. She's gaining mana as she goes along.

The belief in mana being lost as well as gained was also mentioned. Referring to one kohanga kai ako's refusal to accept pay, a participant added, "this is her way. Once you get paid you lose all the mana."

9= TEACHING

The majority of people chosen in this category were, in fact, trained teachers. They were cited as being outstanding in their profession. Those who were not trained teachers were all involved, either officially or unofficially, in teaching Māori culture, language, art or music.

9= THINKER AND DOER

Similar to the past section, people in this category were described as those who put their dreams and schemes into action.

11. HARDWORKING

Unlike the past section, the people cited as being hardworking were from every group. They were considered as exceptional in their dedication and the amount of time spent at their jobs or in service to Māoridom.

12. MĀORI KNOWLEDGE

With four exceptions, people cited as being experts in Māori knowledge were kaumātua. Two of the other four were the two children mentioned previously. One participant explained how his father came to be an expert in this field. He stated that as a young boy his father enjoyed listening to the koroua.

> The old people back home used to take him behind the paepae and teach him...because he was interested, they would call him over and that would make him feel special.

An example was given of a young child showing a similar interest in things Māori in this day and age:

> I'll tell you one who is interested and I think it is quite special and that is Ware Cook, Mere's youngest boy. There's something about him that's different to most other kids. He'd be maybe 6. I was at Tainui one time when they walked in, we were doing something and he went outside and started to karanga in front of the whare. Nana Maggy was there, Mere wanted to go and stop him and she said it's too late now and she went on later on to say that was the right call and someone's going to die and that sort of thing. But he sticks around older people and he's just sitting there listening to what's going on and he's taking it all in and then it will come out and even Tama says he loves the way that kid speaks Māori. To me there's something about Ware and he's a lovely kid. Now that the kura kaupapa is set up I've noticed a few of those kids, a couple of them are like that too, a couple that will just sit and take it all in. I think it is the influence of the kura.

13. COMMUNICATORS AND NEGOTIATORS

People mentioned in this category were, with one exception, tertiary trained and holding prominent positions. One participant, speaking of a respected academic explains:

> I admire that he has good skills of negotiating with the Government and is really respected in Government. I suppose because he is a doctor he is able to get a foot in the door of Parliament and be heard and I've been in situations where he has used that to the advantage of other Māori groups.

People who demonstrated similar skills at a local or whānau level eg. settling family disputes, were generally described as "being good with people" rather than as being good communicators and negotiators.

14= SPIRITUALITY

The people cited in this category were predominantly kaumātua. Interestingly enough two of the kaumātua interviewed mentioned quite remarkable spiritual experiences they were involved in as if they were an every day occurrence.

However, although few younger people were cited as being exceptionally spiritual, many discussed this concept within the course of their interviews. Their views illustrate many different aspects of spirituality. It was often perceived in terms of "insight" ie. an understanding that could not be explained by rational means. Also as a guiding force drawing people to do certain things or go to particular places. One person mentioned the pain he suffered in passing a kidney stone. He said the thought that went through his mind as he rolled on the floor in agony was, "Hell, who have I bad-mouthed this week!"

Two participants explained their understanding of spirituality:

> For me wairua is something you carry round with you so if you wanted to achieve in sport say, then wairua is what you fall back on. Quite a few players say a little karakia to themselves before they go and play. For me it is other things too, like before something special I'll say a karakia. For me it is always there and the way things turn out, then that is how they are meant to turn out. There is most certainly a place for it. Just that knowledge that it is there, a comfort that it is with you. In some cases I reckon it guides people, it helps. There's lots to wairua, there's the whole religious side of it, God, then there's the other side like tūpuna influence.

> For me it's vitally important because I was bought up with wairua. It's not so much a spirituality in a sense if you're looking from a Pākehā point of view or Pākehā perspective but more of a Māori perspective where wairua to us is very important... it's more of a soul thing I suppose in a Māori sense and it's something that you're not born with, you build it up as you age and wairua to me is very important in how I see people. They

> emit an aura I suppose you could say, that either attracts you or detracts you from them. That's wairua to me, that aura that inner quality I suppose, you sense rather than see.

14= INTELLIGENCE

With one exception intelligence was seen as the prerogative of the articulate, tertiary- educated person. The exception was Whaea McClutchie who was acclaimed for the quick wit she displayed on the marae. She was described as "an intelligent woman who had quite a following."

16. DETERMINED/HARD HEADED

This category did not appear in the past section. It is similar to moral courage but is not associated with particular causes. It was used to describe strong, bordering on obstinate people who stuck to a difficult task "no matter what!"

17= MUSIC

A change from the past section, this category was now divided into two separate groups. While the majority were still mentioned for their ability in Māori music and composing, there was a sizable group, mainly entertainers, who were cited for their general musical ability. Speaking of Ngoi Pewhairangi, one participant commented:

> You can just about go to any Māori gathering and just about everyone knows a song. I think it is a really difficult thing to do when you live in a rural, isolated area that your music has to be very good and really well respected for people to take it out of that area and I think just about everywhere people sing her songs and to get gold records!!

17= SPORTING ABILITY

Another new category to emerge. The sports mentioned are all group sports.

19. SENSE OF HUMOUR

Although entertainers were the biggest group in this category, the person who was cited most often as having a good sense of humour was Whaea McClutchie:

> She caught people's attention. It was not just because she was a woman, it's just the way she spoke and put it across. She was very humorous and people knew when Whaea stood up they would always be entertained, she would always entertain.
>
> She would get up on other maraes like Tainui. She would go to little places up Waikato and they don't allow woman to speak on the marae up there, but she would get up and sort of put them to the test. The men didn't want to listen, they would say "who are you? It is not your place to speak on the marae, sit down woman!" and at the end those people were laughing at her because of the way she put things. She had a sense of humour.

20. ARTISTIC ABILITY AND APPRECIATION

Unlike the past category which was that of general artistic ability and appreciation, all the people mentioned in the contemporary category are practising artists of note. Their work has a strong Māori influence and involves a number of medium - pottery, painting, sculpture, carving. They are modern rather than traditional artists and the term "creative" was often used in describing them and their works.

21. WHAIKŌRERO

A number of people mentioned whaikōrero as being important but were unable to give examples of people talented in this area. One participant went as far as saying, "At the moment whaikōrero is very hum-drum, very boring with a straight off pat format. There's no kaupapa, no kiko in it."

22= PRIDE IN MĀORI/TRIBAL IDENTITY

Another new category, this refers to people who have an obvious pride in being Māori or being a member of a particular tribe. Groups like Ahorangi Genesis and Te Tei-o-Tahuka were described as exuding it. A number of people did not give specific examples of people having this quality but mentioned it in their general conversation as being very important:

> I'm also pleased that Rere came home one day and said, "Gee you know Dad, it's ... great to be Māori." "Yes, boy" I said, "but it's even ... greater to be Ngāti Porou!" So I see that as positive, if a kid in terms of his ability is really pleased about what he is, then that is all the potential that he has, whatever those potentialities are, given that he is thinking OK about himself, will have the opportunity to be realised. You know he's not going to be put down.

22= INITIATOR/PIONEER

There is a fine line between the visionaries, the initiators and those with missionary zeal. Very often they are the same people. However there is a subtle difference. The visionaries are perceived as having the original ideas, the initiators are people who introduce something at a local level, while missionary zeal refers to the amount of effort and commitment that is put into new projects. Similar to the visionaries, people cited as being initiators or people with missionary zeal were all involved in projects with a Māori kaupapa eg. the kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa movements, Māori culture groups and Māori music.

24= MISSIONARY ZEAL

Refer above.

24= WHĀNAUNESS

This involves a close bond between whānau members. Although only two examples were given, a number of people mentioned this close bond as being special in their discussion of qualities they considered important.

24= SERVICE TO WHĀNAU

No examples of service to whānau were given but similar to the situation above, a number of people expressed this as a very important quality.

27= MANAAKITANGA

People cited in this category were all women in the whānau group.

27= BRAVERY

While in the past section bravery was associated with fighting and life-threatening situations, in this section it refers to a person's battle with cancer and a woman training for employment in a job traditionally the preserve of men.

29= WHAKAPAPA

No people were cited as outstanding in this area but people mentioned it as an ability they valued and fostered:

> When I listen to whaikōrero I like listening to those who do their whakapapa ties especially at tangihanga with the ope that come in. There are very few that are skilled at that, (that we've seen here locally, and I don't get to go to many tangi outside) who are able to whakapapa whānau in each ope that come in to the tūpāpaku or to in some way connect them, that's a skill that's a dying form.

29= HEALING

Two types of healing mentioned involved western medicine and spiritual, alternative methods.

29= ENERGETIC

Only one person was cited as being energetic. He was admired for "his commitment to things Māori and the amount of energy he puts into it." However, other participants mentioned being energetic as a desirable quality.

29= MOTIVATED

A new category. The people cited here were all described as being motivated in jobs that involved Māori kaupapa. They were also considered very "motivating" people.

29= APPRECIATION OF NATURE

Another new category. One mention was job-related. The other concerned Syd Melbourne for his songs.

> It's really good that there is someone singing about what's good about the rata tree or the kauri tree and making those things as important as anything else.

29= SENSITIVITY TO OTHERS

This could have been included in the personal qualities category but a separate listing was made because of the emphasis placed on it. Two people were described, both for their intuitive sensitvity and both in relation to caring for the sick.

> Judy has been there since the beginning of this disease, she has an uncanny ability to figure out what I need before I say it, she can't see it but she says all the right things, you know and she manages to drag out from me what is wrong which I wouldn't normally admit to anyone... she can pick up my vibes which I think is a special ability which is not something that is recognised. Absolutely sensitive, and she doesn't try. It comes naturally.

29= LOVE OF LEARNING

A new category. Two participants described a person as being outstanding in this area. They later arranged for that person to be interviewed and "a love of learning" was given as a highly valued quality.

36= GOOD ALL ROUNDER/HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING

Two people were cited as all rounders in the sense of having a holistic understanding of things. Although both people had areas of speciality, a participant explained:

> They're probably seen as having a specialist understanding but when you really talk to them, the reason they became the people they are is because they have this overall understanding. I think that's very, very important...In our day and age, the way a lot of people work is in their own wee sectors and they are very concerned with those sorts of matters. People like my father have an overall, global sort of understanding.

36= HUMILITY

One participant cited a group in this category. Humility was mentioned by others as a quality they valued highly.

36= ARROGANCE

No examples were given but two people considered it an important quality. It appears that both people viewed arrogance as having pride in oneself as opposed to it's negative connotations of being pompous and overbearing. One participant remarked "Let's look at arrogance as being a positive word. We underrate it so much."

37= COOKING ABILITY

A new category. A participant described one of his mother's outstanding abilities as being "a brilliant cook." Another person named it as one of her highly valued skills.

40= CARVING

No example given but named as a highly valued skill by one person.

40= WELL ORGANISED

As above.

40= LITERARY ABILITY

Only one person was cited in this category.

40= WEAVING

An admired skill, no example given.

40= PĀKEHĀ KNOWLEDGE

One participant described his choice as being "well versed in the ways of the west." The possibility of including this under academic ability was considered but it was decided they were not the same thing.

40= SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS

No example given. The participant who selected this ability explained:

> If there is a skill that I value highly it's a scientific analysis of things however one defines that. I think we can take ownership of that, it's a universal skill. If there is something that I would like to give our children it would be that skill, to be critics, to be able to analyse things and not be afraid to do that.

She went on to explain that many Māori practices from the past are accepted uncritically and that analytic skills were needed to be able to determine which practices are relevant and useful for today.

Four categories that appeared in the past section did not receive any mention in the present. They were: Fighting Skills, Rangatira Lineage, Academic Ability and Memory.

ANALYSES AND COMPARISON OF PAST AND PRESENT DATA

4.8 Regrouping

In total 49 different abilities and qualities were mentioned. Because a number of these were chosen only once or twice, for the sake of more meaningful analysis these 49 categories have been reduced to 10. The regrouping of the majority of categories was straight forward as the data fell into quite distinct groups. However in some cases categories had to be split eg. healing which included examples of traditional, spiritual and western techniques. Double entries have been made when this was deemed appropriate eg carving being recorded in both the traditional knowledge and artistic abilities categories. In reality, numerous entries could be fitted into two or more categories but the **most appropriate** category was chosen and double entries were made in only a few obvious cases. Fortunately, the regroupings that were most open to debate involved only small data entries so overall totals are only minimally affected by their placement. The 10 new categories are:

1. SERVICE TO OTHERS

This includes service at national, tribal and whānau levels, teaching, manaakitanga and hardworking. The latter has been included as the hard work cited has always been in the service of others whether it be to the whānau or in an employment context. All healing was also tallied in this group. This was decided upon because western healing was left unplaced after traditional and spiritual healing were allocated elsewhere. While service to others seemed an appropriate category for western healing, it did not seem fair to give it, and not traditional and spiritual healing, this status.

2. OUTSTANDING PERSONAL QUALITIES AND HIGH MORAL VALUES

Energetic, moral courage/strength of conviction, sense of humour, humility, serenity, arrogance, well organised, bravery, motivated, intuitive sensitivity to others, hard-headed/determined, missionary zeal, pride in Māori/tribal

identity, whānauness and people skills were all incorporated. The latter was included because those who possessed these skills were described as peacemakers and individuals who were sought after to provide guidance and counselling. It is unlikely that they would be sought after for these roles if they did not possess outstanding personal qualities and high moral values in the first place.

3. TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

Previous categories included are Māori knowledge, healing (traditional), carving, whakapapa, whaikōrero, music (traditional), and weaving.

4. LANGUAGE ABILITY

This incorporates communicators/negotiators and the single entry in the contemporary literary ability category.

5. SPIRITUAL ABILITY

Categories included are spirituality and healing (spiritual).

6. LEADERSHIP ABILITY

Initiators/pioneers and rangatira lineage are included.

7. INTELLECTUAL ABILITY

Memory, academic ability, visionaries, thinkers and doers, good all rounders/holistic understanding, scientific analysis, Pākehā knowledge and love of learning have all been included in this category.

8. ARTISTIC ABILITY

This includes weaving, carving, music, literary and artistic ability.

9. PHYSICAL ABILITY

Sporting ability and fighting skills. The latter, however, does not include Titokowaru's strategic genius which has been tallied under intellectual ability.

10. MISCELLANEOUS

This category was created to cater for the two remaining groups in the contemporary data that did not fit comfortably into any of the categories above. These were cooking and love of nature.

The only original category that has not been included in this regrouping is that of mana as it was considered inappropriate to do so. Although it was specifically mentioned or alluded to by participants, it does not fit exclusively into any group. Rather it is something that is related to them all. Possession of the abilities and qualities in the 10 categories above can result in the owner earning mana. For a full understanding of this concept the reader is referred back to the discussion of mana in Chapter 2.

4.9 *Choice of Abilities and Qualities*

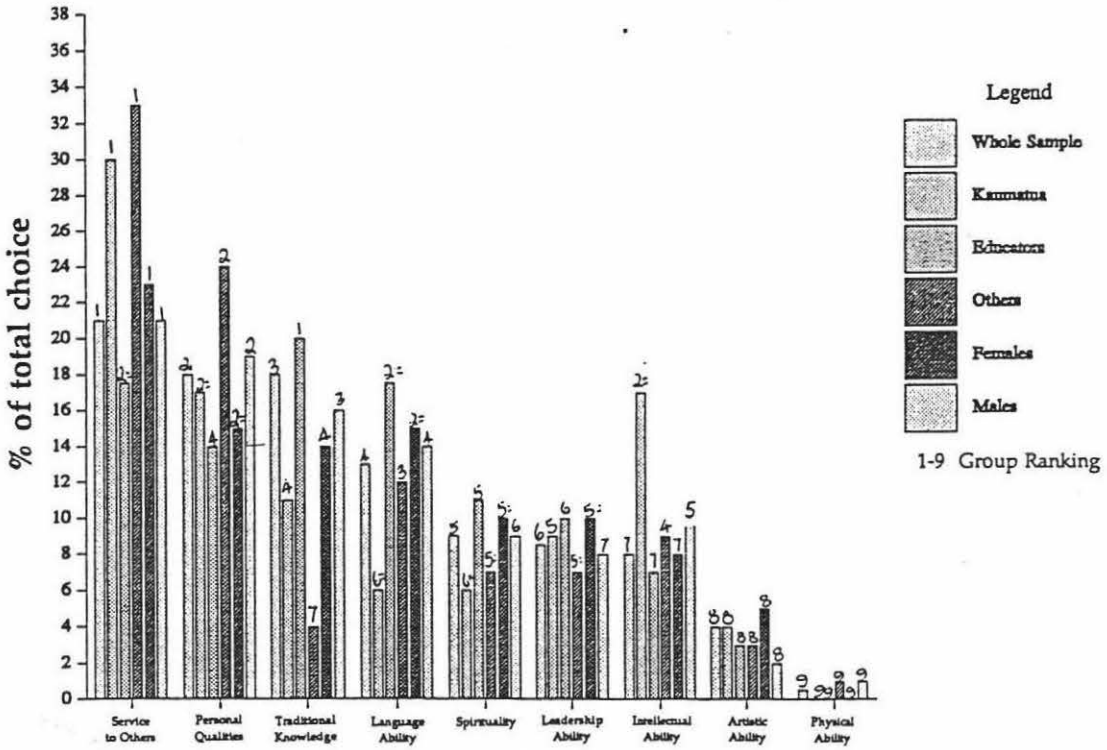

Figure 2: Sample Group and Gender Choice of Abilities and Qualities in the Past

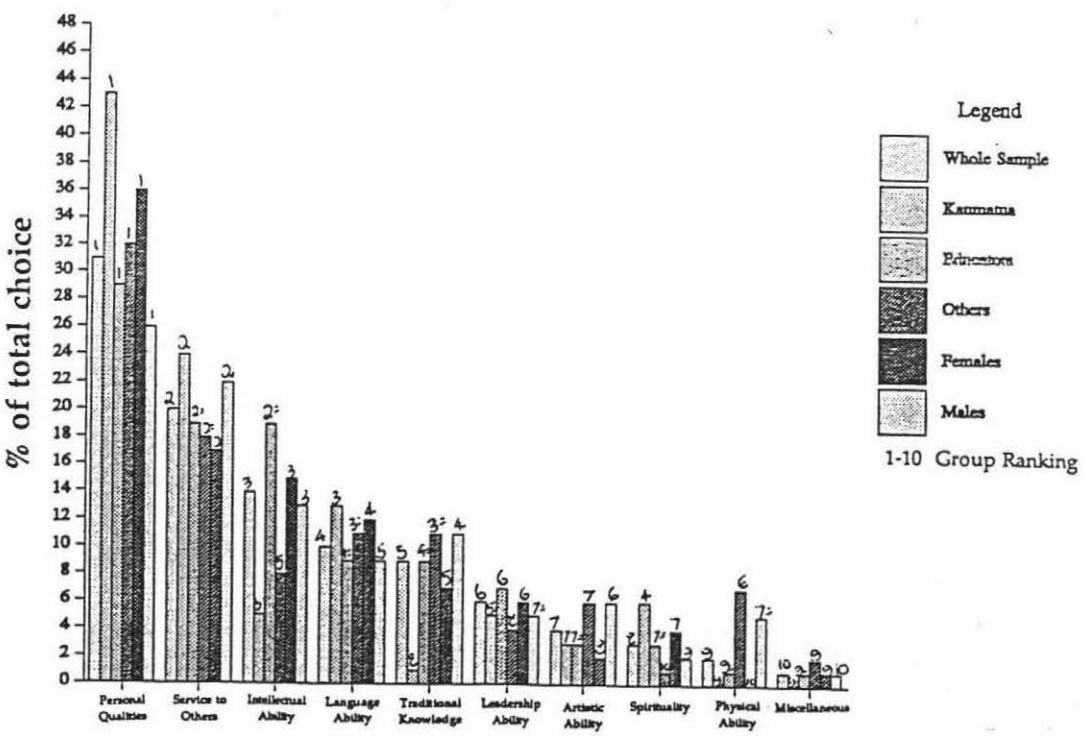

Figure 3: Sample Group and Gender Choice of Abilities and Qualities in the Present

An analysis of figures 2 and 3 shows that choices, in general, were similar across all groups, the gender groups especially so.

Based on the qualities and abilities that received 20%+ of the total citings, pen profiles of "typical" kaumātua, educator, other and gender choices show that:
In the Past -

- **kaumātua** considered service to others very important
- **educators** chose traditional knowledge as being important
- **"others"** considered service to others as very important and to a lesser extent, personal qualities.
- both **females** and **males** believed service to others was important.

In the Present -

- **kaumātua** considered personal qualities extremely important and to a lesser extent service to others
- **educators, "others"** and **females** chose personal qualities as being very important
- **males** believed both personal qualities and service to others were important.

While these pen profiles differ, their relative significance can be gauged by considering only those differences that involve more than 10% between kaumātua, educator and other group choices.

For the past, kaumātua and others placed more importance on service while educators emphasised traditional knowledge more than others and language ability more than kaumātua.

Considering the groups could have differed in 27 possible comparisons, the overall picture is of very similar choices. There were no differences of more than 10% between male and female.

For the present, choices are also similar. In 30 comparisons the only differences of more than 10% to emerge are kaumātua placing more importance on personal qualities than educators and others (although all groups had it as their top category) and educators placing more importance on intellectual ability than kaumātua and others.

4.10 A Comparison of Past and Present Ability and Quality Choices

A comparison of figures 2 and 3 reveals that a number of category rankings have changed. However to gauge the significance of these changes the relative percentages must be considered.

Again accepting changes of more than 10% as significant:

- whole sample, kaumātua, educators and females all increased their selection of personal qualities considerably. It should be noted that others and males also increased their rating of personal qualities but by less than 10%. This is understandable in that these groups were the two highest in this category in their past selections.
- "others" decreased their choice of service to others. They were, in fact, highest in this category in the past so their decrease brings them more in line with the other groups' choices.
- educators increased their choice of intellectual ability while decreasing their traditional knowledge selection.
- Kaumātua decreased their choice of intellectual ability.

No group differences of more than 10% are the same for past and present choices.

4.11 *Qualities and Abilities Associated With National, Iwi, Whānau and Gender Groups*

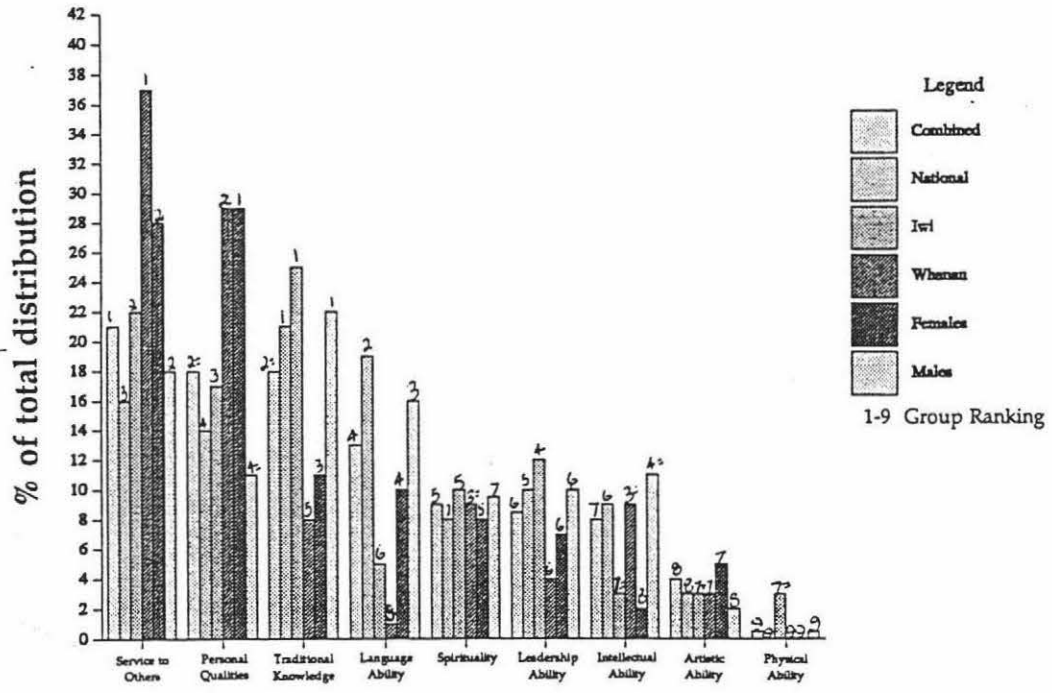

Figure 4: Distribution of Abilities and Qualities Amongst National, Iwi, Whānau and Gender Groups in the Past

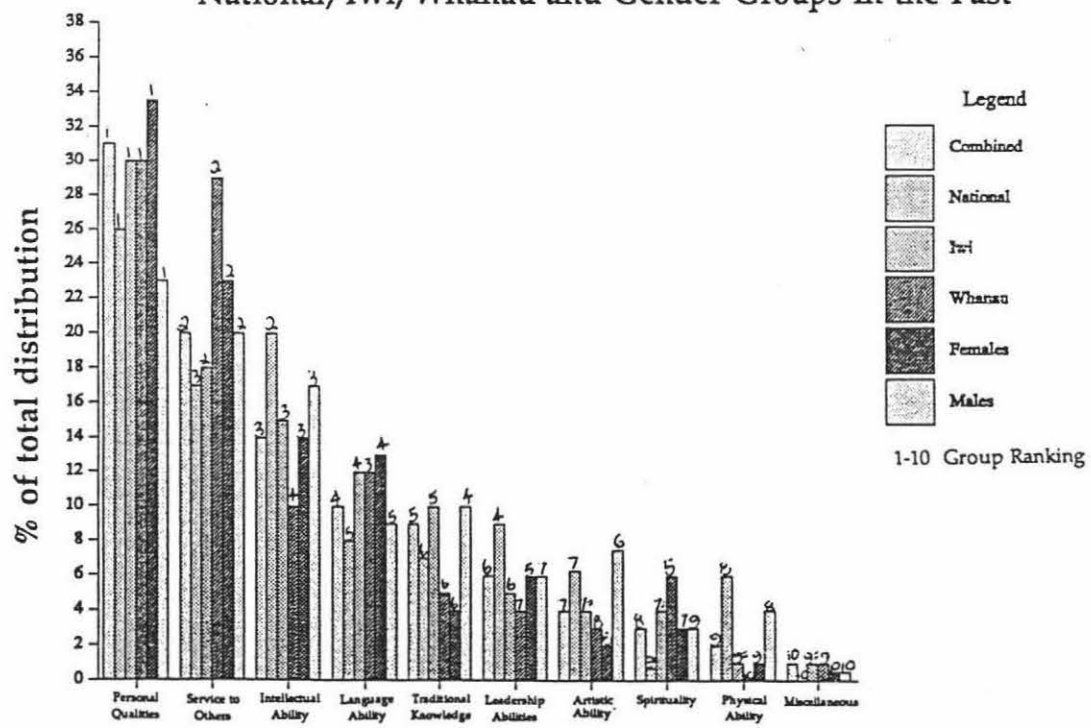

Figure 5: Distribution of Abilities and Qualities Amongst National, Iwi, Whānau and Gender Groups in the Present

An analysis of figures 4 and 5 show that there is a relatively even distribution of abilities and qualities across groups in the present and in the past's bottom five categories. Based on the qualities and abilities that received 20%+ of the total citings, pen profiles of "typical" national, iwi, whānau and gender figures show that:

In the past-

- **national** figures and **males** were strong in their traditional knowledge
- **iwi** figures were strong in their traditional knowledge and in their service to others
- **whānau** members and **females** were very strong in their service to others and personal qualities.

In the present-

- **national** figures are strong in their personal qualities and intellectual ability
- **iwi** figures are very strong in their personal qualities
- **whānau** figures and **females** are very strong in their personal qualities and service to others
- **males** are strong in their personal qualities and service to others.

While these pen profiles differ, their relative significance can be gauged by considering only those differences of more than 10% between national, iwi and whānau qualities and abilities.

In the past the whānau group was rated higher than national and iwi groups for service and personal qualities but lower than them in traditional knowledge. The national group was rated higher in language ability than both the whānau and iwi groups.

A male-female comparison shows that females were rated higher for service and personal qualities but lower in traditional knowledge. These gender differences are a reflection of the fact that the whānau group is predominantly female.

In the present the whānau group continues to be rated higher than national and iwi for service. While females are rated higher than males for personal qualities.

4.12 A Comparison of Past and Present Group Qualities and Abilities

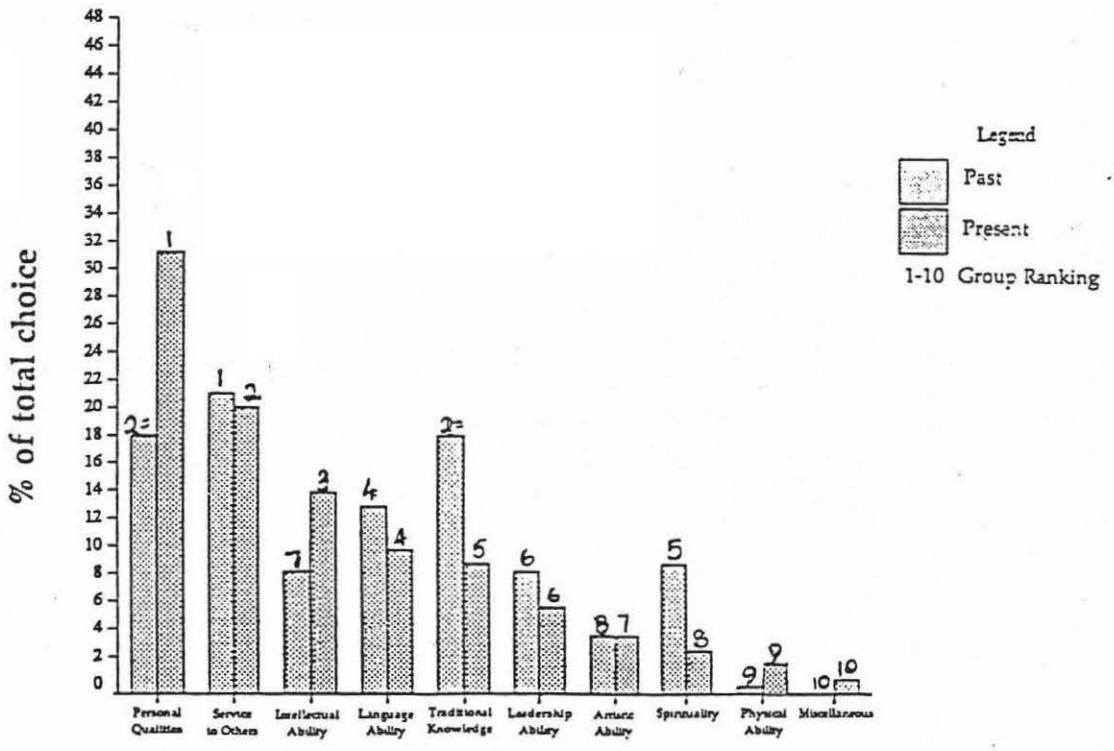

Figure 6: Comparison of Past and Present Ability and Quality Choices

While Figure 6 gives an overall picture of changes from past to present, a more detailed analysis can be gained from a comparison of Figures 4 and 5. To gauge the significance of changes, the relative percentages must be considered. Accepting changes of more than 10% as significant:

- combined total, national, iwi and males all showed an increase in personal qualities. It should be noted that whānau and females also increased but by less than 10%. This is attributed to the fact that they were the highest in this category in the past selections
- national, iwi and females all increased in their rating for intellectual ability
- the whānau group showed an increase in language ability while the national group decreased in this category
- national, iwi and males showed a decrease in traditional knowledge.

4.13 The Relative Contribution of Kaumātua, Educator, Other and Gender Groups

	% of Whole Sample	% of Total Choices Made			
		Past People	Present People	Past Abilities and Qualities	Present Abilities and Qualities
Kaumātua	18.2	22	16	16	14
Educators	36.4	41	47	57	65
Others	45.4	37	37	27	21
Females	70	43.5	56	54	53
Males	30	56.5	44	46	47

Table 6: Sample Group Contribution to Research Data

An examination of Table 6 shows that in proportion to their numbers, educators and males made the most choices of people, abilities and qualities. The others made the least number of choices in all areas.

4.14 Identifying and Developing Special Abilities

This section deals with the last third of the Interview Schedule. The questions posed were:

1. Have you any suggestions about how Māori children with special abilities can be identified and helped to develop their talents at home, at pre-school and at school?
2. Perhaps you already know of a preschool or school programme that is successfully catering for able Māori children. Can you tell me about it? On the other hand, you may know of able Māori children who are not being catered for at preschool or school, what do you think is going wrong?

These questions will be dealt with together because that is how they were answered. Very few people cited specific programmes that were "good" or "bad" but some mentioned particular practices or techniques they knew about that were either beneficial or unhelpful. Many talked in general terms about what is going wrong for Māori children in preschools and schools and gave their thoughts about possible changes. Although these comments were not specifically focused on Māori CWSA they have been incorporated into the discussion for two reasons:
Firstly, because improving the situation for all Māori children also means improving things for the more able.
Secondly, this approach allows for the belief expressed by a number of participants, that all Māori children have special abilities.

4.15 How Can Māori Children With Special Abilities be Identified?

OBSERVATION
The overwhelming answer to this question was "by observing them carefully." This applied in the home, preschool and school situations. Some participants believed that these children stood out naturally.

> It is something you know because they can do things well, with ease and without any pressure. The confidence oozes out of them.

Sport was one particular area where this was evident.

> I look at sport, any group of Māori kids you get running with the ball, straight away you can see whose got natural skills, no one's coached them, no one's spent time teaching them how to pass the ball but it is just naturally there, you'd say that eh? Yea. A lot of those ..., they're nonacademic...but you put a ball in their hands and everything seems to go click, click.

However the majority believed that, generally, identification was not that easy.

Points that came out in discussion were that:

- Children's abilities would not surface if they were not confident in themselves.
- For abilities to surface, children need time, attention and a supportive, caring environment.
- You need to look for attitudes, interest, sensitivities, auras and ahua as well as abilities.
- You need to be knowledgeable about and sensitive to the abilities and qualities the children might possess.

The following quotes exemplify the last two points. One woman speaking of her 6 year old son explains:

> I think the little things they say. I think a lot of kids have it but if the adult is not in tune, they miss it completely. Like Abe, he's been with me all this way and I detect in him a very sensitive... just now and then he becomes...he seems to sense something is wrong, he becomes a bit more affectionate and then he becomes a bit more philosophical, you know like he says...his thinking is beyond what a child thinks.

She goes on to cite instances where, as a preschooler, her son had detected unhappiness and illness that was not obvious both in family members and strangers. She also described his sensitive response to these situations.

A kuia talks about her grandson:

> One of my moko has a great awareness for the spiritual side of life. We had a happening here. It wasn't a ghostly mystery or anything. It was the way he actually reacted to the situation. I didn't pick it up immediately but I can only feel with him, that he is aware of certain things and that's the only way that I can pick that up but how that will develop, I don't know. But that is one you just leave to develop on its own, do absolutely nothing about it. If something happens you actually tender that one with love, that one in particular, love is a very helpful element to help that child along, that's how I picked that up... not all the time, just at an odd time I sense it.

- You need to broaden your focus and observe children beyond the home and school. One kaumātua referred to checking out the amusement parlours for the children who were experts at the "spacies games."

- Sometimes you need to look "beyond" a child's behaviour. A teacher gave the example of one of the school's "problem children" writing a beautiful poem and then not having it acknowledged because "his behaviour overruled everything else. So that kid just lost interest, screwed it up and threw it away."

- You need to focus on rate of progress rather than the achievement itself. A number of people made the point that Māori CWSA are:

> not standing out because we are so far behind the starting mark. They need to be up there where we can see them but we are not even in the race yet!

> The rate of progress on a particular project may be really excellent but if they started from behind in the first place they won't stand out. You need to look for the rate of progress not just where they are now.

PRODUCTS

These were mentioned as indicators of a child's talent eg. a kai ako mentioned the colours and imagination evident in a kōhanga child's art work. However another participant remarked that it should not just be the product that is judged but also the vision, understanding, motivation and purpose **behind** the product. To gauge such things the particular product would need to be thoroughly discussed with the child.

TESTS

Only one person mentioned test scores as an indicator of a person's ability. The fact that this participant is still at secondary school and very involved in the formal exam scene, may have been an influencing factor.

A different sort of test was also mentioned as an indicator of ability by two people. This involved a personal "proving" of one's interest and intentions:

> I had also been tested to see because you know they fed me information and they'll see what I'd do with it before they make a decision to feed me more.

"A GIFT"

One participant referred to certain people having the "gift" of being able to predict future talents in babies. He tells the story of his mother singling out one baby amongst her mokopuna as the one who would be "the chief." Now a young man, this boy has leadership ability as well as being very talented in sporting and academic areas.

4.16 How can Māori CWSA be Helped to Develop Their Talents at Home?

Many suggestions were given. The majority mentioned the following:

- **Encourage and support children in their particular talent.**

A range of ways to do this were suggested. They included acknowledging skills and talents, being interested in and praising efforts, giving attention and spending quality time with children, where able sharing knowledge, helping with school work and setting extension activities, in sport, coaching and practising with them, attending games or performances, celebrating achievements, making them practise, reading, talking and singing to young children, encouraging discussion and freedom of expression in the home, providing opportunities to feel "special" and very importantly, valuing children's special abilities.

In answer to the question, what can families do to develop their children's talents? one mother told the story of her own son:

> Well firstly they've got to recognise them [special abilities] and then value them. If they recognise them but don't really think about it, then it's as good as lost. They recognise them and share with the child that special thing and then value it... Matu has always been a boy who has marched to the beat of his own drum or to some other drummer and I've never been in sync, because maybe, I don't know what it is but when he was little he had an imaginary friend. I took him to Rudolf Steiner kindy and the kindergarten teacher wanted to come out and visit, so he comes out and visits. Matu says, "I've got a friend, do you want to meet my Uncle Bob?" and I said,"he's just imaginary" and both Con, the teacher, and Matu said, "No, he's not, he's real!" Now this teacher recognised this eccentricity of Matu's and ran with it and obviously developed that imagination... His thoughts are always different, always embarrassing to me being a conservative sort. Now if I had been willing to lose that

conformity thing and really listened to him, found out where he was coming from and what were his thoughts rather than dismissing his reasoning behind things, then I may have been able to develop it even further but for some reason, probably because of my own selfish ways or business or something, he's had to manage on his own. His thinking was never logical as far as I was concerned but he is a lateral thinker, thinking over there and even now I say he's a bit eccentric but really it is creativity, it's a wonderful gift... I didn't have enough patience with him. When he said, I want to do it my way, if he left a few crumbs on the table it wasn't good enough, you know what I mean and I didn't stop to say, "OK Matu, do it your way as long as this is this." So he's been fighting me all this time because I do things my way whereas if I had just been patient and let him do things his way or even worked out a way of doing it right for him, then we wouldn't be always locking horns but I became impatient, he's the result of my impatience.

- **If possible provide the extra resources and lessons needed.**

The following were mentioned: extra sports coaching and music lessons, sports equipment and musical instruments, extra food, books, computers and ETV programmes.

- **Have high aspirations for children, raise their expectations, motivate and help them to set and achieve goals.**

This was a very common theme in the interviews:

> You must have insight, foresight and aspirations - you must have them for your children and if you have got them, you must think how they can reach those aspirations, so you have got to be a conscious party to your children's education. You are providing something for them to reach for, so they are not just drifting.

One participant drew a parallel to what happened in the past:

> I know today a lot of people, and I include myself in that, are actually saying that we should be more directive of our children in terms of what they do. That is how it occurred in days gone by, children were chosen through a process of observation of their behaviour as to what they would eventually do.

However a warning was given by a number of participants:

> Children have this pressure put on to them to achieve...there have been suicides of Māori people because of the expectations, that is one of the bad things so I think we have to acknowledge the pressures that come with expectation. One way of getting around that or dealing with that is also to teach children not to be afraid of failure, where they turn failures into positive things. As long as you have tried the best you can, if you don't succeed in terms of whoever is marking, then you use that to say, OK, well I know I have to pull my socks up and do better or that's the best I can do.
>
> If you can say to them, even if you don't make it you'll still learn something useful and gain some experience from having tries but some will say, oh well you're just a flop, which is the wrong thing...those sort of words stay with you for a long time, unconsciously they stay with you. So I think parents have to be careful of what they say, it's the power of words!

Goals must be realistic and expectations must not be set so high that the children can't meet them or that they jeopardise their enjoyment of school.

- **Parents should become better educated themselves to enable them to help and support their children.**

This was usually mentioned in respect to learning the Māori language so that parents could talk to their children in Māori at home. This was a particular concern for children attending kōhanga reo. A number of participants also mentioned that parents must work on building up their own self-esteem in order to recognise and nurture their talented youngsters.

- **Provide and make children aware of good role models.**

One participant felt particularly strongly about this. He explains how he puts it into practise with his own sons:

> It's just affirming who you are...using images of successful Ngati Porou people like Apirana Ngata and Whaea McClutchie who are the successful images they can whakapapa into. It's not just any Māori, it's a particular one you can genealogically relate to. I think that is really, really important. So in terms of soccer we use Heremia Ngata, Pat's son, Sean Fallen, whose mother is from Tikitiki, Winton Rufer, whose mother is a Campbell from Waipiro Bay. So I say to Tama "Hey, look, three professional Ngāti Porou soccer players, one of them absolutely famous." It's the creation of images, knowing that you have within you, or within your own genealogy, that you have role models that you can say, hey, that's a cuzzy! Te Ra is very interested, he wants to find out exactly how Heremia is related to us. I've got to work that out. I know he is but in the meantime, doesn't matter boy, I say, whether he is a first or second cousin, he's a cousin. We will work it out and I will show you, so it is the modelling thing. You can then say, you are me, your success is my success, it's that sort of thing.

It must be added that this participant has two sons who are exceptionally talented at soccer!

- **Support and become involved in preschool and school activities.**

This includes showing an active interest in what the child is doing at preschool/school through regular discussions of programmes and progress

with teachers, principal, kai ako and the child. Seek advice from teachers and kai ako about ways of extending abilities at home. When starting preschool, school or college, check out all possible institutions and choose the one/s which provide the best educational opportunities for children. Look carefully at the Māori programmes each offers. Provide a whānau support group to tautoko students within institutions and when moving from one to another.

- **Develop and use strong whānau and community networks to support and encourage talented children.**

One participant who has achieved considerable academic success attributes part of her success to the strong network of Māori women that existed in the community where she grew up. She reported that they pushed and supported their children through their education. However she lamented that, with the advent of small, nuclear families, this collective responsibility of the past has died away.

- **Provide children with a variety of experiences, challenges and opportunities to participate in a range of activities**

eg. many different sports. Watch for particular skills and interests and encourage these. Give children the time and space to develop their special abilities. Get children involved in after school clubs. Find out about extension activities such as holiday dance, drama and art classes and get children involved.

- **Encourage and assist children in developing their Māoritanga so that they will have a pride in their cultural identity, confidence and a sound basis for future growth.**

4.17 How can Māori CWSA be helped to Develop Their Talents at School?

Many suggestions were made about how Māori CWSA could be helped to develop their talents at school. Also various programmes, activities and teaching strategies were described as being successful with talented Māori children.

When this data was combined, nine main areas of concern emerged. These are presented below with a discussion of the related suggestions. They are in order of frequency and unless otherwise qualified, the word "teacher" refers to people in the preschool, primary and secondary services.

1. EDUCATION SHOULD BE CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE AND CHALLENGING.

A myriad of suggestions were made in this area. They include the provision of extra tuition and extension work, extra training in sport and increased opportunities for outside competition, giving children the time and resources to follow their particular interests and develop their strengths, allowing them to sit School Certificate subjects before 5th form, acceleration to higher classes and extension via correspondence school and university courses.

Speaking specifically of appropriate teaching methods and approaches, participants mentioned co-operative, group, holistic, active and experiential teaching and learning, the use of humour and music to make learning exciting and fun, emphasizing process not content, teaching scientific analysis and independent learning skills so that children are not dependent on teachers. The sharing of knowledge amongst peers should be encouraged and not viewed as "cheating." Bright children could tautoko their friends in a peer tutoring system. Whānau grouping was frequently supported although one participant advocated ability grouping to cater for children's strengths and weaknesses.

One participant described a research project he had been involved in while on a year long Māori language course:

> Last year I was looking at learning styles as a topic and it is interesting, with a lot of Māori children the learning style that they favour is the opposite to what is offered in school programmes, so in actual fact the school situation is not going to bring the best out of them. The study basically involved us in doing a lot of tests. Māori kids tended to favour the holistic approach rather than isolating certain skills...In the tests we did, the Māori learning style came out as field-dependent ...Studies show that the curriculum doesn't really cater for those sort of kids, it's the field-independent kids that succeed and it's not just being able to isolate things. There's a whole lot of other activities, they are more group orientated whereas field-independents are more individual, they can work on their own. Field-dependents prefer to work with others, they can generate their ideas from listening to others, you know it's those sort of things.

Learning should be made relevant and interesting to the children. One participant commented:

> One of the interesting things I find in terms of Māori people you get a lot of, you listen to some of the people giving whaikōrero and reciting genealogy, they can recite pages of the stuff and they would probably not have gone past fourth form at school. They would have been a failure in the white western system and yet the ability to retain knowledge and regurgitate it is amazing and yet they failed at school. So someone has deemed them failures where somebody else has deemed them successes and talented. So it goes back to what you value and how talent is nurtured and what people are really interested in, because if you are not interested in something, you won't learn it, but if what you are interested in is nurtured and encouraged then certainly you'll learn it.

One person suggested learning be made more relevant to children by relating it to the real world. She described a Māori language enhancement programme that took children out of the classroom and taught them to "change tyres in Māori." Another person supported this active learning philosophy but added that children must also be given time to dream:

> Often people are criticised for dreaming and people will say, "He's a bloody dreamer!" as being negative. Realities are created out of dreams and I think everybody should be encouraged to dream because you work your imagination that way and I think a lot of Māori kids are tremendous dreamers.

In the discussion of extension programmes the point was made by many people that these programmes must not isolate Māori CWSA. A number of examples of this happening were cited:

> Te Aomarama, one of our girls, a very Pākehā looking girl, went on a science course with all the able kids from each primary school and we thought she'd do very well. She pulled out. She didn't like the learning environment, she couldn't get on with the children, they wouldn't try to say her name, so she was asked by the teacher to revert back to a Pākehā name. When they went to an overnight camp, they were expected to get up and get their own breakfast, well she doesn't do that sort of thing. She just felt she didn't know the place, she didn't feel comfortable going to a strange place and going helping yourself. She's quite a capable kid, she could help herself if she felt comfortable. She didn't know anyone. I felt terrible when I realised what I'd done that I'd sent her there on her own. She had no one to play with or be with during intermission she told me. If we send someone next time, we are going to send two girls or two boys otherwise we are not interested... at least a friend. There's time outside the learning time when they need to have a friend with them and that gives them confidence to mix with other people. During playtime, that can be a very rough time for children on their own, and she found she just hated it and I felt bad that I put her in that situation. I learnt from her experience.

Extension programmes should be offered in Māori as well as other subjects and be flexible enough to take advantage of serendipitous learning experiences. One participant made the point that these programmes should be part and parcel of the curriculum and not be viewed as "special" or a privilege. They could also involve community service in some way. Another participant noted that individual differences could be catered for in a group context.

> What I think is occurring is that we are not actually creating the environments [for people to realise their potential], that we have one environment and we expect everybody to excel. This might be that we need individualised programmes for talent development... This might seem a contradiction having said what I said earlier [that Māori children should not be isolated in extension programmes...] but you can have an individualised programme for a group of five kids. They all work together on their own programme but they actually support each other so it's a group activity with each reaching their potential within the context of the group, so it's not in isolation.

2. A GOOD CHILD-TEACHER RELATIONSHIP IS ESSENTIAL

Teachers should develop this relationship by being positive, encouraging and valuing of children and their culture. Plenty of one-to-one, quality communication, praise, positive reinforcement and freedom of expression was recommended. Teachers should be committed and knowledgeable role models. When considering classroom placements, the personalities of children and teachers need to be matched as well as their learning and teaching styles.

The power of teacher expectation was acknowledged and poor performance was often related to lower expectations for Māori children. On the other hand one very able participant related the story of how high teacher expectation and positive reinforcement contributed to her success at school:

I think that if a child feels special with that teacher, then she can draw out lots of things from the child, but if the child feels that he is not special then he'll just keep it in, it won't exhibit itself. Often kids need this drawing out, you know, "this person thinks I'm special!" I remember when I was little, when I was at primary, different teachers developed my self esteem. I had long hair and always wore it in plaits... there was one teacher who used to flip my pigtail and smile at the same time. I looked up to him and I thought, "this chap likes me, this teacher thinks I'm neat," so I thought I was neat. This other teacher on my report wrote "cooperative." I looked at that and thought, gosh that's a big, long word, it must mean that I am brainy, I'm brainy! That was in the primers, so that false thing improved my self-esteem so that I had this self-image of being brainy, people liked me, so that motivated me to do better and better. That was Mr. P. and then there was this chap called Mr. L. who told me that I was good at maths and that I would go into a top stream class to learn new maths. Now he would have just plucked me out because looking at my reports they were all average, hardly anything excellent, so he would have just plucked me out. So I was eager to accept anything people told me, I'm great at maths, well I loved it because I thought I was good at it and I became good at it. [It just shows you the power of positive reinforcement doesn't it?] Power, yes and yet it could have all been destroyed in one thing. As fate would have it I just about got the strap. I was standing by the teacher's desk and I was just about strapped but I was saved by the bell but if he would have strapped me, because it was such a delicate balance, then I would have convinced myself that I was a bad girl because I got the strap, I don't know how strong my esteem would have been then, but I was saved once again and went through school with that positive feeling.

3. THE CHILD'S EDUCATION SHOULD BUILD ON A STRONG FOUNDATION OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRIDE.

It was emphasised that to do really well at school the Māori child needed to have good self-esteem and feel confident in his/her culture. The success of kōhanga and kura kaupapa children was cited as evidence of this. Four people also mentioned that chinese children do well at school because they are secure and confident in their cultural identity. One participant describes her choice of a person with special abilities:

> I really respect and admire this girl at school. She's called Jenny Piki, from Tuhoe. I admire her Māori culture and the way she speaks, her language. From what I have heard about her, when she was in third form her self-esteem wasn't that high and now in fifth form she's the school kaea. She came third in the Korimako speeches, she's gained heaps [from her Māori culture] since she was in third form.

Suggestions included school-wide Māori tikanga and reo programmes introduced right from the beginning of children's education so it is seen as part of their natural environment, Māori content included in all subjects and Māori extension programmes for the brightest children. It must be noted that the Māori content mentioned did not just refer to traditional knowledge but also simple, everyday things. As one person explained:

> If every Māori kid today could identify puha then that is fantastic. If you can say, "Do you know what puha looks like? Can you go and get me some? Magnificent!" Again it's what they can do. Now who talks about the recognition of puha as a wonderful thing to have and yet you can live on that, you can eat that, it sustains you and then you get the puha and you can say, "See that white thing coming out, what's it made of? Gee it's not just puha, it's some chemical makeup of puha" and it can lead on. I remember when I was working in Parihau, we used to ask kids what they had for breakfast and they would lie. They would talk about bloody

> pavlova, sponges and cream and that was all bullshit. Samoan kids, Māori kids, instead of saying they had the boil up from the night before! They didn't think it was acceptable to say that. It's actually valuing the things they do in their lives and talk about that.

4= THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT MUST BE WARM, FRIENDLY AND FLEXIBLE.

Children's talents will surface and grow in an environment that is positive and accepting. Creativity should be encouraged and "no put downs" be the rule. The environment should be success-orientated, focusing on what children can do rather than what they can't. Strengths should be used to develop weaknesses. One person used the analogy of darning a sock. Too often the hole is focused on:

> If you got a needle you could spend the rest of your life poking a needle with a thread on in the hole in the sock and you'd never darn it. But if you actually looked at the strong part of the sock and started the darning from there, which is where we should start from, then you would patch up the weak part which is the hole.

There was strong support for involving children more actively in their education by giving them more control of their own learning. However it must be added that two participants were against this. They believed such ideas sounded good in theory but in practice, Māori children needed firm discipline, guidance and structure in their schooling.

Mention was also made of taking teaching out of the classroom. The learning time-table and environment should be flexible and utilise all areas of the school, the community, the beach, the marae etc.

> Sometimes it's not the content of the programme at fault but the working environment. Children need more exposure to the field where their talent lies, for instance working on the marae with an expert in whaikōrero or total immersion courses on the marae.

Talking of developing a community spirit one person remarked:

> You know they can go on these noho maraes but that's not good enough you know, they go there one night and then that's it, yeah, I've done that noho thing! But it's actually going down there as a group and being appreciated as well as being involved in different activities like helping kaumātua or even helping young families, mothers with young kids who aren't that mobile much, just help them, go out and offer to do something.

One person spoke out strongly against grading in school saying it fostered competition, negativity and an unco-operative attitude amongst children.

4= HOME-SCHOOL/PRESCHOOL CO-OPERATION IS ESSENTIAL.

There should be regular consultation and communication with parents and whānau. Children's abilities should be discussed and a combined effort be made to nurture them. Teachers should advise whānau on ways to extend their children at home. They should be notified about after-school and holiday extension classes, programmes, coaching, camps etc. and encouraged to send their children along. Where necessary, funding sources should be sought to enable attendance and purchase of necessary equipment and resources. Parents should be involved in decision making. As one person explained:

> I definitely think that for a start for Māori children, Māori people have to be involved in the decision-making about what is going to happen to those children because when they're not, it doesn't matter how good it is, they'll never feel part of it and for it to be successful, Māori people, they have to feel a part of it.

Kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa were both cited as good examples of whānau involvement.

6. A BROAD CURRICULUM IS ESSENTIAL.

The curriculum should be broadened from its academic focus to cater for the "whole person." Specifically mentioned were social, life and people skills, confidence, motivation, self-esteem-raising and team-building activities, leadership training and leisure skills such as fishing and gardening. Spirituality and caring should be acknowledged, encouraged and valued. Māori boarding schools in particular were criticised for their limited subject choice.

Particular emphasis was placed on teaching goal setting techniques, encouraging children to set goals and then monitoring progress towards them. Teachers should extend children's horizons and aspirations for the future by showing them a variety of employment possibilities. By raising expectations, tertiary training will be seen as a natural step in the education of able Māori children.

7. TEACHERS NEED TO BE BETTER TRAINED TO CATER FOR MĀORI CHILDREN IN GENERAL AND MĀORI CWSA IN PARTICULAR.

A major issue was the provision of adequately trained teachers at all levels of education. Specific mention was made of extending teachers knowledge about Māori CWSA so that they would be able to recognise and cater for them appropriately. Teachers should also increase their knowledge of Māoritanga in general and learn about teaching methods particularly appropriate to Māori children. The inadequate training of kai ako in kōhanga reo was a concern for a number of people. It was believed that bright children were not being extended because the kai ako in many kōhanga were untrained.

Another concern was the scarcity of proficient Māori language teachers. Children were being provided with poor reo models, poor language teaching techniques and inadequate opportunities to extend their reo. Frequently

children with ability in the Māori language were more knowledgeable than their teachers in this area and were just wasting their time in Māori classes. Kuia attached to kōhanga could be excellent role models in te reo but were often spending too much time in the kitchen rather than being actively involved with the tamariki.

8. OUTSIDE EXPERTISE SHOULD BE UTILISED.

Where teachers are lacking in particular skills, they should look for outside help. This was mentioned most often in relation to expertise in the Māori language but developing a network of mentors in other subjects was also mentioned. When mentors, coaches and other outsiders were used, it was stressed that they should be well suited to the job. Having the necessary knowledge is not enough. They must also be able to relate well to the children, be culturally sensitive and employ teaching methods that fit the children's learning styles. Children should be exposed to good Māori role models. One participant suggested:

> We have got a lot of talented Māori people in a lot of areas. If we could access those people and set up workshops for children who are even showing an inkling of skill or ability in something and see how the right people with the right skills can pull that out of them.

9. SCHOOLS AND PRESCHOOLS MUST TO BE WELL RESOURCED.

It was pointed out that bright children in poorer schools or kōhanga could be disadvantaged because of limited resources. Children in kura kaupapa and bilingual units were seen to be at greatest risk because of the scarcity of Māori language resources. Other points mentioned were the need for extra funding in schools to buy computers and the general desirability of smaller class numbers.

4.18 Successful and Unsuccessful Programmes and Practices

As previously explained much of the data from question 6 in the Interview Schedule has been incorporated in the discussion above. However a few stories remain to be told in this section.

There were relatively few examples cited of specific programmes that were "good" or "bad" but a number mentioned particular practices or techniques they knew about that were either beneficial or unhelpful.

Parents told stories of their own whānau losing interest and giving up in subjects in which they showed promise because of poor teaching methods, disinterested teachers or programmes that isolated them from their peers.

Speaking of an extension programme a whānau member opted out of, one participant said:

> If she doesn't like it she won't learn, she'll want to go somewhere else. So the idea should have been to put the extension programme into the environment where the kid was and not take the kid out of the environment where she is comfortable, into an environment where she is uncomfortable...so why isn't it done? It gets back to a perception thing that people have of the whānau class - well that's only Māoris anyway, they're like that, they like a lot of fun but not very bright. But then you get this odd one and she's very bright, so you bring her out, you bring the bright ones out see, and you put her in this other one and then, oh she wasn't as bright as we thought, so you put her back there so she can have fun...If you are really special, then you can come into this special class for special abilities, by implication those ones in that whānau class aren't special and that is a contradiction as to what the education theory is supposed to be about, everybody is supposed to be special... If she stuck in the class, what cost would there be in terms of how she would perceive the one she came from? Is it worth paying the cost? and how do

> those kids in the whānau class see her and in seeing her, how do they see themselves? Like she's gone over there with all the bright ones and we're here, so we can't be bright, so those are all the unspoken messages.

On the other hand individual success stories were also related. There was the creche that picked up a son's sensitivity towards other people's feelings and developed this through positive reinforcement and the Tu Tauira programme that developed goal setting and communication skills in another boy. This latter programme was seen to work because it taught Māori children in a group context.

Also cited were class programmes that were judged as being successful for all Māori children. There was a college Māori class where the positive attitude and teaching methods of the teacher have resulted in raised self-esteem and performances of high standard not only in Māori but in other curriculum subjects. Others cited were a successful Steps and Māori enhancement programme, both of which were achieving pleasing results with their students. Much of the credit was attributed to them being whānau-based and holistic in their approach.

However, the programme that was cited most often was that being offered by various kura kaupapa Māori. The research sample included a teacher, parents, kaumātua and supporters from three different kura kaupapa and they were all loud in their praise of this form of teaching. Apart from the children's ability in te reo, the benefits that were mentioned most often were the tremendous confidence and love of learning instilled in the children. An insight into their methods can be seen from the following two quotes:

> They're not your usual school. Their kids are very confident, the whole lot of them. I've seen some kids go in there that lack a lot of confidence and they get it. They dont grade them. They put them in groups and get them to think together, to work out a solution together. They do a lot of things together. I've seen them do taiaha, all that side. Hata goes right back to

the old ways of doing things. There's just something there that is really, really different. They don't stick to a curriculum. They have overnight stays and sometimes they get up at 2 or 3 in the morning to learn old, old waiata. They do eeling at 8 o'clock at night. When the other kids are in bed these kids are up the creek eeling, watching the stars that's their nature programme. They actually get out there and do things, a lot of experience learning. Last year their thing was life skills, take them out to the river and set nets and catch their fish, they'd be up the bush doing this and that. I wouldn't say that this was the magic solution for everything but it is something different that seems to be working for these kids. They do do things like maths and social studies but it is all in Māori. They don't get a book and pencil out and look into another book for social studies, you go out and do it. For science they go out and they get their ngangara and their pūngāwerewere. They're looking in the bush and they're digging this up and that's how they do it, it's all that type of thing and the kids just seem to love it. The only bad thing is that there is not a lot of kids to play with, like if you want to have a game of rugby because they are a small school, that's hard.

They have a Māori perspective of looking at their curriculum. The parents all really encourage and in some cases they're obligated to have a say in what their children are learning, and so it's programmes that are being designed by Māori for their children that are relevant to them. I think things like trying to follow a more Māori year, in terms of the calendar. I like the idea that they've done which is wipe out what the curriculum says, and think what were our tīpuna doing at those times of the year?.. Oh they were planting here or going to get fish cause they were running at the mouth of the river! They thought, well those are the things that are important to us that we want our kids to learn. They can still learn about maths, reading. This would be the idea. I'm sure they are still going through hiccups but I like those concepts. I remember when we were looking at one month, the curriculum had said that it was something like fibres. In terms of looking at it from a Māori perspective we would

think flax, kiekie, we wanted the children to do that first. It just couldn't happen at that time of the year as the curriculum suggested, so we all sat down and thought what was happening in Manawatu at this time of year? Oh yeah, the eels are running, let's go eeling, too bad about the fibres!... I really like that idea because I think that the Pākehā system hasn't been working for us for many years and now ideas are coming from the whānau and what I've seen is that parents are much more likely to say... my husband makes the hinaki or I can eel... and so they are much more likely to get involved because it's relevant to them. When I see all of those children, they always seem really happy and can't wait to go to school tomorrow. That's what I want for my children.

4.19 Other Opinions and Issues

While interviews were centred around the six questions in the Interview Schedule, participants were invited to add or emphasise any opinions and concerns they had in respect to the research topic. The following subjects were raised.

4.20 All Children are Special

A belief that was mentioned by approximately a third of the sample was that all children are special. The analysis of the kōrero surrounding this belief showed two strands of thinking:

- Firstly, there were those who believed that all children had some type of special ability and it was just a matter of discovering what that ability was. Sometimes these abilities were never developed because parents did not take the time and effort to look for and nurture them. Other times it was the school's fault for focusing on and valuing particular abilities to the exclusion of others. One kaumātua explains:

> All people have got the brains, all people are clever, gifted... they've got their own talents if only we stop and find out what those talents are. It's like me, I never got on well at school, I didn't get anywhere but I have my little talents. There's no dumb children, they're all brain boxes to me, it's just how those brains are taught.

He goes on to praise a practice at the kura kaupapa where he is kaumātua:

> At the end of the year they have these prize-givings. Each child is given a taonga and it maybe a stone in a basket but the taonga is that child's mauri and he is given that gift for something that is, maybe in the playground he picks up the little kids and maybe mothers them or fathers them, whatever, this is where the aroha is coming in. He might be a great lover of people. Another one might be good to the old people, to take them around, help them, give them a cuddle... Every child is gifted and they focus on that gift. It's just natural. It's like waiata. The girls, they do the waiata and there is one or two of them that are really gifted at it.

- Secondly, there was the school of thought that believed all children are special not because of any particular talent they have, but because they are people and all people are special, have mana and mauri. Participants with this belief had difficulty with the word "special" in the special needs and special abilities labels. They felt that it implied other children were not special and this went against Māori values.

Related to this idea was an opinion expressed by a number of participants. They believed there was a feeling amongst many Māori that they were all dumb. It was thought that this low racial self-esteem had emerged as a result of the colonisation process Māori had been subject to and that it was vital this belief be changed. The message they gave was that Māori came from very talented stock. This was reflected in their migration and adaptation to the environment in Aotearoa, in their legends ("how did Maui know the North Island was shaped like a fish?") and in their art, craft and waiata. Participants

felt that, for the sake of Māori children in general and Māori CWSA in particular, this message had to be disseminated:

> In the end I think all Māori kids are talented. What actually has to happen is that we as a people, have to start believing that. Māori parents also have to stop thinking that they themselves are dumb and as a result of them being dumb, give the message to their kids that they are dumb!

4.21 The Influence of Whakapapa and the Environment

In the discussion of a Māori concept of special abilities, the influence of whakapapa and the environment was mentioned by a number of people. One aspect was that of hapū traits:

> You find, say within Ngāti Porou, that there are certain hapū who are very good at carving, that's what they are known for. There are other people who are the song birds. The people from Tariwhangamata, from Taurima... they are the composers, the wonderful voices... Our extended whānau we are wonderful givers of food, growers of food and very generous. One of the things mum always taught us and we got it off our grandmother too, was to share what you had with the less fortunate and I think that was recognised by people like Rod. A lot of people's houses got burgled round where we were, but not our place. I think that way back in his mind he knew the people that helped him when they were kids.

Talking of the same phenomenon, another person explained it by the nurturing and opportunities offered:

> Particularly say with the Ramas, the opportunities to learn tauparapara would be a lot greater for them than if you were from another whānau not working along those lines.

Another person put it down to both whakapapa and socialization but added, "I think we tend to undervalue the whole aspect of genetics and the influence that has."

The environment was seen by one participant as having a somewhat different influence. He explains:

> There are certain families from the Taurima area who, when they are in Taurima, will be very, very calm people, very mild. Now those people could go to Wharetapai, the same people and they become very aggressive... I think it is different expectations but it is also the nature of the land and the type of life they lived in that particular place that will affect their behaviour.

4.22 Group Ownership of Special Abilities

Another belief mentioned by some people was that of group rather than individual ownership of a person's special abilities. This could be in the sense of hapū traits as discussed above or it could be in the acknowledgement of the contribution others played in nurturing or enabling talents to develop. One person pointed out that the "self-made man" belief did not fit into Māori philosophy. While individual effort was applauded especially if this involved battling against adversity, individuals themselves were viewed within the context of their whānau. People were conceived, raised and their abilities recognised and nurtured by others. It was added that often personal sacrifices

had to be made. Siblings had to stay home to help with milking to enable the brightest family member to go off to boarding school. As one participant put it:

> The talent in a person is the talent you see encapsulated in that individual, but it is a talent that belongs to the group and that's the difference. It's just the perception, how you actually view the thing.

4.23 Service to Others

Linked closely to the idea of the group contribution to individual talent development, is the idea of service to others. As one person put it,"That's the whole idea of reciprocity, the idea of koha. You know that everything goes round comes round." This idea was repeated time and again in people's own experiences of life and in their expectations of others. A Māori artist mentioned the obligation to share artistic talents with younger Māori. He said that this was not something that was stated but rather an obligation that was felt by most Māori artists he knew. It was an obligation that, when acted upon, raised the mana of the artist in the eyes of other Māori.

A welfare worker mentioned:

> I've been told that you also have a payback time too. I know that when I went through university someone said, "When are you going to go back and do something for your iwi?" It was the furtherest thing from my mind because I thought, what did my iwi ever do for me? I know there was land grants for tertiary education, that's fine but they didn't help me with jobs, I had to do that myself but I know there is going to be a pay back time. The work I am doing now is for Māori people but it's not my own, not Ngāti Porou.

While a third person stated:

> One thing that I really detested when I was at school, was that it was definitely viewed as a win-lose situation. The losers were just left behind and that is too bad. I'm not really into competition. Gifted Māori children need to be taught that part of the responsibility that comes with being more confident than others is that you'll share that to help others to get those skills. I don't see being a gifted Māori as the same as being a gifted Pākehā. Usually from what I can tell, if you're a gifted Pākehā you just go for it, get all the goodies you can and too bad about Rangi Smith next door. I'd hate to see Pākehā encourage our children into being the same. They definitely need to know... you've got a special ability and because of that, some of the responsibility is that you share that.

Two final aspects of this belief in service to others need mentioning. One person stated that if you don't share your talents, you would lose them, not in the sense of them being taken away from you but:

> If you share, they go through other people and so it transcends time and keeps going, but if you keep it all to yourself, that's where it is going to stay and once you're gone, it will probably go after a while as well.

A second person justified his belief in providing more direction for Māori CWSA in their career choice. He spoke of people being chosen and groomed in traditional times to meet a perceived hapū or tribal need. The example given was Apirana Ngata.

> I think we should actually go back to that in terms of more conscious choices rather than the freedom of the individual to choose. You know I think we've got away from the benefits to the group because if the group benefits, individuals in the group benefit.

4.24 Peer Pressure

The issue of peer pressure in relation to Māori CWSA was discussed by many participants. Their experiences spanned three generations and were in a variety of schools - urban, rural, boarding, day, entirely Māori to predominantly Pākehā. There were stories of peer pressure not to excel and stories where peer pressure was not an issue. There were individuals who succumbed and others who were unaffected. However, there were two common experiences:

- It was much more acceptable to be outstanding in the areas of sport, music and art:

  In sports I think it is quite different. When I was at school, there were a couple of guys in the class who were good runners and they were always encouraged whenever they were on the track. They knew they were good and that was OK. They weren't rubbished at the sports level and the kids who could sing and play the guitar, they weren't rubbished for that.

  In Kaitiaki, there was peer pressure on the kids not to achieve in certain areas. It's interesting the art area is a neutral area. It's mainly, I think, because nothing is right and nothing is wrong, sort of thing. It's an easy area where kids can actually work at their own level comfortably.

- Māori CWSA were very willing to share their knowledge if asked. Stories were related of able children helping their peers in a range of areas. The following quote is typical:

  A Māori boarding school is more whānau orientated. It's competitive to a degree, but it is not competitive to the detriment of somebody else. At a Pākehā boarding school you are competitive for yourself, well that is what I have found the difference is, that is probably why everything is based on individualistic goal setting not a whānau-type approach to looking at things. When I went, girls that were in our class, that were really quite bright, they were into helping the ones who wanted to improve and get

> that pass mark. Like in biology I really wanted to get that pass in S.C. The girl who ended up being dux of the school offered to help me. She was there to offer her help and support to the others who wanted to do the study. She was sharing what she had to help the rest of us which is something I reckon you wouldn't get in a Pākehā boarding school, I want to be the best and I'm going for it myself. That's what I reckon is the big difference and I think that has more to do with the cultural thing, not the academic thing, that's our cultural background. She helped me pass biology. I wouldn't have done it if it wasn't for her. There was about four of us and she took us away for an extra bit of study.

Peer pressure not to succeed was more of an issue in predominantly Pākehā schools. A sizable number of the participants had attended Māori boarding schools or predominantly Māori schools and peer pressure not to succeed did not appear to be a major issue. There were stories of individual and group "jealousies" but in only one case, was this reported to have affected the behaviour of the child in question. However all the stories of able children in predominantly Pākehā schools, involved them adapting their behaviour in some way to maintain acceptance. This could involve "dropping down," "being bad" or asserting their Māoriness as this participant explained:

> Because of that streaming I could never have the same relationship with other Māori that I would of, if I was in just any old class. I think it is because of that competitive win-lose thing. I was a winner and the rest weren't, that's all there was to it and so I was just never going to be able to be with losers cause that's the way the school was. I remember my friend and I, that were in the top class or brainy class, just used to hang around together... I think there was animosity from other Māori and I wouldn't even call it jealousy. It could of been seen as envy but I don't think it was. I think it was more.."oh, go on then, go on and be with all the brainy Pākehā then!" It was more of a selling out mentality and I had to work really hard for it not to be. I became really active in the Māori club and sports, all the things the Māori were doing... I saw other Māori

> kids who went to school with me, who have gone on to be lawyers whatever, really like brilliantly regurgitating whatever was in school, who either weren't sporty or weren't into the Māori club, who were just totally alienated by the Māori kids cause they just couldn't fit in there and didn't really fit in with the Pākehā either. I don't think I ever felt that people didn't want me to succeed. I think it was more of a... we hate you cause we wish we could!

Four reasons were given for children being unaffected by peer pressure not to succeed:

- Firstly, these children had high self-esteem and strong cultural identity.
- Secondly, they were Pākehā orientated, often looked Pākehā or had Pākehā friends who were achievers.
- Thirdly, they were in warm, accepting classes with teachers who valued them and their Māoriness.
- Fourthly, they were good at sport.

4.25 Tribal Difference

While no one knew of any specific tribal differences in the area of special abilities, some people mentioned that it was possible differences could exist.

4.26 Whakamā

This concept was mentioned by a number of participants, most often in reference to parents not asking after or voicing concern about their children's education. Shyness was put down to lack of confidence in the school situation, fear of making a fool of themselves or bad memories of their own school days:

> I'm going back to how I saw a school teacher or principal, looking up at him and the way he talks and the way he produces in the committee meeting, I'm the boss, I tell you where to go. So you just freak out, you

> just don't say anything. I should be saying, "this is my child and I want you to teach this way, that's what we pay you for!"

Shyness was not always the reason parents did not approach teachers with their concerns. Two parents told stories of approaching teachers, being told their concerns would be looked into and then nothing being done. This lead to the attitude of, "What's the use!"

A few participants mentioned shyness amongst Māori children. The opinions expressed ranged from the belief that it hindered the progress of CWSA to:

> I don't think Māori children are shy actually. You watch them in the playground, they are actors...real busy bodies. They are creative, they have this sort of particular flair about them. They might be cautious, they are sussing you out and they mightn't say anything... I think that whole thing of they don't do well because they are whakamā is bullshit. I absolutely reject that. I don't believe that. I think that has been a ploy to put the responsibility for Māori failure on Māori kids cause it's something that is innately in them, so that's kind of a genetic fault somewhere and I absolutely reject that!

4.27 Disadvantages of Having Special Abilities

A number of people mentioned disadvantages of having special abilities. These were real and imagined pressure to perform and achieve, a curtailment of personal choice because of whānau or tribal expectations and criticism levelled at visionaries and people who stood up for their convictions against opposition.

Two people mentioned that the Māori concept of aroha-ki-te-tāngata could be a disadvantage to the achievement of talented Māori in a Pākehā world. A kaumātua explains:

Success is to be a real rangatira to people. Māoris are not hard enough to be individual achievers, they like to help someone who is a little bit further down. If that is what you can do, you do it without any thought, whether or not it makes you more successful or puts you up on a higher rung of the ladder or anything like that but it is āwhi tāngata and that is part of us. This other system has been created for us but most Māori don't do well in that system. They can achieve alright, they can get there but they are not into trampling all over someone to do so because once again you get this "he aha te mea nui o te Ao nei, he tāngata," and if you've got to be tramped on that is very demeaning and that is still within the genes of Māori, even though they don't understand it but it is still there especially when you get together. Even when you are in a co-ed school, because we all sort of group together, this āwhi thing is just part of you and there is no way you can push it out. In the ordinary situation, how you get over this whānau thing to try and jump over there to achieve on that side as well is pretty hard.

4.28 Rangatira and Tuakana/Teina Status

A few people discussed these concepts. It was believed that in the past there would have been greater expectations and more opportunities for people with rangatira status. However they also believed that any person with outstanding abilities and talents would be appreciated and nurtured regardless of their lineage.

There was general agreement that rangatira status does not have nearly as powerful an influence today as it did in the past. A few people noted that there was greater tribal expectation for people from certain rangatira families to succeed. However, whether they did or not depended on their ability rather than their whakapapa. One person added that, nowadays, most interested people could whakapapa into a high status ancestor somewhere along the line anyway!

People were divided in their opinions about the significance of tuakana and teina status. Some believed that in the past tuakana would have had more opportunities, others emphasised their extra responsibilities, while another believed all had opportunites to develop talent but in different ways. He viewed the tuakana/teina relationship, not as an oppressive one, but rather one that promoted learning and creativity. He explains:

> In Ngāti Porou we are a bit more pragmatic about the roles we play in terms of ones development. It's always the right and the duty of the young to challenge the old, cause how do you progress otherwise? You get stagnation if you don't get challenged, like the germination of a seed is a challenge to the earth, kind of you explode out of a seed. There is that thing about the joy Ngāti Porou people have about this concept of the teina, the younger one and I suppose that is part of the tradition that the younger ones have this particular fun in challenging older ones and the younger ones spend a lot of time learning things so they can mount a successful challenge. It's a motivational thing.

Most people who discussed this issue agreed that the tuakana/teina relationship had little influence in this day and age when it came to the development of talent and abilities. One person added that in the old days, people with knowledge might be able to choose tuakana rangatira to pass their matauranga on to, but because of it's scarcity and the urgency of it's continuance, Kaumātua could not afford to be that selective any more. Interest was suggested as the most important ingredient today.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The intention of this chapter is to discuss the data presented in the Results Chapter and relate it to the literature review and the theories underpinning this research.

5.0 Concepts of Special Abilities

It is believed that enough "kōrero" emerged from the interviews to construct a traditional and a contemporary Māori concept of special abilities. Both concepts are multifaceted and include the following components.

- BROAD AND WIDE-RANGING.

In the Introduction it was stated that the existence of people with special abilities in traditional and contemporary times was taken as given. This fact was substantiated by the long list of outstanding people nominated by participants. There was never any hesitation in suggesting names and a great deal of information about these people was collected - hundreds of pages of it! The large number and variety of people chosen is one indicator of the breadth of the concept. Special abilities are acknowledged in many walks of life and at national, iwi and whānau levels. They are not bound by social class or economic status. In the past, special abilities were found in rangatira and commoner alike, just as in the present, they can be found in Parliament, on the marae or in a person's own back yard.

Nor are special abilities bound by gender. Although in both the past and the present groups men are in the majority, the difference is only small. This is interesting in a society that is sometimes viewed as being male-dominated.

A second indicator of the breadth of the concept is the large number and range of abilities and qualities able people were cited as possessing. In the past and present groups, 49 different abilities and qualities were mentioned.

- IMPORTANCE PLACED ON BOTH "QUALITIES" AND "ABILITIES"

In the past and the present great importance is placed on intangible "qualities" mainly in the affective, interpersonal domain. Being outstanding in attributes such as bravery, humility, sensitivity to others and determination are just a few of the examples that can be cited. These qualities are manifest in a person's behaviour and actions. They are most often displayed in the "service to others" category.

An examination of all the personal qualities cited in the interviews shows that the majority of them are related to caring for and helping others. This illustrates one of the underlying theories of this research ie. that special abilities are only meaningful in terms of how they reflect social and cultural values. In Māoridom, manaakitanga, aroha-ki-te-tāngata, whānaungatanga and āwhinatanga are all very strong values and this is reflected in the importance placed on personal qualities and service to others.

Also important are the "ability" areas. Talents and skills displayed in carving, weaving, oratory, negotiation and sport are examples that can be cited to illustrate this point.

- INHERENT RESPONSIBILITY TO USE SPECIAL ABILITIES IN THE SERVICE OF OTHERS.

Apart from being an important category in its own right, "service to others" is a strong common thread in many other categories. Service-related, personal qualities have been mentioned above. The language abilities mentioned are also generally service orientated. Most often the contexts in which they are displayed are those that involve Māori causes. This is also predominantly the case for leadership ability. Many areas of traditional knowledge have inbuilt

tikanga that embody the ethos of service eg. first products must be given away and a carver earns the title of "master" only after he has carved a complete meeting house. Within the intellectual ability category, visionaries, good all rounders and thinkers and doers have a service to Māoridom orientation while service to God/s is one aspect of spirituality.

- MANA IS EARNT FROM USING TALENTS IN THE SERVICE OF OTHERS.

A second common thread is that of mana. People possessing many different qualities and abilities and coming from all groups were cited as having mana. With four exceptions, these people were all cited for being of service to others. The exceptions were cited for their outstanding ability in traditional knowledge.

5.1 Comparison With Concepts From the Literature Review

The same concepts emerged from the interview data and the documentary analysis. Reid's concepts outlined in the Literature Review were also very similar.

In respect to a traditional concept, Reid's main oversight is his omission of "spiritual" and "affective" amongst the characteristics of giftedness he sights. There can be no doubt that spirituality was an extremely important and integral part of traditional society. As Pere (1982) points out, the institution of tapu in its aspect of maintaining social control without a police force would never have worked for a people who were not thoroughly indoctrinated in a world of spirituality.

When the concept of hinengaro is considered, the importance of affective traits is also left in no doubt.

In respect to a contemporary concept, Reid's (1992) conclusions and the interview data are almost identical. His observation of prized characteristics being "more people orientated, to do with inter-personal relationships"(p.58) aptly fits the conclusions of this study. At issue might be Reid's partnering of "the intellectual and the academic" (ibid). Such a duo implies they are of equal importance. The interview data, in fact, puts a very different value on them. While intellectual ability ranks a creditable third amongst the present categories, academic ability makes no contribution at all to this total. The single mention it gets is in the past data. Apirana Ngata was cited for his academic ability. Being the first Māori graduate from Canterbury University and the most qualified Member of Parliament in his time, it is not surprising that he was mentioned in this category. What is surprising, however, is that other notable academics from the past and present who were cited were not mentioned for their academic ability. It is obvious from the kōrero about these people that they were all considered very intelligent. However they were described as having "visionary gifts," and "outstanding language abilities" rather than having "academic ability." Perhaps their academic achievements go without saying, are overshadowed by their other abilities and qualities or maybe academic success is not necessarily considered an important measure of special abilities. The answer probably lies in a combination of all these factors.

5.2 Comparison With a Contemporary Pākehā Concept

The most "official" definition of a Pākehā concept of special abilities would be that published by the N.Z. Department of Education:

> Children with Special Abilities (gifted and talented) are those who demonstrate high performance relative to their educational context in one or more of a wide range of areas, such as: specific academic, technical or mechanical aptitude and achievement; creative, productive or intuitive thinking; cultural arts - verbal,visual, performing; general intelligence;

> psychomotor; cultural traditions, values and ethics; social skills and leadership and aesthetics. Such abilities will become evident at different stages in an individual's development provided they are given the opportunity to demonstrate their ability. (N.Z.Dept.Ed.1986)

This multicategory definition reflects a world-wide trend away from the narrow I.Q. related concept of yesteryear and is echoed in many official definitions adopted by other countries and states eg. the U.S. Office of Education,(1972), the U.S.Congress,(1978), Department of Education, N.S.W.(1983) and U.K.(Wallace,1985).

This definition is also similar to the broad, wide-ranging contemporary Māori concept outlined in this research. However, it must be added that while official definitions may be multicategorical, they are not necessarily put into practise. In the U.S. Renzulli (1980) maintains that while many profess a multicategory approach, they tend to use the single category of I.Q. Commenting on the N.Z. situation, McAlpine (1992) adds that the "danger of long lists of special abilities...is that they represent little more than window dressing" (p.35).

Reid (1992) comments that although we have recently broadened our concept of giftedness in N.Z. to contemplate a wide variety of talents there is still "a tendency to limit ourselves rather severely to what is valuable in utilitarian terms, except, of course, in our recognition of sporting prowess" (p.58).

Despite the similarities in the official and Māori concept postulated here, there are some notable differences. In the official definition only limited aspects of the affective domain are included while the spiritual domain is not acknowledged at all. There is also no service component.

Further differences are not as self-evident. They lie in the interpretation of the performance areas. Leadership is a good example. The Pākehā concept of leadership involves an up-front, overt style of guiding and directing. However,

as it has been pointed out previously, leadership in Māoridom is not always of this genre and can have a less visible and audible quality about it.

Pere (1982) explains:

> People who have and hold this type of mana are not always seen in the public eye, but are often consulted and approached within the privacy of their own immediate kinship group. Today, people from other cultures often approach Māori people who appear to be carrying leadership roles within the formal context of the marae-atea, only to be told to approach someone else who is working quietly behind the scenes. People familiar with this type of mana have little or no difficulty recognising or "feeling" it within other people (p.32).

This type of leadership was cited in the interviews.

There are similarities between the Māori concept of special abilities postulated here and the various concepts discussed in the Introduction. The high ability of Renzulli's (1977) three ring concept is definitely present. Task commitment is evident in such categories as "determined/hard headed," "energetic" and "hard working". Creativity was also acknowledged mainly in respect to general and specific artistic abilities. However task commitment and creativity do not receive the pre-eminence in the postulated Māori concept that they do in Renzulli's three ring concept. It should be added that despite this, Renzulli and Reis's (1985) enrichment triad approach with its inclusive philosophy and variety of enrichment activities appears to be particularly suited to catering for Māori CWSA.

The model that appears to come closest to a Māori concept is Gagne's (1992) differentiated giftedness-talent model briefly mentioned in the Introduction. This model provides five domains of aptitude: intellectual, creative, socio-affective, sensorimotor and others. The inclusion of the socio-affective

domain provides for the personal qualities and service to others categories that play such an important part in a Māori concept. The "others" domain provided by Gagne as a convenient "expansion port" could be utilised to accomodate the spiritual component of Māori special abilities. Also the role Gagne attributes to intrapersonal and environmental catalysts in translating aptitude into performance is echoed in much of the interview data. The self confidence and strong cultural identity participants believed Māori CWSA needed to succeed, the missionary zeal used in support of Māori causes and the personal and environmental influences that were associated with group ownership of expertise and hapū traits are just some of the many examples of intrapersonal and environmental catalysts that could be cited. Finally, the breadth of talents acknowledged in Gagne's model sits comfortably with the broad, wide-ranging concept of special abilities that is postulated in this study.

5.3 Differences Between Past and Present Data

One of the theories mentioned in the Introduction is that the concept of giftedness and talent is "open, changing and sensitive to time and cultural setting" (McAlpine & Reid,1987,p.319). A comparison of past and present data is needed to ascertain whether the first three aspects of this theory are applicable to this research.

An initial impression is that very little has changed from the past to the present. Certainly both time periods produce a broad, wide-ranging, service orientated, concept of special abilities. However when the data is analysed carefully, changes are evident.

5.4 Changes in Qualities and Abilities Cited

Changes of more than 10% have been outlined in the Results Chapter. This section will hypothesise on some of the possible reasons for these changes.

- The personal qualities rating increased in the combined total, national, iwi and male groups.

It is possible that this change is not due to any movement in values but is rather a reflection of the fact that, thanks to the media, people know their contemporary national and iwi figures more intimately than they know national and iwi figures from the past. This theory appears to be supported by the fact that while the personal qualities rating for whānau members rose, it was by less than 10%. It is reasonable to assume that participants had a more intimate knowledge of their whānau members from the past than they did of national and iwi figures.

- The rating of intellectual ability rose in the national, iwi and female groups.

This is not a sign that national and iwi figures and women are now a lot smarter than they were! Rather this change is a true reflection of the concept of special abilities being sensitive to the changes of time. The present has seen a broadening of this category to account for the impact of Pākehā education and the Pākehā concept of intelligence. This is exemplified by the addition of the "Pākehā knowledge" category.

- The influence of the 20th century is also seen in the decrease of national and iwi figures and males being cited as having traditional knowledge.

In the past this category was ranked first for all these groups but the present statistics show it dropping to sixth, fifth and fourth respectively. This drop is due to a number of factors. Traditional knowledge was more accessible in the past. This knowledge was an important, integral part of life that was tied up with a tribes' very survival. Nowadays this knowledge remains important but

while it may be vital to the emotional and spiritual survival of Māori, it does not have the same importance for their physical survival as it did in the past. Hiwi Tauroa (1989) goes so far as to say:

> Many who claim leadership status believe that rangatahi can delve into a cultural freezer to seek frozen expertise which can be put into a microwave and defrosted. Such a product would be quite useless in tomorrows world. Today computer and numerative skills provide the means to a livelihood (p.100).

This attitude illustrates one of the theories presented in the Introduction, namely, that the areas of performance in which individuals are recognised as gifted are determined by the values and needs of the prevailing culture. In terms of physical survival, traditional knowledge is not "needed" as much nowadays. One can also argue that intellectual ability, as perceived by the participants in this research, is "needed" more by people in the modern world and this accounts for its rise in rating.

However the question of whether Māori "value" traditional knowledge less and intellectual ability more today can be debated. Remarks made by various participants indicate that traditional knowledge is still valued highly but there are fewer and fewer people around who possess it. Consequently it seems likely that the changes in these areas are more influenced by need and access than by changes in value judgments.

- Although language ability overall maintained its ranking, the rating of national figures decreased in this category while that of whānau members increased. Whānau members are predominantly female. Universal education and emancipation have resulted in increased opportunities and "need" for women to develop and utilise their language skills. This is reflected in the service orientation of the whānau group. Although whānau profiles for the past and present are the same, a more detailed analysis reveals that the service provided in the past was almost exclusively to the family. In the present, the arena of service has broadened.

A possible explanation for the decrease in language ability rating for national figures lies in a previously made point ie. we know our national figures better these days. Because of this fact participants have cited a greater range of abilities and qualities for them. Add to this the increased opportunities and areas of performance available nowadays and one can understand why, statistically, language ability is cited less often for national figures.

Other changes that illustrate the passage of time are the disappearance of military and fighting skills as a category and the emergence of new categories such as sporting and literary ability. The sixteen new categories introduced in the present reflect either "new" knowledge and performance areas or qualities important to Māori identity and survival in the modern world.

While colonisation and the technological age have resulted in changes to particular areas of performance, the overall concept of special abilities emerging from this study has remained relatively stable. Possible reasons for this stability are:

- the strong influence the past has in Māoridom
- minimal value changes over time
- the short time frame of this research.

5.5 Changes in National, Iwi, Whānau and Gender Grouping

GENDER

Overall the number of men and women chosen was very similar, there being slightly more men than women. However when the spread of male and females amongst the three categories of national, iwi and whānau figures is considered, a different picture emerges. For the past there is over twice as many men than women in the national and iwi groups while the whānau group is predominantly women. It could be expected that the merging of gender roles in this day and age would result in this statistic changing in the

present data but, in fact, all categories remained similar in their gender composition. A possible explanation is that while the data shows that women have spread their sphere of influence, they still play the major role in the upbringing of children and consequently have fewer opportunities to make their mark at a tribal or national level.

NATIONAL, IWI AND WHĀNAU GROUPS

When comparing national, iwi and whānau groups, the significance of relative numbers is difficult to gauge because some people fit in two categories. This poses the question of whether famous whānau were chosen primarily for their national, iwi or family status or perhaps a combination.

However when people who qualify for two groups are included in both or removed from both iwi figures are always the smallest category. When famous relatives are included, the whānau group is slightly larger than the national group in the past but in the present, national figures gain prominence.

A possible explanation for the latter is the increase in publicity contemporary national figures receive in comparison to national figures from the past.

5.6 Differences Between Kaumātua, Educator, "Other" and Gender Choices

- DIFFERENCES IN CHOICE OF ABILITIES AND QUALITIES

The division of the research sample into kaumātua, educator and other was done to investigate possible differences in concepts between these groups. Unfortunately the small numbers, especially in the kaumātua and male groups, make the significance of interview findings difficult to gauge. Relatively few differences between these groups actually appeared. The educators emphasis on intellectual ability for the present is possibly a reflection of values associated with their occupation although it is interesting that they never

mentioned academic achievement. Does this indicate that they are coming across Māori CWSA in their preschools and schools who are not achieving academically?

While a definite own-gender bias was evident in the people females and, more especially, males chose, their ability and quality choices were very similar. So, while the fact of men making more choices than women and having an own-gender preference influenced the composition of groups, it did not influence research findings in respect to the abilities and qualities chosen.

- DIFFERENCES IN CHOICE OF NATIONAL, IWI AND WHĀNAU FIGURES

Kaumātua, educators and others chose a variety of group combinations. The only occasion there was agreement in preference was the past choice of national, whānau, iwi and male for educators and others.

If consistency across past and present selections is of any significance, the research revealed the following first choice patterns:

- kaumātua chose whānau members
- "others" chose national figures
- educators and "others" chose males
- females and males chose their own gender.

The final difference to be noted is that in proportion to their numbers, educators made most choices, others the least and kaumātua were in the middle. Given that the educators' occupation puts them in a good position to discuss the third section of the Interview Schedule and that, by trade they are "talkers," their rate of contribution is not surprising. However because differences between groups were minimal, their disproportionate input is not thought to bias the research findings.

5.7 Domain-Related Traits

In an examination of the interview data, a predominance of certain traits emerged within the national, iwi and whānau categories. While certain group profiles changed over time, the traits mentioned within each category are consistent regardless of the gender of the person cited eg. contemporary female national figures are cited as being strong in their personal qualities and intellectual ability. This leads to the hypothesis that the traits cited are domain-specific rather than gender-specific.

These differences could be a reflection of participants' perceptions of the different abilities and qualities important for each domain, of the opportunities each domain offers for displaying specific abilities and qualities, it could be a comment on the depth of participants' personal knowledge of people in each category or a combination of all these factors.

5.8 Context-Specific Traits

At face value a number of the personal qualities cited for the present did not appear to be service-related. A closer examination revealed that, in fact, they were. "Missionary zeal" and "energetic," for instance were both cited in relation to people's efforts to support Māori causes. This raises the question of whether such qualities are context-specific. Would a person who displays outstanding energy in aerobic sessions or someone who shows missionary zeal in his/her campaign to bring the Olympics to N.Z. be cited? If these qualities are context-specific, teachers will need to provide the Māori and service orientated contexts that enable them to surface and develop.

5.9 Identifying and Catering for Māori CWSA

Similarities

In the third section of the interview the participants made numerous suggestions about how Māori CWSA could be identified and catered for at home and school. The majority of these suggestions are relevant to all CWSA, Māori or Pākehā, in fact many of them are relevant to all children whether they have special abilities or not.

One of the underlying theories of this research is that the means used to identify and nurture special abilities will differ according to a culture's particular concept of special abilities. Although the general applicability of the suggestions made implies this theory is not valid for Māori, this is not the case. What this sameness does emphasise is that certain values and practices in education and child-rearing are equally applicable to both Māori and Pākehā.

The emphasis on observation in identification, valuing a child's talents and abilities, supporting them in their education, where able providing extra teaching, resources and a variety of experiences, having high aspirations, improving your own education in order to help your child, being and providing good role models and co-operating with your child's school/preschool are all approaches most N.Z. parents would support.

Likewise, home-school/preschool co-operation, providing a range and abundance of resources, developing good child-teacher relationships and a warm, friendly, flexible environment, utilising outside expertise and providing a broad, challenging curriculum are aims schools/preschools would aspire to for all their children.

5.10 Differences

However, while acknowledging these multitude of similarities, some important differences did emerge. A number of suggestions were made that specifically relate to Māori children.

- **Parents and teachers alike, should encourage and develop children in their Māoritanga.**

The rationale behind this is to give children confidence and pride in their culture and to develop their self-esteem. It was believed that when children have this strong cultural foundation, they are more likely to develop their potential. This belief is supported by writers in the special abilities field. Doidge (1990) in particular, is a strong supporter of the inclusion of Māori content. Speaking of Māori studies programmes, she states, "For a Māori person, it makes him or her whole... and therein lies the secret to its power to enhance giftedness in Māori children"(p.39).

Reid (1992) and Milne (1993) call for Māori language and culture to be fostered, McCaffery (1988) advocates programmes that build on children's cultural knowledge while Dale (1988) and Cathcart and Pou (1992) point out how the inclusion of cultural knowledge helps in the identification process. The latter state that "people are most likely to display high levels of ability in skills which are highly valued by their culture"(p.6).

Two further points regarding Māori programmes should be noted.
Firstly, research participants emphasised that Māori programmes must be an integral part of the school curriculum. This is supported by Penetito (1984) and Cameron (1984), both of whom warn against "add-on" taha Māori programmes and Milne (1993) who puts this into practise in the successful Tupuranga programme at Clover Park Intermediate School.

Secondly, as cultural knowledge is a prerequisite for kaumātua status (Winiata,1967), such programmes meet a need in Māoridom for leadership training.

- **Strong whānau networks to support and encourage CWSA should be developed and utilized.**

While it is acknowledged that family networks would also be of benefit to Pākehā CWSA, they are seen as particularly appropriate for Māori CWSA because of the importance of whānaungatanga. These networks were mentioned in relation to helping children at home and suggestions included the teaching of traditional skills and knowledge, sports coaching, support at games and performances, the provision of a "homework centre," and the sharing of resources and equipment.

Although not specifically mentioned, these whānau networks could also be utilised within the school. Whānau members can be involved in many ways: as advisers, teachers and assistants especially in the area of te reo (Rikihana,1990) and matauranga Māori; as mentors sharing particular expertise; as resource providers; as role models (Hamilton,1989); as organisers of educational outings, hui and whare wānanga; as audiences and evaluators; as partners in the I.E.P. process and in identification. The latter deserves further explanation.

One of the methods used to identify CWSA is parent nomination. Reid (1989,1990,1991,1992) points out that this is not an effective method. He bases his conclusion on a number of disputable points ie. a lack of academic tradition in Māori families, minimal educational qualifications of parents, lack of communication and conflict of standards between home and school, lack of knowledge about and involvement in their children's education and home circumstances that lack resources or experiences that promote scholastic achievement.

While these reasons are debatable and smack of the blame the victim syndrome, Māori parents are not forthcoming in nominating their children for extension programmes (Bevan-Brown,1992). The interview data revealed two other reasons; parents' concern about the appropriateness of the programmes being offered and their unease in the school situation. This latter reason is particularly true for parents who have bad memories of their own schooling (Smith & Smith,1989). One participant described such a situation in the whakamā section of "Other Opinions and Issues".

Other possible reasons are the child's reluctance to become involved and a fear on the parents' part of being considered whakahīhī. Metge (1983,1986) mentions this phenomenon in relation to praising one's own children.

This is where the whānau network can be utilised. While parents may feel too whakamā to nominate their CWSA, it is quite acceptable for an Aunt, Uncle, Nanny or Koro to do so. One participant specifically mentioned putting whānau names forward for advanced sports coaching. Kaumātua, in particular, have had a life time's experience of caring for young children and can readily identify their mokopuna who have special abilities. Kōhanga reo kai ako and whānau, bilingual support groups and runanga members could also play a role in advising school teachers about the Māori CWSA they know of.

- **Education should be culturally appropriate for Māori CWSA.**

This requirement is supported in the writing of Reid (1983,1989, 1990,1992), Freeman (1983), McCaffery (1988), Dale (1988), Doidge (1990), Hurtubise (1991), Cathcart and Pou (1992) and Milne (1993). In fact a number of the specific suggestions made by participants eg.co-operative, group, active, experiential, oral, and holistic teaching and learning methods, using role models and a variety of learning environments are also mentioned by these writers in the field.

Metge (1983) in her research into Māori ways of teaching over the past 30 to 50 years found that a number of the traditional teaching methods mentioned in the documentary analysis are still relevant for Māori children today. She lists three main Māori teaching methods and all appear particularly suited to teaching able children.

Firstly, the "occasional...selective and exclusive" whare wānanga can be likened to withdrawal classes for CWSA. The Ngāti Raukawa marae-based, school holiday language immersion hui for children are fulfilling this role. While they are open to all who are interested, children are grouped according to their ability in the Māori language and so the more able have a perfect opportunity to extend themselves.

Secondly, the tutorial or apprentice method Metge refers to is tantamount to the mentor system supported by a number of research participants and often advocated for teaching CWSA.

Thirdly, Metge's education by exposure involves children being exposed to a variety of learning situations. Experiential learning, frequently mentioned by participants, is to the fore and the amount a child picks up is determined by his/her interest and motivation. This teaching method is very similar to Renzulli's Type 1 activities in his famous Enrichment Triad (Renzulli,1977; Renzulli & Reis,1985).

While these are the three main teaching methods Metge (1983) refers to, she also discusses a number of Māori teaching strategies that again appear particularly appropriate for able children. Rote learning, for instance, will suit many CWSA who characteristically have good memories. Another practice involves giving learners snippets of information out of context, partial answers or general outlines of a subject without the enlightening detail. Metge states that these tactics are used deliberately to test the learners desire to learn, to make them think, to work things out for themselves instead of relying on

others to supply answers and explanations and to stimulate innovation and creativity. One participant mentioned this last method as a possible "test" for identification purposes.

On the subject of memorisation, Reid (1992), Cathcart and Pou (1992) and the documentary analysis, all mention it as an important facet of special abilities in Māoridom. This was not substantiated in the interview data. A good memory was ranked 24= in the past and disappeared altogether in the present.

- **Teachers need to be better trained to cater for Māori children in general and Māori CWSA in particular.**

This issue of teacher training is specifically mentioned by Reid (1992) and McCaffery (1988). The latter also suggests recruiting and training more Māori teachers. Stories told by participants left no doubt that, while there are some excellent teachers who are catering well for Māori CWSA, there are many more who are not. It is obvious from the literature review and the interview findings that a Māori concept of special abilities is influenced by a myriad of cultural beliefs, values, concepts and attitudes. If teachers do not understand such concepts as wairua, hinengaro and manaakitanga, how can they ensure they are included in any programme offered to Māori CWSA?

A good illustration is the Māori concept of leadership. If teachers are unaware of the behind-the-scenes genre discussed previously, then the Daisy Mahaki's of the world will never get nominated for leadership programmes.

Milne (1993) makes a similar point:

> If your class never has a shared meal, where children themselves are responsible for organising and preparing the food, if you never mix with elders or babies or toddlers in the classroom, if you never have meetings with a Māori format - how will you ever find the children with skill in manaakitanga - looking after others, in organisation, in oratory, in imagery (p.54).

The supportive and culturally-valuing environment Cathcart and Pou (1992), Doidge (1990) and Milne (1993) claim Māori CWSA will "surface" in, can only be provided by teachers who are themselves knowledgeable about and valuing of the Māori culture.

5.11 Other Opinions and Issues

- ALL CHILDREN ARE SPECIAL

The belief that all children are special and that it is just a matter of discovering what their particular special ability is, can be likened to Taylor's (1978) multi-talent totem pole approach. Taylor maintains that almost every student is above average in some skill, ability or knowledge area. Gagne (1992) takes a similar approach, stating that "a majority of children and adults are gifted in 'something'"(p.21) and quotes abilities such as cross-word puzzles, fly-casting and juggling. Programmes based on these two approaches could be trialled with Māori children although McAlpine's (1991,1992) warning against the impossible programming demands such approaches place on teachers should be heeded. McAlpine (1992) also warns that excessively wide multicategory approaches carried to their logical extreme result in nearly everyone becoming gifted and talented. This situation "threaten[s] the whole concept of 'special' in the field of Special Education" (p47).

- THE INFLUENCE OF WHAKAPAPA AND ENVIRONMENT

The discussion of hapū traits and the relative importance of environment, socialisation and whakapapa show that the nature-nurture debate is alive and well in Māoridom.

- GROUP OWNERSHIP OF SPECIAL ABILITIES

This has two aspects. The first refers to group input into and sharing of an individual's talent. This attitude was epitomised by Kate Ngarimu in a recent television programme about her brother in which she stated, "The V.C. was not

Moana's alone, there were a lot of other people it belonged to." She was not talking just of the people who helped him on the battlefield, but also the people who had raised him, nurtured his courage and supported him spiritually, back in N.Z.

The second aspect was brought out in the documentary analysis and nomination of people with special abilities. This is the acknowledgement of a whole group as possessing a particular special ability. There were nine groups nominated. Individual members were not named rather they were perceived as belonging to collectives of people who together illustrated a particular talent or quality. Given the group orientation of Māori society, the citing of group expertise is not surprising. It should also be added that the sportspeople who were nominated were all involved in group sports.

- SERVICE TO OTHERS

The importance of this idea of service to others can be seen in the frequency of its mention. Pere (1991) and Milne (1993) mention it and Reid (1992) includes it in his Māori concept, it occurs in the documentary analysis both in the traditional and contemporary information, it is listed as an important quality, personified in the outstanding people cited and is discussed in length in the interviews. Consequently this service component should be incorporated into identification procedures and programmes for Māori CWSA. This could be in the form of tangible products or in a service offered to others eg. peer tutoring, peer mediation or entertaining the elderly. Service to others could be included on identification checklists.

- PEER PRESSURE

The observation that it is more acceptable to be outstanding in sport was also reported in Mitchell and Mitchell (1988). From the present research it appears that music and art can be added to the list. One participant hypothesised that this was because they were neutral subjects where right and wrong were not emphasised. Another possibility is that they are subjects where excellence can

be easily shared and appreciated by the group. Singing along with the talented guitarist, supporting the fleet athlete at the school sports and admiring the able artist's drawings lend themselves more to group appreciation and participation than advanced intellectual ability does.

The second observation that Māori CWSA are very willing to share their knowledge if asked, is not surprising given the emphasis on service to others that has emerged from this research. This willingness to share knowledge has also been reported by Milne (1993).

Peer pressure against succeeding is obviously a complex issue. It was found in Mitchell and Mitchell's (1988) research, and cited by Reid (1992), Cathcart and Pou (1992), Milne (1993) and a number of participants in this research. However this study also revealed that there are degrees of peer pressure and variations in succumbing to it. It could be expected that being part of a group would be particularly important for Māori children given the group orientation of Māori society. This was acknowledged in the interviews as was the desire of children, especially teenagers, to be like their peers.

In an environment where the Māori child is in the minority, being part of a Māori group provides, not only friendship and peer acceptance, but also cultural safety, identity and security. In this situation peer pressure will be particularly powerful. This observation is born out in the interview data which revealed that peer pressure was greater and Māori children succumbed more, in schools where they were in the minority. While peer pressure still existed in Māori boarding schools and predominantly Māori schools, it was less influential because the children's cultural identity was not a factor in the equation.

The interview data also revealed that where Māori children were in a minority it was not only overt peer pressure against academic achievement that affected a bright Māori child's desire to succeed. Often behaviour was modified in

some way in order to stay with the group. It was not that your friends disapproved of you being bright, rather. that in exhibiting this, the system separated you from them!

The implications of this are that Māori CWSA should not be separated from their friends through streaming or withdrawal extension programmes. This last point was made strongly by many participants. Rather, Māori CWSA should have their talents nurtured and developed in an environment where they feel comfortable and culturally safe. Emphasis should be placed on the group benefits of a person's special abilities and then these abilities will not seem divisive. The service to others component comes in here.

It was also mentioned that the individualistic, competitative nature of Pākehā society makes it more acceptable for Pākehā CWSA to strive for excellence. Māori children who identified as Pākehā or had Pākehā friends, had fewer problems in this respect. It should be noted here that Milne's (1993) observation mentioned in the literature review was not supported by the research data - no one specifically mentioned Pākehā children isolating and alienating Māori who had made it into the top stream.

A further point to emerge was that Māori children who were confident in themselves and their culture were less likely to succumb to peer pressure against achieving. The implications of this are that if schools value and include Māoritanga as an integral part of their curriculum, the influence of negative peer pressure will be lessened.

Mitchell and Mitchell (1988), Reid (1983,1989,1992) and Cathcart and Pou (1992) maintain that Māori society does not encourage tall poppies. This has been refuted by Timutimu-Thorpe (1988), Parks (cited in Bevan-Brown,1989) and Arapere (1992) who all make the point that outstanding people are celebrated and admired for their contribution to the group.

Reid (ibid) bases his conclusions on the power of whakaiti and whakahīhī. While the existence and power of whakaiti and whakahīhī are not denied, it must be pointed out that it is the "skiting" about or "parading" of ability, rather than the ability itself, that constitutes whakahīhī. There is a Māori proverb that says, "it is not for the kumara to say how sweet it is." This is one reason why self-nomination for extension programmes is an ineffective method to use with Māori children. As Milne (1993) says, "Recognition of your gifts comes from others, not self" (p.56).

The existence of peer pressure and the strong desire of teenagers to "be like their mates" is also not denied. However, emphasising these as reasons Māori CWSA do not achieve their potential is to ignore a greater cause. If programmes did not separate them from their social peers, and if teachers did not use methods that alienated them, then conflict between achievement and social acceptance would be greatly lessened. One can only feel sorry for the child described by Penetito:

> If you are a Māori student in a school the more you achieve the more you are separated from your Māori peers. If you don't achieve you get to keep your mates but then you can't get a job.You get deprived whichever way you turn. (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1988,p.20).

Negative peer pressure was seen by Reid (1983,1989,1992) to act against the use of peer nomination in the identification process. He states that Māori children who show any special gifts or leadership ability are "criticised, ridiculed and alienated by their peers until they conform"(1989,1992). The research data shows that while this may happen sometimes, it is by no means the norm. When a child's special abilities are shared in a group context, they enhance the group's mana. Also, in respect to the leadership ability mentioned by Reid, it is very likely he has not considered the "behind the scenes" leadership style discussed previously. It is highly unlikely that children who have gained mana from their care and support of others will be "criticised, ridiculed and alienated".

When using peer nomination however, the teacher must learn to ask the "right" questions, to have the trust of those he/she is seeking information from and to look wider than the school context considering abilities and talents displayed by children in the local sports teams, waiata groups, karate clubs or at the local spacies as one participant suggested.

- TRIBAL DIFFERENCE

Although no tribal differences in a contemporary Māori concept of special abilities surfaced in this research, it should be noted that Ngāti Porou participants generally only cited outstanding people from their own tribe whereas participants from other tribes selected people from a range of tribes.

- RANGATIRA AND TUAKANA/TEINA STATUS

Reid (1992) quotes a Māori informant as saying CWSA from "families with great mana and who were in the rangatira line" (p.60) had a greater chance of "surfacing." A related comment was made by two participants in respect to hapū traits. Certain rangatira families are acknowledged to be experts in particular fields of traditional knowledge and, in as much as children from these families have more access to this knowledge, they have an advantage in procuring it. However, in general terms, rangatira, tuakana and teina status were not seen as contributing factors in the acquisition of special abilities. In citing outstanding people, rangatira status received only two mentions in the past and none in the present. Tuakana/teina status was never cited.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.0 Limitations

While the interviews in this research were wide-ranging and in-depth, the fact remains they involved only 33 participants. Because of this small sample size, generalisable conclusions cannot be made. It was stated at the outset that no claims were being made to investigate "the" Māori concept of special abilities or "the" way Māori CWSA should be identified and nurtured. Instead, what was investigated was "a" Māori concept of special abilities as perceived through the eyes of 33 Māori and interpreted by the researcher. Some suggestions for identifying and catering for Māori CWSA have been provided but these are by no means exhaustive or all embracing. They are, however, a good starting point for those involved in the upbringing and education of these children.

A further point to bear in mind is that Māori are by no means a homogeneous group. As stated previously, they vary in numerous ways including the knowledge and practise of their own culture. The data gained in this research comes from 33 people who identify strongly with their Māoritanga. The values they hold will not be held by all Māori. Likewise, the suggestions they make may not be relevant to the many Māori CWSA and their families who do not live within Māori cultural norms. Many of these children are already being appropriately catered for by existing provisions for children with special abilities. Evidence of this can be seen in Mitchell and Mitchell's (1988) investigation of Māori pupils who achieved high marks in School Certificate english and mathematics examinations. However, what Mitchell and Mitchell do not highlight is the many Māori CWSA who have fallen by the way-side. The potentially high achievers who dropped out in body in fourth form and in mind many years before. It also does not acknowledge the breadth of special abilities within Māoridom, the many qualities and talents listed in this present research which can never be measured by exam results.

Limitations within the interview process itself should be acknowledged. Difficulty arose as a result of wording in the Interview Schedule. In an effort to make it user-friendly the traditional time period was lost. Participants' interpretation of the past varied greatly. However the majority of people cited lived in the early 20th century. This could account for the small difference between the past and present concepts.

Another problem was the unevenness of data that was gathered from some interviews. This occurred where more than one person was involved. In some instances, certain people dominated particular areas of the interview resulting in the limited contribution of others present.

6.1 Findings

This research set out to answer three questions:

1. Did traditional Māori have a concept of special abilities, and if so, what was it?
2. Is there a contemporary Māori concept of special abilities and if so, what is it?
3. What do Māori people believe are effective and appropriate ways of identifying and catering for their CWSA?

Data from documentary analysis and interviews revealed that traditional and contemporary concepts did/do exist.

Both concepts:

- are holistic in nature and inextricably intertwined with other Māori concepts, values, customs and beliefs,

- are broad and wide-ranging. Many abilities and qualities are valued. These include spiritual, cognitive, affective, aesthetic, artistic, musical, psychomotor, social, intuitive, creative, leadership and cultural abilities and qualities,

- are not bounded by social class, economic status or gender,

- are grounded firmly in Māori kaupapa,

- place importance on both "qualities" and "abilities". Qualities in the interpersonal, affective domain are particularly valued,

- incorporate an expectation that abilities and qualities will be used in the service of others,

- involve the bestowing of mana tāngata especially in the areas of service to others and cultural knowledge.

The suggestions about how Māori CWSA can be identified and catered for at home and in the school contain many approaches equally applicable to all children. Culture-specific suggestions emphasised the encouragement and teaching of Māoritanga, the development of strong, supportive whānau networks, the training of teachers in Māoritanga especially aspects relevant to recognising and catering for Māori CWSA and the provision of culturally appropriate education. The latter involved teaching programmes, strategies, styles and environments particularly suited to Māori children.

Very few programmes were cited as being good or bad examples of catering for Māori CWSA. However, those involved in kura kaupapa Māori agreed that these schools were doing a good job in this respect. Their praise centred around the way children's self-esteem was being raised and their special abilities acknowledged.

The analysis of interview data revealed only minor differences in the opinions of kaumātua, educators and others. Own-gender preference was evident in their selections. Proportionately, men made more choices than women and educators made more choices than kaumātua and others. However, this did not appear to bias the research results as the choice of abilities and qualities were very similar.

A wide variety of people were cited as having special abilities. Slightly more men than women were cited overall. Men were predominant amongst national and iwi figures while the majority of whānau members were women. There appeared to be clusters of traits that were domain-specific.

Group special abilities were evident in two forms. Firstly, groups being cited as having special abilities and secondly, group involvement in and sharing of an individual's abilities. No tribal differences emerged.

Research findings generally support the opinions of writers in the field in respect to Māori concepts of special abilities and suggestions for identifying and catering for Māori CWSA. The main difference to appear is related to the attitude towards special abilities. This research found that the group orientation of Māori society does not inhibit the development of special abilities. Talented and able individuals can exist within a group, in fact they are celebrated and encouraged to use their special abilities in the service of others. CWSA were cited as always being willing to share their talents and abilities with their peers. Being outstanding in sport, music and art was more acceptable amongst peers than being outstanding academically.

It is acknowledged that negative peer pressure amongst children does exist. Research data shows that there are a number of contributing factors in this equation. Peer pressure was found to be more influential in schools where Māori children were in the minority. Cultural safety and identity were gained from group acceptance and having special abilities often resulted in Māori CWSA being separated from their Māori friends.

6.2 Recommendations

1. While this research has given some empirical weighting to opinions in the field of Māori special abilities, a sample of 33 is much too small to generalise from. Consequently further research from a Māori perspective is recommended.

2. For those Māori CWSA and their families who identify as Māori and live within Māori norms, identification procedures and educational provisions should be based on a Māori concept of special abilities. This would include:
   - catering for a wide range of abilities and qualities including spiritual, cognitive, affective, aesthetic, musical, psychomotor, social, artistic, intuitive, creative, leadership and cultural abilities and qualities.
   - taking into account the service to others component of special abilities.
   - placing emphasis on a range of valued personal qualities and providing contexts in which they can "surface" and develop.

3. Educational provisions for Māori CWSA should not isolate them from their culture. They should be catered for using culturally appropriate means in a supportive environment that values both them and their Māoriness.

4. Provision should be made for teacher training and in-service courses that focus on identifying and catering for Māori CWSA in a culturally appropriate way.

5. The teaching and valuing of Māoritanga should become an integral part of preschool/school life. In this way Māori CWSA can develop their self-esteem and cultural identity and be provided with a strong foundation from which to develop their potential and resist negative peer pressure.

6. Strong whānau networks should be developed to support and encourage Māori CWSA. These whānau networks should be consulted and involved in the education of their CWSA.

In conclusion it must be added that while these recommendations are made with Māori CWSA in mind, they would also be beneficial to all children who incorporate Māori values into their lives.

Kia ū Māori ma
ki nga waihanga
a tatou matua tūpuna
"kihai i taka te parapara a ou tūpuna; tuku iho ki a koe".

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Appendix A: Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW DETAILS: DATE: TIME: VENUE:

OTHERS INVOLVED IN INTERVIEW:

PERSONAL DETAILS:

1. NAME:
2. AGE RANGE: 10-20, 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+
3. TRIBAL AFFILIATION:
4. PERSONAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: YES/NO

AREAS FOR DISCUSSION

I would like to talk about three different things.

Firstly - outstanding Māori from the past and what they were good at.

Secondly - outstanding Māori of today and what they are good at.

Thirdly - how we can best identify and develop the talents of our able Māori children.

THE PAST

1 Can you think of any people from the past who were very able or talented in some way? (They may or may not be well known, for example they could be people known only to your whānau.) Can you tell me what you know about them?

2 In those days what were some of the talents, skills, abilities and personal qualities that were highly valued?

THE PRESENT

3 Are there any Māori today whom you consider are very able or talented in some way? (Again they may or may not be well known people.) They can be adults or children. Can you tell me what you know about them?

4 What are some of the talents, skills, abilities and personal qualities that you value highly?

CATERING FOR ABLE AND TALENTED MĀORI CHILDREN

5 Have you any suggestions about how Māori children with special abilities can be identified and helped to develop their talents at home, at pre-school and at school?

6 Perhaps you already know of a pre-school or school programme that is successfully catering for able Māori children. Can you tell me about it? On the other hand, you may know of able Māori children who are not being well catered for at pre-school or school. What do you think is going wrong?

Appendix B: Covering Letter

24 Rahui Rd,
Otaki.

Kia Ora
As promised here is a copy of the questions I would like to ask in the interview.They are meant only as a guide for discussion. I will be interviewing people from teenagers to those in their seventies and it is really difficult to prepare a questionnaire that is relevant to such a wide age range. The older people for instance may have much knowledge about the past but may not be aware of what is happening in schools these days. On the other hand, the teenagers may be experts about schools but not know a great deal about their talented tīpuna. So don't worry if there are questions you can't answer. Anything you feel uncomfortable about we will leave out. Also anything extra you wish to talk about can be added.

If you would like to invite other family members or friends to join in this interview, they are more than welcome.

Because I am not a very fast writer and find it difficult to take notes and interview at the same time, I would like to tape this interview. Would you mind if I did this? The tape would be for my use only, I will play it back and take notes from it afterwards. I'll then send you a copy of these notes so that you can see what you said and add to it, withdraw information or change anything you want. If you want to, you can have the tape back when I have finished taking notes from it.

Everything you say will be anonymous in the final research. Information is reported in an impersonal way eg "Four people believed that ..." and "A tīpuna who was mentioned by the majority was ..." However, at the beginning of the research I would like to acknowledge personally all those who were involved

in the study. Do you mind your name being included on this list?
When I have finished this study I plan to write a summary of the interview "findings." If you are interested I will give you a copy?

Arohanui,

Appendix C: Interview Guide

When thinking about very able or talented Māori people you may like to consider:

1 - their particular ability/talent/skill/gift or personal quality

2 - their upbringing

3 - their achievements

4 - how their talents or abilities were recognised, nurtured and developed

5 - attitudes towards them and their ability (for outstanding adults consider your own, Māori and N.Z.society attitudes, for outstanding children include the attitude of peers,teachers, parents and whānau).

6 - advantages, disadvantages and responsibilities associated with being very able

7 - their tribe

8 - any tribal differences that may exist

When thinking about what talents, skills, qualities and abilities are/were highly valued you may like to consider:

1 - why they were valued

2 - how they were recognised, nurtured and developed

3 - attitudes towards people possessing these talents, skills, qualities and abilities in abundance.

4 - associated advantages,disadvantages and responsibilities.

5 - whether talents and abilities and the way they were recognised, nurtured and developed in the past are still relevant to Māoridom today.

6 - any tribal differences

When thinking about how we can best cater for able and talented Māori children you may like to consider:

1 - how talent and ability or the potential to become outstanding in some area can be recognised by parents/whānau, by teachers.

2 - the role the community and N.Z.society has to play.

3 - if enrichment programmes or activities are being offered, how they can be made attractive and meaningful to able Māori children

4 - selection and evaluation procedures, content, teaching methods and learning environment.

5 - any tribal differences.

Glossary

While many Māori terms have been explained within the research text, in the interest of maintaining the flow of discourse this has not always been done. Below are a number of Māori terms and their meanings as used in this research.

Āhua	form, appearance, character
Aroha	love
Aroha-ki-te-tāngata	love of your fellow men/women
Ataarangi	oral method of teaching the Māori language
Āwhinatanga	helping, assisting
Āwhi tāngata	help your fellow men/women
Hapū	subtribe
Hīnaki	eel trap
Iwi	tribe
Kaea	leader, caller in song group
Kai ako	teacher
Kaikaranga	caller
Karakia	prayer, ritual chant
Kaikōrero	speaker
Kaumātua	respected elder (both men and women)
Kaupapa	plan, topic, foundation, philosophy
Kawa	ceremonial, protocol
Kiekie	climbing plant
Kiko	flesh, body, substance
Koha	gift
Kōhanga reo	language nest
Kōrero	talk, stories, sayings
Koroua	old man

Kuia	old woman
Kura kaupapa Māori	total immersion Māori school
Mana	influence, prestige, status, power
Manaakitanga	show respect, kindness, hospitality
Marae	meeting-ground
Māoritanga	Māori culture
Matauranga	knowledge
Mauri	life force
Mokopuna/moko	grandchild
Ngangara	insect
Noho marae	sleep over/stay at a marae
Ope	group of people
Pōtiki	last born, youngest
Pūngāwerewere	spider
Rangatahi	youth
Rangatira	chief
Reo	language
Ringawera	kitchen worker
Taha	dimension as in taha wairua - spiritual dimension
Taiaha	weapon, long club
Take	subject of discussion, cause, reason
Taonga	valued possession, treasure
Tangihanga/tangi	funeral
Tamariki	children
Tapu	sacred, under religious/ceremonial restriction, forbidden
Tauparapara	incantation, chant to start speech
Tautoko	support, help
Teina	younger sibling of same sex
Te Kete Aronui	kit containing "the knowledge of the arts, of war, agriculture, building and carving (Tauroa, 1980. p79).

Te Kete Tuatea	kit containing "the knowledge of tradition and history. The incantations of ritual" (Tauroa, ibid.)
Te Kete Tuauri	the kit of knowledge containing "the philosophy of the humanities, love, peace and goodness. (Tauroa, ibid).
Tikanga	customs, rule, principles, obligations
Tīpuna/tūpuna	ancestors
Tohu	mark, sign of, proof
Tuakana	elder sibling of same sex
Tūpāpaku	corpse
Tūrangawaewae	place to stand/of belonging
Waiata	song
Wairua	spirit, spirituality
Whaikōrero	formal speech-making/speech
Whakahīhī	conceited, show off
Whakaiti	diminish in status
Whakamā	shy, embarrassed, ashamed
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakatauāki	proverb, saying
Whānau	extended family
Whānaungatanga	familiness
Whare	house
Whare wānanga	school of higher learning

He aha te mea nui o te ao nei? He tāngata. What is the most important thing in this world? It is Man.