NĀU TE RŪNANGA, NĀKU TE RŪNANGA

KA PIKI AKE TE ŌRANGA O TE IWI

**Partnership Relationships between
Schools and Māori Communities**

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Partnership Relationships between
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A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

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HE KŌRERO WHAKATAKI - ABSTRACT

In tracing the development of partnership relationships between Māori, Pākehā and the State, this thesis explores how partnerships are defined and practised. The research examines historically the role of the Treaty of Waitangi in terms of establishing foundations for partnerships, the principles of the Treaty and its interpretation in educational reforms contemporarily, and the practical applications of both the theories and policy for Māori communities. The thesis thus, examines a range of educational initiatives to address Māori community participation and involvement in schooling and critiques the effectiveness of these initiatives to explicitly achieve this.

The thesis argues that conceptions of partnership at the school level rely heavily on policy rhetoric that provides no guidelines for implementation. Thus, interpretations of partnerships are based on individuals' or groups' willingness to pursue relationships with Māori communities. While there is a foreseeable positive development of partnership relationships between Māori communities and schools, this thesis argues that this process is reliant upon contexts and situations that Māori have no control over.

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Whakataka te hau ki te uru, Whakataka te hau ki te tonga

Kia mākinakina ki uta, Kia mātaratara ki tai

E hī ake ana i te atakura, he tio, he huka, he hū

Whano, whano, hara mai te mauri, haumi e hui e taiki e!

Ka tangi a Pukenui, ka tangi a Kahuranaki, ka tangi hoki ahau ko Kauhehei, tihei mauriora! Mauriora koutou, mauriora tātou katoa! Ka mihi tēnei ki te Kaihautū o tēnei ao, nāna i utaina mai tōna korowai wairua ki runga i a tātou ngā kaihoe, ngā maunga, ngā awa, ngā roto, ngā waka me ngā hau. Nāna i hōmai tō tātou reo me ōna tikanga katoa, ko te reo o koro mā, o kui mā. Nāna anō i hōmai ki a tātou tō tātou mana Māori motuhake.

Ka mihi, ka tangi tēnei ki te hunga whetū, rātou mā o te kāhui kahurangi ki tua o Pae Mahara. Nā rātou i waiho mai tō tātou reo rangatira, nā rātou anō i para te huarahi hei whāinga mā tātou, heoi anō, tēnei anō tātou e noho nei ngā mahuetanga iho hai urupā ora mō rātou mā.

Tēnei au e ketekete ana i aku kupu oha ki a koutou katoa mai i ngā hau e whā, te hau raki, te hau tonga, te hau uru me te hau rāwhiti. He mihi tēnei nā tētahi uri o Te Whatuiāpiti, nō reira, tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa i runga i te reo karanga o te kaupapa nei, o te tuhinga-roa nei. Ka haere atu tōku aroha ki a koutou ngā pou e ngākaunui ana ki te kaupapa nei, he kaupapa whakaako, he kaupapa whakatō mātauranga ki ngā whakatipuranga nō nāia tonu nei, nō muri ake nei hoki. Tēnā koutou te iwi e whakapau kaha ana ki te whāngai i ā tātou tamariki hei whakamana I a rātou, arā, kia mōhio ai rātou he mana motuhake tō rātou.

Ki a koutou ngā whānau, ngā kaiako, ngā tumuaki, ngā poari whakahaere o ngā kura, ngā ākonga, me ngā whānau whānui o ngā kura kua uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau, e te tāhuna-ā-tara tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa, mōu i tautoko mai, i awhi mai, tēnā koutou. Tēnā koutou i uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau, ki te tautoko mai, ā, tēnā hoki koutou ki tā koutou mahi i roto i ngā kura o te hau kāinga nei. Ka ngana, ka tohe

koutou ia rā, ia rā ahakoa te uauatanga, ahakoa te kore rauemi, ahakoa te torotikanga o te pūnaha mātauranga o Aotearoa me ērā atu o ngā wāhanga o ä tātou rōpū-ā-whenua. Ka whawhai tonu koutou, ka whawhai tonu tātou te iwi Māori.

Kei te rere te manu kōrero ki tōku whānau, ki tōku hoa rangatira me te tini o te hau kāinga; nā rātou te taonga mā te hinengaro kia whakamahi, kia whakaoti hoki i tēnei tuhinga-roa. Nā ngā mātua tūpuna me ōku mātua te whakapapa, nā rātou hoki te āhua hei arataki tēnei ki tēnei huarahi. Ki ngā teina, kei te mōhio tēnei i kōnei kōrua ahakoa te aha. Kāti rä, ka whai hua tēnei mahi Rangahau nā koutou, nā koutou te taonga, arā, te hinengaro i whakamahi kia oti pai hoki tēnei tuhinga-roa.

Ka tukuna atu aku mihi ki ōku hoa mahi o Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga, koutou katoa o Te Uru Māraurau ki Te Hokowhitu, ki Ruawharo hoki, nei te mihi hūmarie ki a koutou ki te tautoko, ki te ārahi, ki te āwhina, tō koutou whanaungatanga me te whakawhiti kōrero kia tareka ai te kaupapa nei.

Ka mihi hoki tēnei ki ngā whānau Māori o Aotearoa, mai i te rautau tekau mā iwa ā mohoa nei, he mihi ki a rātou kua wehe atu, ki a tātou hoki e ora tonu ana, ā, ki ngā whakatipuranga e heke mai nei. Ki ngā iwi katoa kua uru mai ki te pūnaha kura o Aotearoa nei ahakoa ngā aukati, ngā mamaetanga me ngā ture-ā-Pākehā o ēnei wā, ko koutou e noho ana i te pūnaha tikanga tōtahi, tēnā rawa atu. Otirā, e te iwi, ko Kauhehei te maunga, ko Te Rotoātara te waiū, ko Pukehou te marae, ko Te Whatuiāpiti te tangata, ko Kahungunu te iwi, ko Tākitimu te waka

Tēnei te ara o Ranginui e tū nei, tēnei te ara o Papatuanuku e takoto nei
Tēnei te ara o Rangi rāua ko Papa e takoto nei, tēnei te pō nau mai te ao
Karangatia te ao kia ita, karangatia ko Tāne i whakairihia i āpiti ki runga, āpiti ki raro
Tawhia mai i waho rarea mai i roto kia rarau te tapuwae o Tane Whakapiripiri, tū nei
Hikihiki nuku hikihiki rangi, wātea tū ko te whaiao ko te ao mārama
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Turuturu o whiti, whakamaua kia tina, tina! Haumi e hui e taiki e!

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Mauri mahi, mauri ora; mauri noho, mauri mate.

Once again to you all, my deepest gratitudes for getting me to this point and may we all move onward in a way that our mokopuna and you, us, ngā whānau katoa can all benefit and perform to our potential. Only when we have our position firmly fixed where it should be - *Te Mana Māori Motuhake*, will we do so;

Ko te pae tawhiti whāia kia tata, ko te pae tata whakamaua kia tīna!

Anei māua ko māhaki e whakawhētai ana, kia pai te pānui!

Tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa.

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Me Pēwhea Ngā Rūnanga

The Analysis of Partnerships

Chapter 1.

Te Poumārama - Introduction

We see the need for a system that recognises and supports the culture, values and language of the Māori people. In order to promote this objective, we opted for changes, which would encourage community involvement, (Department of Education, 1988:66).

1.1 Outlining the Thesis

Since 1988, successive governments have attempted to create partnerships between schools and their Māori communities through changes in educational policy that have ostensibly encouraged a greater participation by Māori in educational policy development. Such initiatives have stemmed from a commitment to acknowledging and honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, the principles of the Treaty, biculturalism and partnership as outlined in the *1985 Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act*.

Education documents such as, the *1988 Picot Report - Administering For Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) and *Tomorrows Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) claimed that Māori interests and aspirations concerning the education system would have

...Considerably more scope than they do at present to exercise a fair measure of influence over their children's education, (Department of Education, 1988:65-6).

This greater scope for influence in education was envisaged through the creation of mechanisms such as School Boards of Trustees, Māori membership to those Boards and school charters (Johnston, 1991).

The *1989 Education Act* (the Act to entrench the educational reforms of the late 1980s) also made more specific provisions to address community representation for every school in order to ensure some Māori representation in key decision-making areas. For example, Part VII: Control and Management of State Schools, Section 61, subsection 3(a) requires that a Board of Trustees shall consult with parents before preparing a proposed charter or amendment to a charter for a school. Section 62 is Māori community specific in that it states that views and concerns of Māori communities are to be considered when a school prepares its charter or plans to amend it

> *...The Board shall take all reasonable steps to discover and consider the views and concerns of Māori communities living in the geographical area the school serves, (1989 Education Act).*

Section 63 stated that school charters were to contain certain aims that reflected the unique nature of 'Māoritanga'. Part IX: School Boards, sections 94 and 96 relate to School Board of Trustee membership and indicate the criteria for membership and elections regarding parent (community) representatives as reflecting the ethnic 'make-up' of those communities. What the *1989 Act* and regulations did not account for was according to Johnston (1991)

> *...Like all education reports before them [the]... fail[ure] to take into account the wider social, political and economic realities of Māori in general, (p.35).*

These realities meant that Māori were not in positions that would enable them to contest and challenge in school communities; the decisions being made for Māori were Pākehā resolved. Ultimately, the democratic process of one person-one vote worked against Māori interests as the situation of Māori membership to School Boards of Trustees mirrored the wider societal picture of Māori under representation at important local, regional and national decision-making levels.

According to Johnston (1991, 1997) and Smith (1990, 1991, 1997), the new reforms contained very little that would result in meaningful intervention in what Smith (1991) referred to as

also accorded the blame for incurring such barriers based on [State] deficit views of Māori and Māori communities (this deficit focus has prevailed throughout educational policy and practices since the 1960s). For instance, the Te Puni Kōkiri report titled *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori* (2000) claimed that

> *Greater improvement in participation and achievement within the education sector is critical if social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori are to be reduced. The outcomes of education for Māori affect their opportunities in employment and income, with flow-on effects in housing, criminal justice, and health, (p.15).*

Māori demographic statistics reveal a youthful population meaning that a large proportion of this population is presently somewhere within the country's compulsory education sector. If the disparities between Māori and non-Māori are to be lessened, then it is essential that progress towards quality educational attainment be given a greater focus right now. Given that reports such as *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; 2000) reveal that a 'Gap' between Māori and non-Māori in education exists and any movement to 'Closing the Gaps' is negligible, it is apparent that the recently released partnership relationship guidelines for schools and their Māori communities have been presented at a very opportune time.

For example, in 1998, Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education released their findings to a discussion document titled *Making Education Work for Māori* towards the end of 1997. At the government's request, this research was undertaken to seek ways to reduce the disparities ('Gaps') between Māori and non-Māori in the education sector. There were five broad issues collated from the responses to the discussion booklet. These were:

1. Māori want more say in education;
2. The needs to be greater accountability to Māori;
3. The need for more responsiveness and diversity in education;
4. The need for changes in attitudes and expectations for Māori children and Māori education;
5. The need for better information and communication.
   (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1998).

....A schooling crisis relating to Māori education, (p.7);

and Johnston (1997) referred to as

....Continual Māori marginalisation, (p.3).

That marginalisation (through decision-making processes) would impact upon the extent to which a 'fair measure of influence' might eventuate thus, creating an inconsistency between policy and the actual practices (Johnston, 1991). The intended partnerships between schools and their Māori communities through Māori participation on School Boards of Trustees appeared to be in trouble from the outset.

This inability to address Māori educational hopes and aspirations was continually alluded to throughout the 1990s by educational policies, reports and hui. Consequently, (and 14 years later) the notion of partnership has not developed to the extent that the provisions in the *1989 Education Act* had hoped for, resulting in a number of other changes to the education system. For example, in 1999 the Labour Government introduced changes to the National Administrative Guidelines that were to take effect by July 1st 2000. These changes meant that schools, in consultation with their Māori communities would develop and make known to the school's community, policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of their Māori pupils. One education report to highlight the poor performance by Māori across education in this period was a report titled *Māori Participation and Performance in Education* (Chapple, Jeffries and Walker, 1997). For instance, a summary to the report identified that

> *Māori students do worse at school than non-Māori students mainly because Māori parents have less money and less education than non-Māori parents.....we think that about two-thirds of the education gap is because so many Māori families have fewer resources, (Else, 1997:11).*

Disparities or 'Gaps' were identified to exist between Māori and non-Māori because of a number of barriers. These barriers included, a lack of resources available among Māori communities, ignorance within school communities and 'myths' about Māori children / Māori education more generally (Johnston, 1998). However, Māori were

All five of these issues are either directly or indirectly related to establishing greater partnership relationships in education between schools and their Māori communities and although successive governments over the past two decades have attempted to implement strategies to foster Māori community and school partnerships, this has not eventuated. Greater partnership, consultation and collaboration between schools and their Māori communities at a range of levels would ensure as Smith (1997) argues, positive educational outcomes for Māori. These links between ideas about partnership, participation and educational achievement are slowly being forged.

However, the issues raised by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education resulted in the release of guidelines for schools on how to involve Māori communities in decision-making processes. Called *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* (Ministry of Education, 2000), the guidelines outline practices of engaging with Māori parents, whānau and communities for School Boards of Trustees. The guidelines do raise some concerns.

For instance, will the guidelines contribute to lessening the disparities ('Gap') much quicker than policies and practices are currently doing? Will involving Māori communities with schools in developing effective partnerships (following specific guidelines and policy practices) improve Māori achievement levels and successful outcomes in the key education areas indicated in the *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2000) report?

Because improving relationships between Māori communities and schools is seen to be a mechanism for facilitating positive outcomes for Māori educational achievement (ibid), this thesis will examine those relationships through investigating what partnership relationships currently exist between schools and their Māori communities. As partnership relationships are being created at local school level and models, approaches and guidelines are being developed and practiced, also at that level, this is where the research will focus.

Although the researcher supports the hypothesis that improving compulsory school and Māori community partnership relationships could have long-term positive effects

on Māori educational achievement, this research will not focus explicitly on those factors. That focus on '*Better Relationships for **Better Learning**'* is being undertaken elsewhere (McLeod, forthcoming). This research focuses explicitly on the '***Better Relationships** for Better Learning*' aspects of the Ministry of Education 2000 report.

In focusing on '***Better Relationships** for Better Learning*', the research asks:

- Are current educational partnership relationship initiatives between schools and their Māori communities functioning at a level that fosters and nurtures the educational success of Māori children?

- Will improved partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities result in successful education outcomes for Māori children?

- Does effective consultation between schools and their Māori communities encourage the empowerment of Māori communities and Māori children?

- Does a lack of partnership relationship guidelines between schools and their Māori communities contribute to the failure of Māori communities to participate in their children's schooling?

1.2 Thesis Content

There is much truth in the observation that if you want to understand the present you must first understand the past. The circumstances of today were shaped by the events of yesterday. To predict what will happen tomorrow, you always need to understand what is happening today, (Temm, 1988:3).

Part A of this thesis is titled *Me Pēwhea Ngā Rūnanga? – Analysis of Partnerships*. The purpose of this section is to investigate how notions of partnerships between Māori and Pākehā have developed, the origins of those developments and the influences / impacts on education for Māori.

Chapter One is the introduction to the thesis, introducing the issues and concerns in relation to ideas about 'partnerships' between schools and Māori communities.

Chapter Two explores the Treaty of Waitangi, its articles and principles recognising that ideas about partnership stem from the Treaty. The chapter investigates early

colonisation, including the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, explores the texts and the principles of the Treaty outlining how the State has breached those principles in education. The chapter will illustrate 'differences' in definitions of the Treaty that result today in different interpretations of what the Treaty means and represents.

Chapter Three will explore the notion of partnership relationships within the context of Māori educational history in Aotearoa New Zealand. This investigation will extend from pre-European colonisation up to the 1980s. The notion of partnership relationships between Māori and the State (Pākehā) will be explored within the context of Māori education as a means to ascertain how relationships between Māori and Pākehā have developed. Partnership relationships between Māori and the State across education in the 20th century are also explored in conjunction with a number of interacting variables that include, Māori urbanisation, integration, Māori resistance, Māori political conscientisation and Māori developed educational initiatives such as, Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The chronological order and pattern of these developments is seen as important for placing and pinpointing educational disparities that exist today for Māori. The consequences of such displacements are important in terms of 'framing' and understanding the research context examined in the latter part of this thesis.

Chapter Four focuses on the Treaty of Waitangi and the role it plays across education, in terms of specific education policies and reforms of the late 1980s:

- The *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987);
- The *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988);
- *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988);
- The *1989 Education* Act;

In some form or other, these documents either allude to or draw from the Treaty of Waitangi as a means to foster better relationships between Māori and Pākehā.

The process and development of these educational reforms will be analysed in relation to areas that directly concern the nature of this thesis topic, including Māori parental involvement and participation in the schooling of their children and

partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities. The connection between the educational reforms and partnership relationships is that the Treaty of Waitangi fosters biculturalism and partnership, and to that end, the thesis investigates Māori and State perceptions of the Treaty, biculturalism and partnership.

Chapter Five analyses the effectiveness of the educational reforms in the previous decade (1990s). The chapter will argue that a lack of success and positive improvement by Māori across education in the 1990s concludes that educational reform has not been beneficial for Māori, as a lack of partnership at the policy development level and a lack of recognition of Māori perceptions of biculturalism by the State, continue to place Māori in a deficit position in comparison to mainstream New Zealand.

Part B of this thesis is titled ***Ka Puta Mai Te Rangahau - Introducing the Research***. This section specifically deals with the research, it introduces the methodology, presents the findings, analyses and final summary to the thesis. Because of the richness and depth of the information collected, the findings to the research are presented in two parts, Chapter Seven (The Research Findings) and Chapter Eight (The Analysis).

Chapter Six outlines the research process and introduces the research methodology employed by the researcher, the methods used by the researcher and the research participants in this study. The chapter also outlines the types of questions that the research set out to investigate and therefore summarises the intentions of this research. In doing so, the chapter will also discuss the implications of carrying out research of this nature, the research methodology employed, ethical considerations, procedure and the interview process. Background information concerning the research participants and their respective schools will also be presented in a lead up to the research findings.

Chapter Seven introduces the research schools and presents the findings to the research and the results of the interviews with the research participants. These findings will be compared to support the investigation of similarities and differences in partnership relationships between the schools.

Chapter Eight will analyse the findings of the research. This analysis will include linking the research findings specifically to Part A of this thesis, the literature review.

Chapter Nine summarises and concludes the thesis. The chapter will also discuss to what extent are / have *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* being / been practiced? That is:

- Have improved partnerships between schools and Māori communities resulted in successful educational outcomes for Māori children or is it too early to gauge at this stage?

- How can educational success for Māori children be improved through effective partnership between schools and communities?

- Has consultation between schools and Māori communities encouraged the empowerment of Māori communities and Māori children in education?

Several possible solutions to developing and sustaining guidelines between schools and Māori communities will also be presented.

Chapter 2.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Treaty of Waitangi

Few of the natives understood the nature of the Treaty. Nopera, an astute chief, said: The shadow of the land passes to the Queen but we retain the substance...., (Vaggioli, 1896 in Crockett 2000:97).

2.1 Introduction

From initial contact, Māori and European relationships worked to both groups' advantages. Māori wanted access to new technologies and Pākehā wanted land for commercial gain

> *....Most Māori viewed Pākehā as a source of trade, a teacher of new beliefs and skills, a purveyor of new and useful technology....this combination of responses promoted Pākehā respect....,(Pearson, 1990:41).*

> *....Relations between Māori and Pākehā in the decades before mass European settlement ranged from 'the brutal to the symbiotic to total absorption'. The norm, if one can simplify such a set of intricate relations, was one of uneasy coexistence, based on a balance of power between the physical supremacy of the Māori and the material advantages of the Pākehā...., (ibid).*

> *....If Europeans mistreated Māoris, they would be killed. If Māoris mistreated Europeans trade would stop, (ibid).*

By 1835 the impact of European contact was evident with widespread consequences affecting all aspects of Māori society especially in the Northern and Coastal areas of New Zealand where land loss, warfare and disease was rife (Orange, 1986). In the aftermath of haphazard settlement (followed by lawlessness and British humanitarian interests (Simon, 1990) in the ensuing years up to 1840) both Māori and Pākehā settlers were calling for some form of intervention by the British government into New Zealand's affairs

As far as westerners were concerned, New Zealand was in a state of anarchy. There were no effective laws and no crimes were punished......Survival and prosperity on the frontier depended on a combination of the relative number of one's European friends and enemies, and one's profitability to the Māoris....., (Adams, 1977:20).

Under missionary guidance, thirteen leading chiefs in the North petitioned the king of England to provide some form of control over British nationals in New Zealand and protection from the possibility of other foreign intervention, (Walker, 1990:88).

By 1839 it was evident that some form of intervention would occur. The inevitability of this was foreseeable given the protection required by British settlers, the expansion of New Zealand (and the capacity for this under British rule) and the technological transfer that had occurred. Consequently, Captain Hobson was sent to New Zealand from England under instructions issued by the British Colonial Office to establish a treaty between the indigenous Māori of New Zealand and the Crown, the latter whom he would represent (Orange, 1986).

It is also important to recognise that not all Māori were in favour of British intervention. Opposition was predominant among some iwi (tribes) and their chiefs. Such judgments were no doubt founded on the notion that British intervention would lead to a further loss of power, control, subjugation and depletion of Māori land and other resources

Despite the obscure meaning of the Treaty, several chiefs sought reassurance by speaking out against it. Chiefs like Te Kemara, Rewa and Moka opposed the Governor's presence if it meant that their status would be relegated to below that of the Governor.....The influential Ngāti Hine chief Kawiti suspected that something more than kāwanatanga was at stake....., (Walker, 1990:94).

While some chiefs believed that European contact had been to the disadvantage of Māori and their iwi (ibid), others thought that change and European settlement was far too advanced (see Orange, 1987). However, European settlement had been so extensive that some formal type of agreement like a treaty was essential for the development of relations between Māori and Pākehā (Adams, 1977; Walker, 1990). The Treaty of Waitangi was thus signed on February 6th 1840 and was to be a solemn covenant between the Crown (of England) and Māori (iwi) of New Zealand. Under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and Pākehā agreed to grant the other

specific rights that were coherent with certain obligations as detailed in the three articles that make up the Treaty.

Before we examine those articles however, it is important to understand that there are [at least] two Treaties or two versions; a Māori version that has significant textual differences from an English version. The differences inherent in the two versions invoke much discourse and raise numerous questions / challenges, a process that has been on-going since February 6th 1840 at local (whānau), regional (hapū / iwi) and national (Crown / government and Māori collective) levels. For example, Durie (1990) mentions how confusion and uncertainty over the Treaty's meaning and intent are attributed to the two versions of the Treaty that were developed

> *The Māori Treaty and the English Treaty were not identical and the differences have given rise to dispute and debate over the meaning and application of the Treaty ever since, (p.5).*

Contemporarily, both Treaties are recognised as valid[1] and in giving effect to the Treaty today, much of the discourse relates to 'the Treaty of Waitangi' rather than the Māori or English versions of the Treaty. This chapter examines the articles of the Treaty and the resulting 'principles' that have arisen from those articles. The chapter provides an historical and contemporary analysis as a means to further provide a mandate from which to analyse conceptions of partnership for education policy and practices.

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[1] Johnston, (1999), has argued that the two different versions result in different perceptions of biculturalism, principles and partnerships which continue to this day to result in different expectations for outcomes (see also Chapter Four).

2.2 Articles of the Treaty of Waitangi

The two versions of the Treaty are as follows:

<u>English Version</u>

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to her majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

<u>Māori Version</u>

Ko te tuatahi

Ko ngā Rangatira o te Wakaminenga, me ngā Rangatira katoa, hoki, kihai i uru ki taua Wakaminenga, ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarangi ake tonu atu te Kawanatanga katoa o ō rātou wenua.

Ko te tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarangi ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā Rangatira, ki ngā Hapū, ki ngā tāngata katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou tāonga katoa. Otiia ko ngā Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa atu, ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o ērā wāhi wenua e pai ai te tangata nōna te wenua, ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e rātou ko te kai hoki e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mōna.

Ko te tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tēnei mō te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini. Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarangi ngā tāngata Māori katoa o Nu Tirani. Ka tukua ki a rātou ngā tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki ngā tāngata o Ingarangi.

Translation of Māori Version (by Kawharu, H. in Careers Service, 1996:44)

The first

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England forever the complete government over their land.

The second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the Sub tribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.
(*Royal Commission on Social Policy*, 1988).

In Article One of the English text, Māori sovereignty is ceded to the Queen of England whereas Article One of the Māori text makes provision for British rule and governance *(kāwanatanga)* over New Zealand thus, anticipating Māori loyalty to 'the Crown'. The fundamental difference in the texts of Article One is that sovereignty [in the English version] is inaccurately translated as kāwanatanga (governorship) in the Māori version thus, creating a point of divergence and debate that has been prevalent ever since the Treaty was signed.

Article Two provides for the continued expression of tribal authority *(rangatiratanga)*. The leading proclamation of Article Two is that the Queen of England guarantees Māori the retention of their rights. These rights are referred to as property rights [and authority over them] in the English text, while in the Māori text according to Kawharu's (1996) translation, it is the perpetuation of the unqualified exercise of chieftainship over lands, communities and everything that is valued *(tāonga)* to Māori people.

In defining everything that is valued [to Māori] the term *tāonga* is not clearly defined because the concept of *tāonga* includes a broad range of meanings that encompasses items of value both seen and unseen physical, material, spiritual, metaphysical, cultural, social and economic assets and possessions. For example, Mead (1986) in a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal on the meaning of Articles One and Two stated

that the phrase "ō rātou tāonga katoa" covered both tangible and intangible things and could best be translated by the expression "all things highly prized" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). In section 4.2.4 of the *1986 Te Reo Māori Report* the Waitangi Tribunal stated that

> *It is plain that the language is an essential part of the culture and must be regarded as "a valued possession", (ibid).*

There is evidence to suggest however, that Māori and Pākehā notions of authority over *tāonga* diverged to such an extent that Māori language nearly died out (Benton, 1978).

Section Two in Article Two (English version) of the Treaty of Waitangi prescribes to the Crown a negotiating role in purchasing land (the right of preemption) should Māori desire to sell. This meant that Māori could not directly negotiate with Pākehā settlers in the business of land sales and transactions. Rather, they were required to deal directly with the Crown who resold land to settlers for a profit thus, Māori land transactions, law and confiscation worked to support and reinforce assimilatory policies for Māori (Johnston, 1998).

Article Three makes provision for the protection of Māori well being and prescribes citizenship rights (*tiakitanga*) to Māori equal to those of British subjects. Therefore the Treaty of Waitangi is not only a binding agreement between Māori and the Crown (Pihama, in Cruickshank, 2001) it actually affirms Māori as *tangata whenua* (host) and Pākehā as *manuhiri* (guest)[2]. It is the basis for Māori - Pākehā relations, relations that were to develop into notions of a 'partnership'.

If the Treaty and its articles are summarised into succinct statements, the following definitions by Durie (1990) encapsulate what the Treaty represents

> *In Māori opinion, Article One was what was given, Article Two what was retained, and Article Three, what was acquired, (p.5).*

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[2] In today's context, that position has been reversed (Pearson, 1990).

It is evident that the transfer of sovereignty intended by the Treaty developers in 1840 was not indicated to Māori signatories (Orange, 1986). Even so, Māori were left with the perception that there would be a sharing of power between themselves and the Crown (a partnership) with Māori having a substantial proportion of autonomy and power equal to their Treaty partner however,

> *Clearly the English version of the Treaty purportedly gave the Crown more, and secured to the Māori less, than the Māori version. Still, on either version the Treaty gave the authority of the Crown in New Zealand some colour of right, some legitimacy, (Brookfield 1989 in Kawharu, 1989:5).*

For Māori, the Treaty of Waitangi is the basis of a unique relationship with other New Zealanders and the country's institutions (*Royal Commission on Social Policy*, 1988), a relationship based on a combination of mutually exclusive rights and obligations prescribed by the Treaty to Māori (iwi). It has been argued that that relationship has been one of a partnership between Māori and Pākehā. The notion of partnership derives from the fact that over 500 Māori chiefs (representing a number of iwi and hapū) and Lieutenant Governor Hobson (representing the British Government) were signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. That partnership has evolved now to include all Māori tribes as one partner (a Māori collective) and the New Zealand Government (a collective representing the Crown and all New Zealanders – Māori and non-Māori). While partnership is an identified principle of the Treaty of Waitangi, it is not the only principle and there are a number of factors to consider when analysing partnership issues

> *The Treaty was a contract between two groups, each agreeing to respect the prerogatives of the other. But its broad provisions, encompassing both physical and human resources, require opportunities for the partners to meet and negotiate from positions of relative equality, (Durie, 1989 in Kawharu, 1989:296).*

However, history has shown that Māori and the Crown have not consulted fully, negotiated, planned or implemented education policy from a position that both Māori and the Crown recognise as 'equal'. Māori have been subject to Pākehā (the Crown / the New Zealand government / non-Māori) conceptions of partnership that have been ongoing since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (see Chapter Four). Consequently, the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles have been the focus of Māori

protest over the last 160 years, the notion of partnership that Māori envisage(d) has never been fulfilled by the Crown and this has occurred most strongly across the socio-economic sector of Aotearoa New Zealand. In the latter stages of the 20th century these protests grew out of a period of greater Māori conscientisation, politicisation and resistance that has for instance, started to lead to a number of Māori and Crown initiatives in education. Durie (in Kawharu, 1989) states

> .... *Unless the sharing of power is also an objective, then genuine partnership will be illusory, (ibid:298).*

2.3 Breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi

Walker (1990) argued that because of a high (and growing) number of European settlers on Māori land, it was only a matter of time before the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi would be breached. For example, at a legislative level a number of laws were introduced and passed through parliament that reneged on the articles of the Treaty, commencing with the issuing of the *1840 Royal Charter* for the colony by Hobson

> *The charter gave the Governor power to survey the whole of New Zealand and divide it up into districts, counties, towns, townships, and parishes....None of these matters were envisaged by the chiefs who signed the Treaty, nor were they privy to them, otherwise Hobson's governorship might have been short-lived, (ibid:98).*

The *Royal Charter* contravened article two of the Treaty in a number of ways:

- Māori tino rangatiratanga was blatantly ignored;
- Māori exclusive, undisturbed possession of Māori tāonga was an erroneous belief;
- Māori notions of partnership [and treaties] were overlooked;
- The notion of consultation an imperative constituent of partnership was totally disregarded.

The *Native Trust Ordinance* passed in 1844 under Governor Fitzroy is another example of breaches. The Act made provision for Māori education as part of the process of 'civilisation' of the Māori

Which object may best be attained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population, (Project Waitangi, 1989).

The *1844 Native Trust Ordinance* was explicitly blatant in its emphasis on assimilating Māori (Snook, 1990) thus, its intent was to make Māori into 'brown skinned working lower class Pākehā'. This legislation clearly contravened articles two and three of the Treaty of Waitangi whereby Māori well being and citizenship rights through Māori interpretations and understanding of the Treaty were violated. These violations impacted on Māori in terms of partnership, protection, equity, decision-making, tino rangatiratanga (the power of sovereignty), mana tangata (human rights) and mana whenua (the integrity and power associated with land).

The *1852 New Zealand Constitution Act* established a settler government in New Zealand and gave the right of voting to European males who owned property. Communally owned land did not qualify as property, thereby denying Māori men a vote. The property qualifications practically ostracised most Māori whose land was still under customary title

> *Māori had no influence in the settler assemblies either, because the requirement that voters hold sufficient property individually meant that only a hundred or so Māori qualified, (Ward, 1999:110).*

This Act also breached articles two and three of the Treaty whereby the nature and fabrication of Māori society, whānau, hapū and iwi was once again overtly and utterly subjugated to Pākehā rule. The transparent nature of such actions refutes the binding notion between Māori and Pākehā of the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori perceptions of partnership remained an unobtainable ideal. For example, the *1867 Māori Representation Act* set up four Māori seats as a means of removing the threat of Māori out-numbering Pākehā in some electorates where individualised land titles had given Māori men the right to vote (Project Waitangi, 1989). The Act was also seen to recognise article three rights guaranteed to Māori under the Treaty however,

only Māori men could vote for those four Māori seats, as colonial gender bias also came to the fore[3].

Land was continually being taken through new land legislation and the health status of Māori was in a destitute state through war, disease, poverty and alcohol. Physically, spiritually, mentally and socially, Māori as a people had been removed from their equilibrium state of well being, a state that had been achieved through maintaining a complete balance within their environment

> *From the Māori viewpoint issues involving Te Whenua (land), Te Reo (language), Te Ao Turoa (environment) and Whanaungatanga (extended family), are central to the Māori culture, central to health and deeply rooted in the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, (Pomare & De Boer, 1988:22).*

In education, Treaty violations[4] were ongoing throughout this period (and continued through to the 20th century). For example, government trends towards Māori education in this period focused largely on assimilation policy and the following legislations all served to contradict and contravene the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The *1877 Education Act* in particular, reveals the overt assimilative nature and intent of the State's policies for Māori and Māori education.

(i)   *1847 Education Ordinance*
        - Encouraged the further establishment of industrial boarding schools that were to hasten the assimilation by removing Māori children from the demoralising influences of their villages and kāinga.

(ii)   *1858 Native Schools Act*
        - An initial attempt by Grey to maintain the mission schools funded through the government, therefore a mechanism to maintain the assimilation process of Māori. However, the land wars of the 1860s put a halt to such schools.

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[3] It could be argued that women gaining the vote in 1893 was another means of swelling Päkehä voting ranks numerically, subsequently still marginalizing Mäori.

[4] References for further reading about the Treaty and its impact have been included; others that cover the long period of Mäori protest include, Ward, 1999; Walker, 1990; Ruka, 1998; Adams, 1977; Vaggioli, 1896 in Crockett, 2000.

1867 Native Schools Act
- A national system of schools for Māori was established that Māori had to significantly contribute to; upholding the government's policy of assimilation.

(iv) 1871 Native Schools Amendment Act
- Strengthened the provisions and purposes of the 1867 Act although it waived the monetary contributions that Māori had to make to the schools.

(v) 1877 Education Act
- Established a national system of education; Māori still had to contribute material for the establishment of Native Schools; further entrenched the government's policy on assimilation of Māori.

(vi) 1880 Native School Code
- This formulated a code for Māori schools including standards, curriculum content and administrative matters that differed from 'other' schools for instance, Māori communities had to donate land and finance Native Schools.

(vii) 1894 Schools Attendance Act
- Required Māori children to attend Native Schools.

(viii) 1897 Revised Code
- This revised the 1880 Code syllabus.

While at face value legislation did not seem so violating of Māori rights, it was the structure of these policies, how they were developed and what their broader intentions were that breached the Treaty of Waitangi. For example, separate schools for Māori resulted in Māori language and culture being denigrated contributing to further eradication of Māori cultural and social frameworks (Johnston, 1998).

This was further supported by acts like the *1907 Suppression of Tohunga Act,* which outlawed the spiritual and educational role of tohunga (Walker, 1990; Simon and Smith, 2001; Metge, 1976), who were seen as a threat to assimilative policy because they preserved traditional Māori values and beliefs. Such policies and practices continued to breach the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi by furthering the interests of one Treaty partner (Pākehā) over those of the other partner (Māori).

The *Royal Commission on Social Policy* (1988) highlights some of these breaches, which included, decline in Māori language (Benton, 1978), Māori educational underachievement (*1961 Hunn Report*), loss of land (Walker, 1990) and unemployment (Barber, 1986). The result was that Māori mobilised through political

activism and protest to challenge the State's inactions and also breaches against the Treaty.

For example, in 1975, a large group of Māori journeyed from Te Hapua (in the far North Island) to Parliament (in Wellington). Known as the 1975 Land March, the action served to highlight the disparities between Māori and Pākehā and Māori loss of land. This protest was followed in quick succession by others (see Walker 1987, 1990) that exerted pressure on the government to give the Treaty some statutory force. This pressure resulted in the passing of the *1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act*, instigated and strongly supported by Matiu Rata, the then Minister of Māori Affairs. The Act established the Waitangi Tribunal, a forum set up to hear Māori grievances against the Treaty and the principles of the Treaty

> *The Treaty of Waitangi Act stated that any Māori or group of Māori who considered they were prejudicially affected, or likely to be so, by any act of commission or omission by the Crown, in breach of the principles of the Treaty, could lodge a claim with the new body, the Waitangi Tribunal, (Ward, 1999:26)*

thus, enabling Māori a forum to 'air' their 'grievances'. Rata (in Ward, 1999) argued however that all grievances since 1840 should be eligible for claims and a number of organisations rallied in support of the new Bill including the New Zealand Māori Council, the Māori Graduates Association and Ngai Tahu. However,

> *To the disappointment of Rata and his many supporters, Cabinet accepted a Bill that dealt only with breaches of the Treaty principles occurring subsequent to the passage of the Act, (Ward, 1999:26)*

thus, claims could only be lodged from 1975 onwards.

As a consequence of that Bill, the 1975 *Treaty of Waitangi Act* became a 'nothing' Act for Māori (Ward, 1999) because of restrictions placed on claims. As a result of the Act, only two cases were heard in the eight years up to 1983. Māori argued however that much of the land grab had occurred prior to 1975 and that 1840, not 1975 onwards should be the settlement period.

Important events of the 1970s / 1980s were to impact on governmental thinking about the Treaty that in turn resulted in a 'rethink'. Those events included the Bastion Point occupation in 1978 (See Ward, 1999; Orange, 1986; Walker, 1990), the Springbok rugby tour 1981, nuclear tests carried out by the French at Mururoa Atoll and New Zealand's stance against nuclear powered vessels in its waters (see Walker, 1990; Rata, 1996; Kaandorp, 2000; Pond Eyley, 1997).

The 1981 Springbok rugby tour was particularly significant in that the anti-apartheid movement had brought Māori and Pākehā alongside one another for the first time to protest for the same cause

> *The springbok tour served an important symbolic function as the catalyst for the emerging cultural bourgeoisie of the Pākehā new class. This group came face to face with Māori grievances within the context of a nationwide combined Māori-Pākehā protest against apartheid and in support of racial and social injustices (Rata, 1996:68).*

Rata (1996) refers to a bicultural project that stemmed from Pākehā perceptions about breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, perceptions that arose from walking in the protest ranks with Māori wherein Pākehā were becoming more politicised about the existence of injustices affecting Māori because of apartheid in South Africa. The result was a raft of Treaty of Waitangi training programmes and workshops to conscientise Pākehā about Treaty injustices. These groups were also very vocal about Treaty injustices. Māori were also becoming more active and vocal. For example, in 1983 the Waitangi Action Committee (WAC) brought together the two Māori political movements, Kotahitanga[5] and the Kingitanga[6], which saw protest against the Waitangi Day celebrations in the form of a planned, peaceful '*hikoi* – walk' to Waitangi in 1984. The hikoi demonstrated Māori unity where contingents of iwi throughout Aotearoa joined together at Turangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia for a 300 km walk to Waitangi in the Bay of Islands. While the hikoi failed to halt the

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[5] The Kotahitanga Movement has its beginnings in the mid to late 19th century. The Movement was a manifestation of Mäori [spiritual, political, social and economic] desires to exert Mäori sovereignty and to give effect to a developing notion of collective Mäori sovereignty; it was also a [Mäori] reaction to European administration (käwanatanga) (see Cox, 1993).

[6] The Kingitanga Movement (the notion of establishing a Mäori monarch) eventually emerged in 1858 and sought to advance (if not maintain) the position of Mäori in national affairs. This was a [Waikato] iwi-based institution that aspired to Mäori sovereignty (See King, 1977; Jones 1959).

Waitangi celebrations, it did make progress towards liberation from Pākehā authority (Walker, 1990).

The political efforts of this hikoi became manifest in the ensuing months. For example, in September 1984, a national hui to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi was held. The outcome of this hui was a resolution was sent to government recommending that

> ....*The Waitangi Tribunal be given retrospective powers to 1840 to hear grievances, and that adequate resources be made available to the tribunal to ensure that grievances were fully researched, (Blank, Williams & Henare, 1985:4).*

Enough pressure had been exerted on government to the point that in 1985, the *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act* was passed in December almost immediately by the new Labour Government with a number of changes instituted. One of the most important changes was the retrospective jurisdiction given to the Waitangi Tribunal in hearing cases brought forward by claimants. This could now be extended back to 1840 as opposed to 1975 under the previous legislation, resulting in massive ramifications for Māori, Pākehā and the government (see Ward, 1999; Sharp, 1990, 1997; Temm, 1990; Minogue, 1998). The ensuing months saw large numbers of claims being lodged before the Waitangi Tribunal. The *1988 Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act* expanded the tribunal while setting down some limitations. For example, only Māori claimants were able to make a claim and the Tribunal could still only make recommendations to the Crown. It is almost certain that such changes however, would not have occurred without the political unrest and turmoil of the previous decade.

2.4 The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

Moves in giving the Treaty of Waitangi more status signaled at least some commitment by the government to work towards some form of partnership while also addressing breaches that had occurred. This movement was shadowed by the introduction of new terminology that attempted to define more clearly the status of

the Treaty, while also building Māori / Pākehā relationships. In the early 1980s for example, agencies began to define the Treaty of Waitangi in terms of principles as they tried to make some sense of how to deal with the 'spirit' of the Treaty and its implications for policy and practices. The Waitangi Tribunal began to do this as they progressed through the first four reports on the claims for Motunui, Kaituna, Manukau and Te Reo Māori (Ruka, 1998). This paved the way for a number of agencies to identify their own Treaty principles including the New Zealand Māori Council 1987, the Court of Appeal 1987, the *Royal Commission on Social Policy* 1988, the Labour Government 1989 and the National Government 1991.

In 1984, the Labour Government identified its own set of Treaty principles:

1. That a settled form of civil government was desirable and that the British Crown should exercise the power of Government.
2. That the power of the British Crown to govern included the power to legislate for all matters relating to peace and order.
3. That Māori chieftainship over their lands, forests, fisheries and other treasures was not extinguished and would be protected and guaranteed.
4. That the protection of the Crown should be extended to the Māori both by way of making British subjects and by prohibition of sale of land to persons other than the Crown.
5. That the Crown should have the pre-emptive right to acquire land from Māori at agreed prices, should they wish to dispose of it.
   (*Royal Commission on Social Policy*, 1988:14-15).

These principles were defined further when in 1989 the government elected to 'set out the principles by which it would act when dealing with issues arising from the Treaty of Waitangi' (Department of Justice, 1989:1).

The New Zealand Māori Council also defined 10 Treaty principles in 1987:

1. The duty to protect to the fullest extent practicable.
2. The jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate omissions.
3. A relationship analogous to fiduciary duty.
4. The duty to consult.
5. The honour of the Crown.
6. The honour to make good past breaches.
7. The duty to return land for land.
8. That the Māori way of life would be protected.
9. That the parties would be of equal status.

10. Where the Māori interest in their taonga is adversely affected, that priority would be given to Māori values.
    (*Royal Commission on Social Policy*, 1988:14-15).

However, both the Labour Government and the New Zealand Māori Council have defined these principles based on their own interpretations of the Treaty, the English and Māori texts respectively. These principles are also not necessarily supportive of each other.

Other references to the Treaty [principles] subsequently appeared in legislation and government directives like the *1986 State Owned Enterprises Act*, the *1987 Conservation Act*, the *1986 Environment Act*, and the *1991 Resource Management Act*. For example, in 1988, the *Royal Commission on Social Policy* identified three key principles of the Treaty:

1. Partnership: - Partnership concerns the binding agreement between Māori and the Crown while also laying the basis for all other ethnic groups' presence in Aotearoa. As such the unique position of Māori as tāngata whenua (host) is acknowledged however, this remains to be desired. The *Royal Commission* (in Careers Service, 1996) inferred that partnership could be affected at a range of levels throughout society and across different spheres such as education including personal, local, regional and national levels. More specifically schools as State agencies must be seen to be working in partnership with Māori – whānau, hapū and iwi.

2. Protection: - Protection encompasses the following three areas: - (i) the protection of Māori interests by the State, (ii) the well-being of the people and families in their tribes and (iii) the solemn undertaking that those who signed would protect and honour the Treaty, (ibid:45). The main focus of these three areas is that people are irreplaceable resources and therefore must be protected by the State and by Māori. This not only includes people but also infers cultural tāonga and valued possessions, tangible and intangible.

3. Participation: - Participation was identified by the *Royal Commission* to be concerned with decision-making, access and a sharing of the country's resources and wealth (ibid). This principle has vital implications at the policy development level whereby there is a necessity for increased Māori autonomy and participation in policy making. All three of these principles are closely interrelated however, all remain distinct in their meaning and intent. These principles also impact on biculturalism and the diverging perceptions of Māori and Pākehā views on biculturalism.

Durie (in Kawharu, 1989) endorses these recommendations when he highlights the importance of two Treaty principles, participation and partnership as being vital to policy development. According to Durie (1989), participation is said to impact at a number of levels:

- Individual and group participation;
- Participation in the delivery of social services;
- Participation in the decision-making process.

While it is also an essential ingredient for an effective democracy

A participatory democracy is one which gives people the opportunity to have a genuine say if they wish; to be told how, when, and where decisions are being made; and to have delegates who are representative of the community. Māori participation in New Zealand as a whole falls short of these criteria....Participation in negative institutions, on the other hand, is high, (ibid:291).

In 1989, the Department of Justice released a document titled, *Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi*. This gave reference to the Treaty of Waitangi principles in legislation dating back to 1986. It also introduced and publicised the principles to the wider public. The document set out the principles by which the government would act when working through Treaty of Waitangi issues, therefore its purpose was also to assist the government when making decisions relating to the Treaty. There were five principles resolved:

1. The Kāwanatanga principle (principle of government);
2. The rangatiratanga principle (principle of self government);

3. The principle of Equality;
4. The principle of Reasonable Co-operation;
5. The principle of Redress.
   (Department of Justice, 1989).

The proliferation of 'principles' developed specifically for diverse contexts has resulted in problems for Māori. For example, in claims and cases before the Waitangi Tribunal or in the courts where the principles of the Treaty are being referred to, it is critical that the appropriate principles are being used as they relate to specific pieces of legislation. Undoubtedly, there is confusion when this does not occur. Because of the broad nature of the Treaty and its interpretation of matters that reflect the past as well as the future it is important that the principles too evolve or adapt to new and changing situations. Judge Richardson of the Court of Appeal, highlighted one important overarching principle in his summary of proceedings in 1987, which in its application undoubtedly impacts at all areas and levels of policy in New Zealand today, while presiding over the New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General and others case of that year. As long as the Treaty of Waitangi remains the founding document of New Zealand and it is recognised so at a government policy-making level and in legislation, then Judge Richardson's interpretation will remain applicable to ensuring both Māori and Pākehā behave accordingly

> ....*The Treaty of Waitangi must be viewed as a solemn compact between 2 identified parties, the Crown and the Māori, through which the colonisation of New Zealand was to become possible. For its part the Crown sought legitimacy from the indigenous people for its acquisition of sovereignty and in return it gave guarantees. That basis for the compact requires each party to act reasonably and in good faith towards the other, (New Zealand Court of Appeal, 1987).*

2.5 Summary

From the time the Treaty was signed, interpretations, definitions and practices have been developed which have not included or benefited Māori thus, Māori have been actively engaged in processes to challenge and contest the State for breaching the articles of the Treaty. Attempts to address inequity on Treaty of Waitangi issues were not successful for Māori and while the Treaty had assumed a prominent role throughout New Zealand society in the 1980s, the procedures through which the

Treaty was defined, the principles interpreted and subsequently legislated through parliament were under the power and control of Pākehā (Johnston, 1998). Some would argue that government pre-empts the Māori partner or often determines Māori participation, thus developing partnerships in a manner that supports the Crown before Māori. One could argue that this situation is particularly visible in the education system where relationships between Māori and Pākehā have mirrored the status (or lack of status) of the Treaty.

The following chapter thus, explores education as it's reflected by the history of Māori education, beginning with the first European form of schooling for Māori in 1815, the Mission Schools through to 1986. In particular, the chapter highlights partnership relationships between Māori and Pākehā especially in terms of educational initiatives for Māori. It explores a history of Māori education discussing state developments and initiatives that indicate representations of partnership relationships between Māori and education institutions. The chapter examines educational initiatives like Whare Wānanga, Mission Schools and Native Schools outlining the specific partnership arrangements that developed between Māori communities and these institutions, and the implications and consequences for Māori.

The purpose of such an investigation is to enable insights as to how representations of partnership have impacted on educational opportunities for Māori. In particular, an understanding of the history of Māori education is thus critical in order to comprehend the foundations that have created educational disparities as a means to examine historically how partnership relationships between Māori and Pākehā were both one-sided and flawed.

Chapter 3.

Ngā Kōrero Nehe o te Mātauranga Māori
– A History of Māori Education 1816 - 1986

Māori schools have become an episode in the history of Māori education. The Māori schools system was a solution of its time, a mixture of Māori aspirations for our own future and government designs for building a nation dominated by British culture, language, laws and institutions...., (Mead, in Simon, 1998:xi).

3.1 Introduction

Prior to colonisation, education (both formal and informal) occurred for Māori in all manner of activities that included work, leisure, play, warfare, agriculture, the arts and fishing as well as through specialist educational contexts like Whare Wānanga. Education was predominantly received in one's whānau circle whereby the whānau supplied the training (Metge, 1976; Buck, 1949). Churchward (1991) comments that these traditional methods represented a

....highly sophisticated and functional system of pre-Pākehā education with .... [a] dynamic ability to meet and adjust in changing needs, (p.11).

Whare Wānanga was the more formalised mode of education. Best (1923) in his monograph on the *Māori School of Learning* describes the Whare Wānanga as being occupied with the transmission of higher-class knowledge – as opposed to ordinary folklore. Thus, Whare Wānanga were a conservative institution confined to high-ranking persons (*tohunga*) and their families; extremely sacred (*tapu*) and responsible for teaching the esoteric knowledge between gods and humans. They were also concerned with historic traditions, rules and regulations (*tikanga*) and protected important material for the maintenance of Māori society (Winiata and Winiata, 1994)

The object of the school of learning was to preserve all desirable knowledge....and other traditional lore and to hand it down the centuries free of any alteration, omission, interpolation, or deterioration. Any form of change, any departure from old teachings, was strongly disapproved of, and any questioning of ancient teachings was held to be a grievous affront to Tane, the origin and patron of all high-class knowledge, (Best, 1923:6-7).

Learning in the Whare Wānanga was divided into two areas, Te Kauwae-runga - representing all matter of knowledge and learning that pertained to the gods, the heavens, the origin of all things, the creation of man, the science of astronomy, and the record of time (Smith, 1915) and Te Kauwae-raro, which dealt with the history of Māori, their genealogies, migrations, tapu and all knowledge pertaining to terrestrial matters (ibid). The former of the two areas represented all things of a 'celestial' nature while the latter represented all things 'terrestrial'.

Because Whare Wānanga were exceptional and sacred learning institutions they were able to preserve and maintain the principal names of tribal knowledge and institutions

It was in these temples, colleges, or houses of learning, that the priests of old taught the young men of their particular tribes, with the constant admonition never to depart from what they learned, nor to allow other subjects than those taught by the tribal priests to be introduced into the colleges, (ibid:84).

Wānanga took great care in preserving the absolute sacredness of the knowledge to be bequeathed upon the fortuitous educational elite. Such knowledge was imparted in specific designated areas in

....special houses of learning at a distance away from the normal living complex.... when the house was completed and the ritual blessing pronounced upon it, prospective students entered the house and were set apart for the task of learning....The high priests were responsible for sharing the knowledge while the woman priest was enlisted to assist in some of the ritual practices of freeing the students from tapu, (Barlow, 1993:159).

According to Buck (1929), the establishment of Whare Wānanga on earth was linked to the acquisition of knowledge by the offspring of Papatuanuku (*Mother earth*). Tane (Māori Atua (Supernatural Being) and Kaitiaki (guardian) of the origin and patron of all high-class knowledge (Best, 1923)) is recognized with having retrieved

the three sacred baskets of knowledge from the celestial abode of Io – Supreme God (Barlow, 1993), while other traditions (Buck, 1929) record that Tawhaki was the legendary character who ascended to the upper skies by means of a vine (aka matua), which reached upward to the mythical regions in the heavens. Even so, the three baskets of knowledge were acquired and were named Te Kete Tūāuri – the basket of Ritual Knowledge, Te Kete Tūātea – the basket of Occult Knowledge, and Te Kete Aronui – the basket of Secular Knowledge.

The concept of Whare Wānanga was subsequently established thereby becoming a depository of knowledge acquired by Māori tūpuna (ancestors). Whare Wānanga were prominent in the explanations of knowledge acquisition, storage and transmission (Winiata and Winiata, 1994). These institutions of learning were conservative and elite in that only certain persons usually of high rank among hapū and iwi could enter into them. Extremely tapu (sacred) institutions, Whare Wānanga necessitated the maintenance of the purity of Māori knowledge to be disseminated

> *The object of the school of learning was to preserve all desirable knowledge ... and other traditional lore and hand it down the centuries free of any alteration, omission, interpolation, or deterioration. Any form of change, any departure from old teachings, was strongly disapproved of, and any questioning of ancient teachings was held to be a grievous affront to Tane, the origin and patron of all high class knowledge (Best, 1923:6-7).*

Such knowledge and teachings from the Whare Wānanga continued to flourish up until European contact and remained the predominant educational institution however, the arrival of missionaries in the early 1800s was to change the role of the Whare Wānanga as Pākehā knowledge supplanted Māori knowledge.

3.2 Mission Schooling for Māori

Seeking to spread the gospel from the bible, Samuel Marsden came to the Bay of Islands (from New South Wales Australia) preaching his first Sermon on Christmas day 1814. Other missionaries and denominations soon followed in the 1820s establishing relationships with Māori based on a desire to civilise Māori as a means to Christianise them too (Simon, 1990).

The first mission school was opened in 1816 at Rangihoua under Marsden's advice but closed soon after due to lack of interest by Māori who had no desire to be educated in such a fashion. It was not until the 1830s that Māori interest in schooling escalated because of increased immigration (by Pākehā), greater trade opportunities and an expansion of technology.

Initially the relationship between Māori and the missionaries was mutually beneficial to both as Māori sought muskets, iron tools and a degree of literacy while the missionaries sought land and food. However, the missionaries also had their own agendas including the use of schooling as a primary means of assimilating and civilising Māori (Simon, in Coxon et al, 1994). Thus,

> *Christianity was not presented to the Māori divorced from a European framework; it was specifically taught in connection with the stressed inferiority of Māori culture and the superiority of European culture, (Binney, 1968:152).*

Walker (1990) exposes the magnitude of the missionaries' influence over Māori whereby

> *....the missionaries were the cutting edge of colonisation. Their mission was to convert the Māori from heathenism to Christianity. Underlying this mission were ethnocentric attitudes of racial and cultural superiority...., (p.85).*

It is these attitudes and notions that Walker (ibid) refers to as being built into the institutions of the type of society the missionaries were trying to create. While the Mission Schools were the first of their kind to be cultivated and embedded in Māori society, Adams (1977) argues that the missionaries' influence and consequently their impact on Māori was part of a wider plan to destabilise Māori society

> *The crusade to destroy, as it has been called, was part of evangelical policy towards Māori culture....they needed to deliberately destroy certain elements of Māori society to improve their chances of success..., (pp.46-7).*

What resulted however, was Māori parental apathy and concern for the well being of their children as Māori were being denied access to certain forms of knowledge to enable them to compete and progress. Thus, during the 1850s many of the Mission Schools had small roles and were finding it increasingly difficult to attract pupils.

Reasons made by Archdeacon Octavius Hadfield in 1855 included parental dissatisfaction with

- Incompetent school masters;
- Sickness or epidemics within schools;
- Rising costs of living (a need to get children to help with the family income);
- The curriculum (especially for boys).
  (Simon and Smith 1998:7-11).

Consequently, a number of schools entered into partnership relationships with their Māori communities to attract more pupils. For example, Māori chiefs would donate land for the school as well as provide money to finance the school so long as a really 'good English master' took charge of them (see Simon and Smith 1998). These types of partnership relationships were being forged in an era where there were pan-tribal attempts by Māori to establish *Kōtahitanga* (see Chapter Two) inter-tribal unity as a means to contest the threat of a Pākehā take-over. Māori wanted their children to be educated in English and gain European knowledge as a means to combat the threat of further land alienation. However, a more strategic plan was being exercised through the government's assimilation policy; one of fulfilling Pākehā agendas by leading Māori to believe that they themselves were in control (Simon, 1990). For example, the relationship between the government and the Māori community was based on similar lines of those developed with the church, government and Māori communities, whereby a select group were educated and expected to return to their communities and disseminate the threads of assimilation. Hugh Carleton, under-secretary of the Native Department states that the

> *Ordination of a single Native deacon goes farther towards peaceful maintenance of British rule than a smattering of education bestowed upon scores of children,* (AJHR, 1862:18 in Simon, 1990:23).

Although this type of initiative had overt intentions of educating anglicised elite within Māori communities (who in passing on the new knowledge to the rest of the community (*kāinga*) would maintain the partnership relationship), the covert intention was one of hastening assimilation.

Reports by school inspectors reveal the State's intentions for schooling Māori.

Schools were supported by the government essentially as a means to further their own interests and those of the Pākehā settlers rather than those of Māori (Simon and Smith 1998). Simon and Smith identify such intentions from remarks made by government officials and school inspectors about the nature and purpose of Mission Schools

....a double object, the civilisation of the race and quieting of the country, (ibid:7).

George Clarke, a missionary and civil commissioner for the Bay of Islands wrote

....schools will give the government an immense moral influence in the country such as is not attained in any other way, (ibid:7).

Such comments clearly indicate the overt assimilative intentions of the State that were underpinned by even stronger [Pākehā] notions of their racial superiority over Māori. These notions came to fruition by the fact that power relations and the structures of society were Pākehā dominated and Pākehā controlled (see Chapter Two) thus, Māori were subject to a Pākehā notion of partnership. For Māori there was no partnership.

Reports (see Simon and Smith, 1998) made by mission school inspectors also reflected the government's intentions of establishing British law, civilising Māori, securing social control and thus making it easier in the long run to obtain Māori land. For example, mission school inspector Henry Taylor in 1862 stated that

Māori custom of communal ownership was the most serious impediment to progress in carrying out the work of civilisation within the schools, (ibid:7).

The curriculum for the Mission Schools indicated that intellectual development was given very little consideration rather, greater emphasis was placed on industrial, technical and agricultural training, and assimilation. This in turn revealed the government's aim of replacing Māori knowledge with Pākehā and then limiting the extent and type of Pākehā knowledge to be acquired by Māori

Thus, while Māori were seeking through schooling to enhance their life chances, the State was setting out to control and limit those life chances, (ibid:11).

This was a period of crisis for Māori-Pākehā relations. Both Māori and Pākehā were locked in a struggle for sovereignty and resources (ibid) and tensions over land and resources ultimately led to the land wars in certain areas of the North Island in the latter 1850s and 1860s. When the wars had concluded, the Mission Schools had become deserted and Māori demographics trends noted earlier in the 1820s and 1830s, had shifted further into decline. The government now had to pursue a more competent mechanism for its policy of assimilation and although the Māori population had declined significantly since the 1830s, they still potentially posed a threat. One mechanism employed to further cement assimilation were the Native Schools.

3.3 The Native Schools System for Māori

The *1867 Native Schools Act* established a state-controlled system of village primary schools for Māori under the administration of the Native Department. This system continued up until 1969 at which time all Māori (Native) Schools had been abolished and amalgamated into the mainstream education system. Research by Simon and Smith (1998; 2001) indicates that there were many variations within the Native Schools system, although in their entirety they were seen as sites of struggle for Māori

....there were great variations within the system in terms of the practices and attitudes of the teachers, the teachers' relationships with their Māori communities and the attitudes of the Māori pupils and their families towards their Native Schools, (Simon and Smith, 1998:20).

Native Schools were seen to offer to Māori the necessary means, skills and knowledge for participation throughout the spheres of the 'new' society. These qualities were also seen to represent the means to Pākehā economic success. The *1867 Native Schools Act* allowed for Māori communities to establish schools and partnership relationships between Māori communities and the government. However, this was contingent on conditions set down by the Act of 1867 (see Simon and

Smith, 1998; 2001; Walker, 1990; Metge, 1976) and later by the *1880 Native Schools Code*, such as:

- Establishing Native Schools;
- The appointment of teachers;
- How the school was to conduct its affairs;
- The curriculum for all classes.
  (Department of Education, 1880 in Simon and Smith, 1998).

The Code was revised periodically in the ensuing years, but the basic rules of conduct remained largely unchanged. The following passages are taken directly from the *1880 Native Schools Code*

I – The Establishment of New Schools

(1) If at least 10 Māoris, actually residing in any locality, petition the Minister of Education for a Native School, and if they, or any of them, offer to give at least two acres of land suitable for a school site and promise further, to make such contribution in money or in kind towards the cost of school buildings….the Government may establish a school in that locality….

II – Teachers

(1) Suitable persons will be selected to take charge of the schools. As a rule the Government will appoint a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school, and the wife as a sewing mistress.

III – Conduct of the School

(2) Teachers will be required to instruct the children in the subjects mentioned in the standards set forth, in the 4th section of this code;
(Department of Education, 1880).

The Code represented a contract between Māori and Pākehā. Ultimately though, the partnership relationship through the perpetuation of hegemonic discourse only served to reinforce the notion of Māori inferiority and Pākehā superiority as Māori learned the superiority of all things British and that their own role was as a subservient Treaty of Waitangi partner (see Chapter Two). Pākehā interests were maintained and developed further while Māori interests were subverted in a covert manner as Māori learnt their place in the new society.

Simon and Smith (1998) provide insights that are of relevance to schools today in Aotearoa in that

> ....[s]ome of the early Native Schools were similar in a number of ways to Kura Kaupapa Māori schools today, with the accent on Māori language and culture, and with Māori communities holding key decision-making authority in regard to the schools (keeping in mind that some schools had all-Māori school committees and Māori teachers), (p.132).

However, they also mention that we are fortuitous enough to have a range of theoretical tools at our disposal that enable us to view the Native Schools system through a critical sphere of inquiry

> Ideas such as 'cultural reproduction', 'hidden curriculum', 'resistance', 'banking education', and 'hegemony' can assist a critical study of Native Schools. They help us to reveal the way in which power and knowledge may be manipulated to the benefit of dominant interest groups – and that schooling can no longer be regarded as politically 'neutral', (p.132).

The notion of superiority and its relationship with dominant group interests is reflected in the structure of the Native Schools system and in the generic monocultural framework of society in that period. Similar to Mission Schools but on a national scale safely ensconced through legislation, Native Schools operated to maintain the government aim of assimilation. They also were seen to reinforce and maintain certain institutions that the Mission Schools initiated through education – British law, schools as a 'civilising' mechanism and a form of establishing social control for Māori and Māori communities through a Pākehā regulated framework that demanded cultural surrender (Walker, 1990).

3.4 Aspects of Partnership

For assimilation to be successful, it had to impact on all facets of Māori lifestyle including land, iwi, hapū, education, culture and health. This policy contradicted Treaty of Waitangi principles such as partnership, participation and protection (see previous chapter) and in turn contributed to a great number of Māori grievances that consequently resulted in Māori unified protest movements like Kotahitanga, Te

Kingitanga and the Repudiation Movement (see Orange 1987; Cole, 1977; Walker, 1990; Cox 1993).

For example, partnership between Māori and education providers occurred at three levels. At a state level, partnership occurred through the *1867 Native Schools Act*, the *1880 Native Schools Code* and subsequent Codes that continued to be amended. This was in the form of the contract (mentioned earlier) that saw Māori provide the land and the government provide the amenities, teachers, curriculum, and pedagogy.

At the Department of Education level partnership relationships with Māori consisted of scholarships being offered to the most proficient Māori children to gain secondary schooling at the denominational boarding schools such as Te Aute College - Pukehou, Hawkes Bay. The Department's aim was to educate a select group of scholarship recipients with a 'limited curriculum' who would then return to their villages and communities to disseminate the 'gospel' of assimilation (Simon and Smith, 1998). Māori 'graduates' of the denominational boarding schools were assisting in assimilating their own in an informal but persuasive manner.

At the school level, partnership occurred between Māori communities and schools through whānau relationships with the schoolmaster [sic] and teachers. The types of relationships however, varied significantly from region to region and school to school. By virtue of their placement in a Māori community, schools could not operate independently without working with their communities. The relationship was mutual. Teachers and masters of rurally isolated schools would often depend on local Māori for support, food and assistance when required, while Māori would often utilise the services and amenities of the school even for 'euchre' card nights (ibid).

When a school officially opened it was an important occasion where the local Māori community played an important role. Pōwhiri occurred to welcome teachers, important community members, other dignitaries such as government or education department representatives and other special guests (ibid). Undoubtedly as is Māori custom, a hākari (feast) would follow such an auspicious occasion therefore it would be the community who organised the food and other necessities to complement the event

The opening day of new school buildings at Waimārama Native School, near Cape Kidnappers in 1950 was attended by the local Member of Parliament, Mr Harker. The children performed action songs, haka and poi before the seated guests, (ibid:30).

The curriculum offered by the Native Schools[1] in the early 20th century (and the Native District High Schools[2] from 1941 onwards) however, continued to focus on the practical (manual) subjects

Officials of the Department of Education continued to draw upon hierarchical notions of 'race' in their efforts to justify this practical curriculum, arguing that the 'natural genius of the Māori [was] in the direction of manual skills, (Simon, 1993:7

thus, promoting a policy of assimilation until the government's shift towards a policy of integration in the 1960s. The *1961 Hunn Report* signaled this change in the government's policy focus, influenced heavily by the impact of Māori urbanisation after World War II.

3.5 Māori Urbanisation

World War II functioned as the catalyst for Māori urban migration (Shuker, 1987) where many Māori immigrated to the townships and cities for economic reasons of employment. One hundred years of assimilative policies had contributed to this urban shift whereby the breakdown of a Māori land base meant rural lifestyles were not economically viable. The education system had acted as a mechanism that inhibited any advancement of Māori (Johnston, 1998). Māori options were limited (Simon, 1990; Barber, 1986) therefore leaving many Māori no choice but to move to the large

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[1] After World War II a symbolic gesture of 'goodwill' was made to Mäori based on the deeds of the Mäori Battalion during the war whereby the term 'Native' was substituted for 'Mäori'. Thus, Native Schools became known as Mäori Schools in 1947. This was supposedly 'to avoid connotations of racial inequality' (Simon and Smith 1998).

[2] The first Native District High Schools were established in 1941 due to an inability of all rural Mäori whänau to send the children to the denominational boarding schools. In keeping progress and maintaining a strong arm on assimilation, these high schools were intended to provide a secondary curriculum that was tailored to Mäori needs, as perceived by Päkehä. This one-sided partnership relationship mirrors earlier ones between Mäori and the state in the Mission Schools and in the Native Schools where the curriculum, pedagogy, and 'what is to count as knowledge' was defined by Päkehä, controlled by Päkehä, and refined by Päkehä (see Simon and Smith 1998).

towns and cities to work in factory or manual type labour, the very types of employment schooling had geared Māori towards. Māori society was becoming more and more fragmented and broken down by the mechanisms of assimilation that had been concentrated in the education system and in the many land policies since the 1840s.

A number of reasons have been identified for Māori mobility. These include:

1. Alienation of land (see Parr, 1988);
2. Inability to build dwellings on marae (see Parr, 1988; Heenan, 1985);
3. Decline in rural employment (see Parr, 1988; Heenan, 1985);
4. Housing policies which gave loans for urban non-Māori areas only (see Heenan, 1985) and;
5. Trade training provided in certain areas only (see Heenan, 1985; de Bres, 1973).

(Ministry of Māori Affairs, 1991:13).

The Department of Māori Affairs also contributed to this demographic shift in population in the 1960s through its urban relocation initiatives (Heenan, 1969). At this time it was highly noticeable among rural Māori communities how sparsely populated they had become, including marae; *'Kua pireretia te kāinga, The settlement has been deserted'*, a Māori proverb that appropriately describes the phenomenon of Māori urbanisation last century. This phenomenon had ramifications for Māori in that they were now residing in the surroundings of New Zealand, townships and cities that had previously had little experience with Māori. Johnston (1991) notes that Māori had previously been 'unseen' and 'unheard' in their predominantly rural localities, but Māori were now posing a threat to Pākehā and race relations because they were visible in urban settings.

The Department of Māori Affairs was participating wholeheartedly in the relocation of whānau in the cities, although in a supportive capacity for the kinfolk, they were hastening the assimilation process. This relationship between Māori and the Crown although not directly responsible for Māori education had an indirect impact on education for Māori in that Māori were not prepared for the city schools. Having come from predominantly Native School backgrounds and communities, Māori were faced with a different style of education in the town and city schools even though

education on the whole at these schools had the same intention of assimilation, as was the case at Native Schools. This compounded with the social, economic and cultural dynamics of urban life placed huge economic demands on Māori:

- Permanent employment;
- Coping with a total cash economy that had little scope for subsistence living;
- Meeting financial commitments by way of rent;
- Hire purchase, rates, mortgages.
  (Walker, 1990).

The transformation from a rural dweller to urban one was almost instantaneous. Māori were leaving their Native Schools behind, their marae, iwi, hapū, and also their subsistence farming lifestyle behind. The population recovery, the cultural revival, deeds of the Māori Battalion in World War II, and Māori prowess on the rugby field gave Māori much confidence in abandoning the home fires of the papakāinga (home land) for the bright lights of the towns and cities. The three main reasons of work, money and pleasure strengthened Māori desires for a place in the economy of the social mainstream of New Zealand (Walker, 1990).

The inequalities in schooling for Māori became apparent in the 1960s. A number of groups (Pacific Islanders, rural, women and Māori) were now identifiably being disadvantaged by the education system and this stimulated a stronger Māori voice in protest over the education system that was assisted by a well developed left-wing critique that highlighted how the system aided the reproduction of inequalities that related to gender, class and ethnicity (see Smith, 1986; Simon, 1986).

The *1961 Hunn Report* in particular, stated that Māori were severely disadvantaged in housing, health, employment and in education when compared to the rest of the country's population (Simon, 1994). What the report failed to consider however, was that Māori had been subjected to a system of schooling that placed them in an inferior, subordinate position to Pākehā (Johnston, 1991) because the exposure to education had been somewhat limited. For example, Māori had been groomed in a system that controlled and limited their life chances thus, denying them certain types and forms of knowledge (ibid; Simon and Smith 1998; Simon and Smith, 2001).

Simon (1990) argues that the focus of the *1961 Hunn Report* was about addressing the disparities, which Māori experienced by supporting a policy of integration. Barber (1986) defines that focus as a means to integrate Māori labour more effectively into New Zealand's developing capitalist economy. Simon (1990) argues that integration was another form of assimilation whereby the aim was still one of integrating Māori into a dominant mainstream education system.

The policy was introduced at a time where Māori educational underachievement was attracting much research, which focused on the notion of cultural deprivation whereby Māori children were solely to blame for their poor achievement in the education system. Such deprivation according to Simon (ibid), was attributed to inadequate child rearing practices thus, early intervention (pre-school) programmes were used to compensate for these 'deficiencies' Māori children were seen to have. Māori communities and whānau were engaging in compensatory education programmes like the 'early intervention' initiatives with educational institutions. The play centre movement for instance, appealed to Māori because of its philosophy of self-help, parental involvement, and parental participation in control and management (Walker, 1990). The Māori Women's Welfare League was also prominent in assisting the establishment of play centres in Māori communities on marae, in homes and in halls all over the country. Māori commitment to the movement ironically contradicted the *1961 Hunn Report* that blamed parental apathy for a situation of 'statistical blackout' of Māori at the higher levels of education (ibid). Simon (1986) comments

> *In response to the overseas 'early intervention' movement, preschool education for Māori children developed rapidly in the 1960s, in the belief that it would correct the disadvantages that Māori children appear to suffer in their formal education, (p.14).*

While integration was seen as a mechanism of achieving assimilation rather than as a change in policy direction, on close examination, the *1961 Hunn Report* actually confirms an assimilatory focus (see Johnston, 1991:15; Hunn, 1961:15). Johnston (1991) clearly explains this process using the *Report's* classification of Māori into three broad groups as follows:

A. A completely detribalised minority whose Māoritanga is only vestigial.

B. The main body of Māoris, pretty much at home in either society, who like to partake of both (an ambivalogoical stress to some of them).

C. Another minority complacently living in a backward life in primitive conditions.
   (ibid).

She argues that

The object of integration the Report explains, is to eliminate Group C by raising it to Group B and to leave it to the personal choice of Group B members whether they stay there or join Group A - in other words whether they remain integrated or become assimilated. Thus not only is integration presented as a process Māori will pass through to be assimilated, but it is perceived in terms consistent with nineteenth century evolutionary ideas on race and civilisation. By highlighting Māori 'inferiority' and representing Pākehā culture and knowledge as the 'civilised' ideal, Pākehā dominance is reinforced, (ibid:16).

In terms of the notion of partnership, it is clear that Māori are seen to occupy a lesser position in terms of that partnership relationship. Statements made by the *1961 Hunn Report* contradicted the 'principles' of the Treaty of Waitangi in that:

- The Treaty of Waitangi, its provisions and principles that derive from the Treaty texts are blatantly ignored;
- The education system promoted and maintained Māori inferiority but now attempts to place Māori as being the fault for their disadvantage, when all along the system seemed to be working towards achieving this;
- Government policy (assimilation) that sets out to 'fail' Māori in the education system achieves this, however a government report is released and finds a 'problem' (Māori) and in doing so, is effectively laying the blame on the education policy initiative.

This rhetoric suggests that integration nurtures the belief that both Māori and Pākehā cultures are viewed as being equal and recognising differences. However, Johnston (1998) states that the cultural ideology of integration was the recognition and acknowledgement of only specific aspects of Māori culture, aspects that were seen as non-threatening to Pākehā domination and national unity.

Again evidence suggests that Māori communities were being encouraged to take responsibility for their learning and development to overcome the deficiencies identified by the state. However, rather than overcoming the deficiencies, partnership

initiatives between education institutions and Māori communities served to reinforce the subordinate status of Māori to Pākehā. Initiatives that focused on 'Māori as the problem' and the rhetoric surrounding these continued to validate the notion of Pākehā as being normal and natural and Māori as not (Johnston, 1991).

3.6 Political Conscientisation and Te Reo Mäori

The early 1970s saw a growing number of primary and secondary schools involved in teaching te reo Mäori (Māori language). By 1973, all the Teachers' Colleges had established Māori language courses and the Department of Education had employed a number of itinerant teachers of te reo Māori to work in primary schools (Walker, 1990). Protest about the Treaty of Waitangi and the central role that it should occupy in terms of Māori and Pākehā relationships impacted significantly in the 1970s, leading to educational te reo Mäori based initiatives that gained momentum in the 1980s - Taha Māori, Bilingual Education, Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori.

Taha Māori was officially defined as 'the Māori dimension or Māori side' (Department of Education, 1984). In education this was to include aspects of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the school curriculum, organisation and philosophy (ibid). However, while this initiative was seen as a means of addressing Mäori educational underachievement identified in the 1960s and 1970s, the initiative was a Pākehā defined, initiated and controlled policy that served the interests and needs of Pākehā (Smith, 1990 In Codd, J., Harker, D. and Nash, R., 1990).

Taha Māori policy impacted only at the 'surface level' because it was an additive approach that failed to address fundamental structural change in the country's education system (see Smith 1986, 1990; Simon, 1986). Programmes were also seen as a means of enhancing the opportunities of Pākehā children in the education system rather than Māori children (Walker, 1984). That is, Taha Māori was giving Pākehā children a greater understanding of a [cultural] 'Māori dimension' at the expense of Māori children's learning. Consequently, issues relating to improving the

performance of Māori students prevailed. Real issues that concerned structural change to the education system and to education policy never eventuated and the inclusion of Māori continued to engage in the types of partnerships reminiscent of Pākehā defined, initiated and controlled education; Māori subordination.

Bilingual education in Aotearoa New Zealand gained prominence with the establishment of the country's first official bilingual school in Ruatoki 1978. Other schools gained this status throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s with most of the success in gaining official status being accredited to that particular school's Māori whānau support

> *In considering the relationship between Rakaumanga School and Waahi community, it is important to remember that the school's designated bilingual status is largely the result of political action on the part of the Waahi community. As one teacher noted, "the school is an extension of the marae", (Harrison, 1987).*

The successes (including the limitations) of bilingual education in Aotearoa New Zealand have been well documented (see Holmes, 1984; Baker, 1997, Ogbu, 1978). Māori and Pākehā have formed a number of relationships in schools in terms of bilingual programmes with examples that represent 30 minutes of te reo Mäori per day to total immersion Mäori (Johnston, 1991). However, discrepancies in what constitutes bilingual programmes and their success - delivering educational achievement for Mäori children, has led to dissatisfaction of Māori parents with the state of bilingual education. For example, as the Department of Education (1988) identified, Mäori parents

> *....Supported the present approach of establishing bilingual schools .... But expressed bitter disappointment at the slow rate of progress..... In our view, however, frustration levels are so high in the Māori community that educational authorities cannot continue at their present pace without pushing this group to the point where they, too, will want to opt out of the existing system, (Department of Education, 1988:66).*

The main cause of dissatisfaction related to Päkehä control over the programmes that resulted in initiatives which did not reflect the types of interests Mäori parents wanted addressed. The development of Te Kōhanga Reo in the early 1980s quickly

became the forum that addressed those interests. Because the State education system had limited options for learning te reo Māori, Te Kōhanga Reo gained momentum and developed very quickly in the early 1980s.

Te Kōhanga Reo[3] became Early Childhood Centres where young children were immersed in te reo Māori and ngā Tikanga Māori with the aims of Kōhanga Reo including:

1. Children will learn the Māori language and culture through immersion;
2. Language and cultural learning will be fostered and supported for all members of Te Kōhanga Reo whānau;
3. Members of Te Kōhanga Reo whānau will learn a range of other skills, e.g. administration;
4. Collective responsibility for the administration and operations of Kōhanga;
5. All involved will feel the sense of belonging...crucial for empowerment;
6. The context and control of learning will be Māori.
   (Cited from Irwin, 1990:115-117).

The development of Te Kōhanga Reo was to also influence Primary Schooling resulting in the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools. Kura Kaupapa Māori were born out of a resistance by Māori parents to the monocultural, state education system and the continued contestation by Māori parents to state education initiatives like Taha Māori. Kura Kaupapa Māori were characterised by the fact that Te Reo Māori was the language of delivery of all instruction. According to Graham Smith (1991),

Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools function 'within a specific cultural framework and mediate a particular social and economic context' (p.13).

As well as teaching through the medium of te reo Māori, the aim of these Kura is to transmit Māori philosophical, epistemological and pedagogical norms, based on what Smith (1987) argues is the validity of knowledge theory concerned with basic structural considerations. Therefore, within initiatives such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori knowledge and Māori methods of teaching and learning are recognised as being legitimate and acceptable (ibid), a situation that does not exist

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[3] Judith Simon (in Johnston, 1998) has claimed that Taha Māori programmes were in actuality the State's attempt to 'talk back to' the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo.

in State controlled initiatives. These considerations were the very reasons Māori opted to move 'outside of' the state educational system during the 1980s decade because

> ....*these structural impediments were perceived by these parents as contributing to the poor performance of many Māori pupils in state schooling and .... also as being antagonistic to their cultural aspirations, (Smith, 1991:14).*

Ultimately with the opening of the first Kura Kaupapa Māori School, Māori had successfully conveyed a clear message to the government that the state was not delivering an education system that was meeting the needs and aspirations of Māori whānau. Opting out of the mainstream system would allow Kura Kaupapa Māori to establish and sustain partnership relationships with their wider Mäori communities, but the responsibilities of the State were being avoided. The idea of partnership (that was implied through State policies) was non-existent and Mäori continued to develop and implement Kura Kaupapa Māori without the State's assistance. This was to change in 1990 when Kura Kaupapa Mäori were legislated in the *1990 Education Amendment Act,* formally recognising Kura Kaupapa Mäori as educational initiatives.

The *1990 Education Amendment Act* also saw the organisation and structure of Te Kōhanga Reo change with the movement coming under State control. In its previous young history (9 - 10 years), Mäori communities had total control over Kōhanga, now Kōhanga had become redefined to conform to State policies and practices and had been 'captured' by the State (see Johnston, 1998). The Kōhanga movement was transplanted from outside of the mainstream education system into it; an education system that had historically failed Mäori children, a system that had created the demise of the Mäori language and an education system that did not recognise or value Mäori conceptions of difference (see Johnston, 1993, 1995, 1998; Irwin, 1990 in Codd and Jones, 1990; Douglas 1991; Smith, 1991; Pere and Puketapu, 1990; Pihama, 1992). The [State] legitimation of Te Kōhanga Reo required the development of partnership relationships (both formal and informal) between Mäori communities and the State to facilitate change and movement in the future.

The Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust was charged with administering funding to Kōhanga, a responsibility that subverted the Trust's initial aim, which was to 'act as

a trustee of the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo, acting on behalf of the people' (Report of the Review of Te Kōhanga Reo, 1988) with the key role of protecting and nurturing te reo Māori. In the context of power relations and structures, Māori were once again marginalised by the State. The notion of [Māori] partnership was fallible; the National Trust was entrusted with key decision-making responsibilities however, the Trust was (and continues to be) controlled by the Ministry of Education (State). Once again, State notions of partnership fail to recognise or validate Māori conceptions of difference rather, these are 'mainstreamed' so as to conform to State policies and practices.

3.7 Summary

In summary, the education system has attempted to address Māori needs and aspirations since the beginning of State schooling for Māori. The early Mission Schools and the Native Schools system served State assimilatory interests for Māori up to their abolishment in the late 1960s. In the last 30 years, State attempts to address Māori needs have been conducted through a Pākehā bicultural paradigm, including State initiatives and Māori developed initiatives. For example, Kura Kaupapa Māori are a successful attempt by Māori to operate outside of that 'same education system' in order to fulfill and satisfy Māori needs and aspirations, needs that are seen to be inadequately addressed in the mainstream education sector. However, like Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori too have been 'captured' by the State.

In comparison to State conceptions of difference, a Māori paradigm of biculturalism focuses on structural inequalities like power relations, policy development and decision-making, while the former centres on cultural remedies such as the Taha Māori programmes. However, Taha Māori subverts the interests and aspirations of Māori for their own culture and development (Smith, 1986; Simon, 1986).

While Māori political conscientisation in the 1970s (in and outside of education) gave rise to Taha Māori, Bilingual Schools, Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa

Māori at which time it seemed inevitable for the government to begin forming partnership relationships with Māori communities, this has occurred in different capacities. This chapter has outlined however that these relationships have been flawed; Mäori conceptions of difference have consistently been marginalised by the State so that the State has remained in control and authority.

In the last 10 years there have been definite noticeable changes in the State's relationships with Māori communities that has seen a greater amount of Mäori participation. The following chapter thus, explores biculturalism, the Treaty of Waitangi and educational reforms of the latter 1980s and the 1990s as a means to investigate how these relationships have developed. The chapter also extends on the notion of State partnership relationships with schools that were beginning to gain momentum in the early 1980s.

Chapter 4.

Te Tiriti me te Mātauranga
- The Treaty and Education 1987 - 1990

The British Crown claimed sovereignty over Aotearoa because William Hobson declared it so in May 1840 and that the fact was gazetted in England. Despite the humanitarian concerns expressed by some along the way, this was a unilateral assumption of power, which the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi obscured.... For most of the next 155 years, the Treaty – whichever text – was dismissed as irrelevant by settler governments to whom the British had, again unilaterally, transferred their powers in 1854, (Kelsey, 1996:177 in Spoonley, P., Pearson, D. and Macpherson, C., 1996).

4.1 Introduction

Biculturalism remains a contentious issue today where both Māori and Pākehā continue to draw from a number of inter-related variables namely, the Treaty of Waitangi texts, the principles of the Treaty and notions of partnership as a means to define and understand what biculturalism means. There are however at least two very different perceptions of biculturalism; the first is driven by political aspects, focusing on power relations and structural change in order to reflect equal partnership; the second encapsulates a cultural aspect or personal approach to biculturalism. This latter approach to biculturalism as argued by Johnston (1998), embraces Pākehā endeavours to make individuals bicultural by personalising biculturalism as an individual matter. Pearson (1991) recapitulates the personal aspect of biculturalism when he states that at one level

Biculturalism has most of the ingredients of the multicultural ideal...., but the concept is restricted to the relationship between New Zealand's 'charter groups', Pākehā and Māori, (p.234).

Here, biculturalism is seen to be permitting entry to Māori culture as a way of reducing the prejudices and discrimination of Pākehā towards things Māori. For example, Smith (1986) argues that in the education system the development of Taha Māori programmes was seen as a means of fostering greater educational performance of Māori pupils. However, such programmes remained specifically culturally focused, rendering them tokenistic. Thus, the personal aspect of biculturalism does not recognise the wider structural inequalities that exist for Māori.

The former approach, while also embracing a cultural aspect, is supported by the philosophy of Kaupapa Māori theory and practice, which clearly promotes a Māori view and perspective concerning the crisis nature of Māori educational under-achievement. Kaupapa Māori theory has developed as a means to transform the very nature of education. It steers clear away from the deficit focus of 'fixing up' the learner to a dual focus on both mode (what happens in learning contexts) and the institution (the structure of the learning context) (Smith, 1996).

Key aspects of this approach of biculturalism and its political stance include a focus on activism, contestation, resistance and protest that 'culminates in challenges by Māori to the State's ineptness in addressing Māori interests and aspirations in the education system' (Johnston, 1998:149). Such a focus encompasses Māori aspirations for autonomy and self-determination (tino rangatiratanga). It also incorporates concepts such as politicisation, conscientisation, praxis, and emancipation.

Given that there exists different views and interpretations of biculturalism, it is not surprising to find that government (through policy) has interpreted Māori expectations according to their own perceptions of what biculturalism (and henceforth partnership) means. It is this parallel chain of understandings that has led to the development of separate Māori and Pākehā notions of biculturalism and ultimately to opposing perceptions of partnership between the two Treaty partners – Māori and the Crown. These perceptions (along with Māori perceptions of biculturalism) are encapsulated in the following diagram.

The Aotearoa Bicultural Dichotomy

Table 1: A Model of Māori perceptions of Māori and Pākehā meanings of biculturalism and partnership, determined by the Treaty of Waitangi texts and Treaty principles.

Māori version of the Treaty	Pākehā version of the Treaty
↓	↓
NZMC's 10 Treaty Principles	Crown's 5 Treaty Principles
↓	↓
Political aspects of biculturalism	Personal aspects of Biculturalism
↓	↓
A Māori concept of Partnership	A Pākehā concept of Partnership
↓	↓
(A 50 / 50 sharing of power)	(Pākehā in control making decisions)

(Adopted from Johnston, 1991, 1998).

This Chapter examines notions of partnership and the Treaty of Waitangi in education policy. In drawing from Chapter Two, this chapter will outline key elements (in particular the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi) and key legislative measures that ostensibly ensure the Treaty of Waitangi is acknowledged in education policies and initiatives. Four significant policy developments in education in the last 15 years are analysed in terms of their implications and consequences for partnership relationships between Mäori and Pākehā:

1. The *Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987);
2. The *Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988);
3. *Tomorrow's Schools* (Department of Education, 1988);
4. The *1989 Education Act*.

These policies are examined particularly because they were implemented at a time when biculturalism and partnerships between Mäori and Päkehä were being explored,

articulated and developed. The importance of such a focus is that biculturalism arguably establishes some parameters for *'Better Relationships'* between Mäori and Päkehä and thus, greater improvement for Mäori decision-making in the education system.

This chapter will establish however, that because of different perceptions between M äori and Päkehä about biculturalism and what the Treaty of Waitangi represents, partnership and decision-making by Mäori is defined within Päkehä conceptions of 'what is to count'.

4.2 The *1987 Curriculum Review*

The *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) process was initiated by the Labour Government under Russell Marshall, Minister of Education in November 1984. The *Review* process advocated that all people could have a say in the future direction of education, especially Māori communities and whānau who were encouraged by this approach in the belief that improvements in education for Māori might occur as a result of hui, gatherings, oral and written submissions on the educational concerns and aspirations of Māori across Aotearoa New Zealand (ibid). The *Review* process was also extensive – three years in all and Māori took advantage of this situation with the final *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) testimonial to this fact.

Discussion booklets were released to the public from July 1985 with the final public submissions called for in January 1986. All of the submissions were reviewed by the *Review* committee throughout 1986. In December, the final report was presented to the Minister of Education (later published in 1987) highlighting a number of issues across all levels of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. For Māori, these issues included, taking part in determining appropriate changes in the curriculum – structural change; the importance of te reo Māori; the importance of Māori values for bicultural relations; assessment methods; Māori underachievement; more resources;

and greater participation and involvement by Māori in education (ibid). As outlined in the *1987 Curriculum Review*

> *....all schools seek and adopt new strategies of communication, involvement and interaction with their local Māori communities for the advancement of Māori school children, (ibid:27).*
>
> *Māori communities must be brought into discussions affecting the education of their children, developing a partnership, (ibid:28).*
>
> *We recognise the value of close parental involvement in a child's education, but because of the intimidating environment of middle class Pākehā institutions and teachers' attitudes, our parents feel they have no place in schools, (ibid:29).*

From the many submissions, Māori argued for participation in planning, teaching and helping out in the learning process and that school committees and controlling bodies should include a proportionate number of Māori members to ensure that Māori needs would be met. In taking cognisance of the submissions, in its report the *1987 Curriculum Review* committee stated that careful planning with the involvement and participation of Māori people must be a part of new developments, for example

> *Māori people want to participate in planning, teaching, and helping in the learning process. They felt it important that school boards, committees, and other controlling authorities include as members a proportionate number of Māori to ensure that Māori culture is recognised, (ibid:26).*

In regard to the Treaty of Waitangi, partnership and biculturalism, developments such as the *1985 Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act*, the Waitangi Tribunal's *1986 Te Reo Māori Report* and the *1987 Māori Language Act*, combined with other nationally publicised Treaty issues (such as the New Zealand Māori Council's case before the Court of Appeal, 1987) fuelled Māori visions and aspirations for the Treaty to be endorsed fully by the education system. These visions were prevalent throughout the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) process and were reflective of the confidence among Māori at that time to affect changes especially those of a structural nature. In particular, principle 3 of the *1987 Curriculum Review* stated

The curriculum shall be non-racist: - the curriculum will honour the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi to the Māori people on Māori language and culture....,
(ibid:10)

thus, clearly indicating a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. However, this commitment had 147 years of Pākehā unresponsiveness [to Māori] to contemplate; partnership had been a non-event and so the odds were stacked against such a commitment being supplanted unchallenged across Aotearoa New Zealand society. Not surprisingly, the positive nature created by the *1987 Curriculum Review* (ibid) was short-lived when the New Zealand Treasury condemned the *Review* (Harper, 1992). Treasury wrote a report to the Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, that was liberally critical of the approach and of the recommendations outlined in the *Review* (ibid). The report was also released subject to sharp criticism by proponents of the New Right who included:

- The Business Roundtable;
- New Zealand Treasury;
- The National Party;
- The Mass Media.
  (ibid).

While those on the political left tended to be very supportive of the document, proponents of the New Right[1] strongly criticised its liberal and costly proposals. For example, the New Zealand Treasury produced a particularly damning response suggesting that the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) overlooked issues regarding the relationship between education and the economy, the nature of government assistance as well as failing to tackle issues of management and consumer choice (Codd, 1991). The New Zealand Treasury (1987) in a briefing to the incoming government outlined implications of the Treaty of Waitangi that clearly demonstrate Treasury's position on the Treaty of Waitangi as being minimal

The Treaty involves a special and unique partnership. However, there should be no special claim to partnership or power sharing other than as provided under

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[1] The New Right is referred to as the set of fundamental beliefs, the ideology, or the group(s) of people that hold to the ideology of a minimalist intervention approach by the state and its structures, that is, an increased role for the market and a decreased role for the state. In education for instance, the central premise of the New Right is that education provision will be improved if a market model is adopted rather than a model of state intervention, (Sullivan, 1997).

Article III (rights and privileges); where the Treaty is silent in respect of employment, incomes and economic development (supposedly uncovered aspects of the Treaty), (ibid:38).

Responses and criticisms were quite crystal-clear; the government could not replenish the 'education coffers' of the state without a meticulous examination of the education system, similar to what was happening in other areas across the public sector (ibid). This process was to occur in 1988 with the creation of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration, whose role was to examine the overall administration structures of the education system.

4.3 The *1988 Picot Report: - Administering for Excellence*

In July 1987, the Labour Government commissioned a Taskforce to Review Education Administration[2]

To examine the powers and functions of the organisations within the existing administrative structure - with the exception of the universities. To recommend changes for a more appropriate distribution of those responsibilities, (Department of Education, 1988:2).

The Taskforce received submissions and in reviewing these submissions presented the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (ibid) to the public on May 10th 1988. The general public was given seven weeks to respond to this document.

The *1988 Picot Report* (ibid) focused on Māori viewpoints as to how the education system could be best suited towards meeting Māori needs. These aspirations comprise one of two groups of submissions to the taskforce. The first group being those who thought that the education system was too Pākehā orientated and therefore

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[2] The Taskforce to Review Education Administration was announced on July 21 1987. It was requested to report directly to the Ministers of Education, Finance and State Services. Membership consisted of five personnel, Brian Picot (chairperson), Peter Ramsay, Margaret Rosemergy, Whetumarama Wereta and Colin Wise. The Taskforce's Terms of Reference included; an examination of the functions of Head Office of the Department of Education, the work of schools and school committees with a view to increasing their powers and responsibilities and any aspects that warranted review. The Taskforce was to make recommendations, which ensured the efficiency of any new system of education administration that might be proposed, (Department of Education, 1988:IX).

too inadequate to accommodate Māori values and viewpoints. Those in this group endorsed the notion of Māori creating their own educational institutions (ibid) that reflected Māori values and was controlled by Māori. This was evident in the *Report's* recommendations that were detailed in the opt-out option of the four specific areas for Māori education. Point 7.2.3 of the *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* states

> *There is some doubt, however, whether these objectives are attainable within the existing institutional framework. Māoris place much emphasis on the learning environment as they do on the language, but a truly Māori learning situation is unlikely to develop unless the whānau has a measure of autonomy and its members have free access to the classroom. The majority of those who made submissions believed the present institutional structure to be so overwhelmingly Pākehā orientated as to be incapable of making the transformation necessary to accommodate Māori values and forms. Those in this category expressed a clear preference for the creation by the Māori community of it own separate institutions, (ibid:66).*

The second viewpoint bespoke of Māori aspirations and interests being able to be catered for in the education system however, the system would need to be modified to provide for Māori needs. The Taskforce defined the ideas from this group's submissions into seven key points:

1. The education system being seen as a means of revitalising Māori language and culture;
2. The key to addressing Māori achievement at school being the revival of the language and culture;
3. The education system being required to make a commitment to biculturalism and bilingualism;
4. All Māori children being given access to Māori language;
5. Environments being required to be non-hostile to Māori values and forms;
6. The whānau being given some measure of autonomy and its members access to the classrooms and;
7. More resources being made available to hasten the spread of bilingual education and greater use being made of existing fluent Māori speakers, (ibid:65-6).

From the submissions, it is clear that Māori had asked for two different systems to be accessible. The first one soundly patronised by the *1988 Picot Report* (ibid) on a new version of the present education system; while the second one advocated by the Taskforce included an opt-out option that was offered to Māori whānau (Johnston,

1998). This latter clause enabled Māori to form relationships with schools to cater for Māori interests however, Kura Kaupapa Māori had already attempted unsuccessfully (prior to the release of the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence*) to create such relationships.

Within the context of partnership relationships, the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) made five recommendations that directly affected school – community relationships:

1. Partnership between schools and communities via a board of trustees;
2. Charters were to act as contracts between schools and communities;
3. Community Education Forums would be established (CEF);
4. The establishment of a Parent Advocacy Council (PAC);
5. An audit agency to include community representation and input (Harold, 1992).

These recommendations were subsequently adopted and implemented by the Report's successor *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988). The provision for partnership relationships in the new reforms was for Māori community, family involvement and participation through individual representation on School Boards of Trustees.

4.4 *Tomorrow's Schools 1988*

Tomorrow's Schools 1988 (ibid) made explicit recommendations for Māori drawn from the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988). Those recommendations were that:

Section 3.2.1 of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* states:

1) Opportunities will be made available to parents who wish to have their children learn or be educated in the Māori language.
    (Department of Education, 1988:26).

This point conscientiously represented Māori submissions and responses to the new educational reforms and acknowledged Māori requests for te reo Māori in education. However, according to Johnston (1998), the anomaly in the decision-making process was that the decision to implement Māori language programmes would reside with School Boards of Trustees meaning that Māori would have to negotiate with boards to have Māori language programmes implemented. The likelihood of effective partnership operating is however reduced because firstly, Māori representation on the majority of School Boards of Trustees will be as a minority and secondly, this situation mirrors the wider society where Māori are a minority with little impact at the structural decision-making level. School Boards of Trustees operate in a democratic fashion, that is, a School Board of Trustees (government) is elected by the school community (country) for the whole school community (country). Democracy in a neo-liberal [policy] dominated society succinctly conceals the assimilationist ideology that continues to marginalise Māori.

Section 3.2.2 of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* states:

> 2) The whānau will have access to and participate in education. This will be possible through individuals within the whānau being eligible for election to the Board of Trustees, and also through the close partnership envisaged between the community and the institutions….
> (Department of Education, 1988:26).

The notion of collective responsibility is diminished to a position of individualism for whānau if they want to become involved in the governance and management of their school. Johnston (1998) goes onto state that

> *Because Māori are more than likely to be the minority on School Boards of Trustees, and because the boards operate according to fundamental democratic procedures, it is highly unlikely that Māori will get 'a fair hearing' on their boards. Yet Tomorrow's Schools believes that boards of trustees will be fair to all, (p.229).*

Section 3.2.3 of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* states:

> 3) Māori parents – as other parents – will be able to educate their children at home or establish their own institutions if the system is not sufficiently responsive to their needs.
> (Department of Education, 1988:26).

This situation sees the State opting out of its partnership responsibilities by relinquishing its obligations to pro-actively serve Māori interests. These have been left up to Māori themselves to address, particularly the issue of educational underachievement, a situation, which the State education system has been responsible for creating (Simon, 1990; Johnston, 1998).

Section 3.2.4 of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* states:

> 4) The interests of Māori education will be represented through each of the agencies at the centre.
> (Department of Education, 1988:26).

In terms of partnership, all of the agencies that interact with education are State controlled and so comply with Pākehā conceptions of difference and Pākehā notions of partnership. Those agencies also serve the interests of the State before those of Mä ori. It is therefore somewhat questionable as to how effective the agencies have been able to hear and represent Mäori.

Johnston (1991) states that these provisions are seen to be lacking in basic Māori concepts that are embraced in tikanga Māori and that collectivism is reduced to a state of individualism, which is reminiscent of the Crown's (successive governments) 19th century land policy that contributed to the assimilation process and to education policy. This process assisted in breaking down traditional Māori society and its social units of iwi, waka and hapū that were standing in the way of assimilation (see Chapter Two).

Under the *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms, School Boards of Trustees were identified as a mechanism to foster partnership between the school and its [Mäori] community. For the Mäori community, this

situation meant individual membership to School Boards of Trustees however, the concept of individuality was a contradiction to Mäori traditions of collective decision-making. This mechanism was also a contradiction to Mäori responses in the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) and the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988), which highlighted requests for greater whänau involvement in education.

Johnston (1998) argued that individual membership to School Boards of Trustees reinterpreted what the concept of whänau constituted and to actually engage in the decision-making process, Mäori had to become members of Boards. She goes onto say that

> *Because Mäori are more likely to be the minority on School Boards of Trustees, and because the Boards operate according to fundamental democratic procedures, it is highly unlikely that Mäori will get a 'fair hearing' on their Boards. Yet Tomorrow's Schools believes that Boards of Trustees will be fair to all, (ibid:229).*

The notions of 'being fair to all' and of partnership were used extensively to promote *1988 Tomorrow's Schools* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms. While arguably the term partnership had been taken and borrowed from the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) as well as from the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988), in reality the ability for partnership between schools and their Mäori communities to exist was (and still is) debatable. For example, there were no set guidelines published, discussed, consulted, or available to School Boards of Trustees and Mäori communities as to how this partnership may occur. Therefore, although it is stated that a School Board of Trustees be a mechanism for partnership, *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) does not specify the form this partnership should take. It is up to the school and its community to complete these details. It is perhaps the lack of guidelines in this particular direction that is responsible for the lack of partnership relationship guidelines for schools and Mäori communities throughout New Zealand today. While partnership referred to a number of potential relationships between education professionals and their Mäori communities, professionals and their School Boards of Trustees and School Boards of Trustees and their Mäori communities, the

means to do this resided with schools that did not necessarily know how to carry this out.

What is apparent from the content of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (ibid) is that the government did not pay attention to what Māori were asking for in their submissions and responses throughout the reform process. Johnston (1998) points out that where Māori recommended specific criteria that strayed from the overall philosophy underpinning the *1988 Picot Report - Administration for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988), their voices were generally ignored. This is summed up later on when she argues that the educational reform process did not take Māori recommendations seriously in regard to Māori educational underachievement. For example, Mäori culture and language was postulated as a means to address underachievement however, structural factors (identified by Mäori submissioners) were not addressed. Consequently,

> *The reforms were ineffective in delivering for Mäori expectations because they did not move past cultural considerations, (Johnston:237),* (see Introduction to this Chapter).

Because the *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) never set clear guidelines for what partnership represented, there was confusion about what partnership meant. For example, as Johnston (1998) asks

> *Does partnership mean a 50 / 50 split between Māori and Pākehā? Does partnership refer to resources, decision-making processes, both, or something entirely different altogether? (p.162).*

These same questions can be applied to the partnership relationships that the State refers to in the *1988 Picot Report* (Department of Education, 1988) and the type of partnership it envisaged between Māori communities and education institutions that was to be developed, maintained and appraised by the School Boards of Trustees. While it is clear that the State had a vision of partnership, this vision for Mäori was unrealised because guidelines were not clear. Päkehä still maintained control at the school level and were able to define how partnerships were to be formed and 'acted upon' thus, Mäori participation was reduced to tokenistic representation that met

legislative requirements but not the needs and interests of Mäori parents (Johnston, 1991).

The implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) began in September 1988 and was to be completed by October 1ˢᵗ 1989 with the release of the *1989 Education Act*. During this period, schools were to implement all aspects required under the new education reforms with assistance from Implementation Working Units Groups, twenty in all (ibid). A Rūnanga Mātua Group was set up to assist Māori and account for Māori interests, their tasks included:

- Advisory status to the Minister of Education;
- Liaison to Iwi authorities;
- Consultants to the working groups;
- Support to the Māori Evaluator.
  (Harper, 1992:92).

However, from the onset, the Rūnanga Mātua Group was marginalised. The group was established much later than the other Implementation Groups. Individual Māori membership to each Implementation Working Unit Group also received criticism; ironically, such criticisms were to mirror those of Māori representation on School Boards of Trustees (see Johnston, 1991). While culturally supportive of Māori concerns, structurally the whole process marginalised Māori in their Implementation Working Unit Groups. There was a lack of Māori empowerment, something that John Tapiata (Director of Support for the Rūnanga Mātua Group) recognised throughout our country's highest structures, a trend that was reflected throughout regional and local structures too. Harper (1992) cites Tapiata as saying that there were

Problems experienced by Māori members of the working groups, and it might be added, almost certainly, by most Māori representatives on most Government planning groups. Generally Māori members have been:

i.   *Flattered to represent Māori opinion;*
ii. *Hampered by inadequate support;*
iii. *Overawed by 'systems' people;*
iv. *Required to educate / enculturate Implementation Working Group members;*

v.   *A single and lonely voice which became noticeable if and when voting occurred;*

vi. *More passive and reactive, than proactive.*
     (p.93).

Māori participation throughout the educational reform process was marginal and thus became insignificant in making changes or developments for Māori.

4.5 The *1989 Education Act*

The 1989 Education Act gave effect to the *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms. Within the context of this thesis, the *1989 Education Act* entrenched the specific provisions of the new reforms concerning the representation of Māori communities in the management of schools, in developing partnership relationships with schools and in participation with school personnel.

Part VII of the *1989 Education Act*, Control and Management of State Schools and Part IX, School Boards, contains Sections of the *Act* that directly relate to the partnership relationship provisions that the new reforms ostensibly nurture. Section 62 for example, requires the School Board of Trustees of any given school to properly 'consider' the views and concerns of its Māori community when it prepares or amends its charter (see Section 61 of the *1989 Education Act*). To achieve this, the Board must take all reasonable steps to discover and consider the views and concerns of Māori communities living in the geographical area the school serves. However, by virtue of all state mainstream schools' conformity to a monocultural education system that fosters Pākehā superiority and Māori subordination, the framework for decision-making and policy-making is not amicably Māori. 'Consideration' of Māori community views and concerns predominantly comprises of Pākehā conceptions of 'what counts' (Johnston, 1998).

The result is a partnership process that fosters enablement, encouragement and empowerment; however, such a process is conditional on the dominant Treaty partner being supportive and proactive towards things Māori (Johnston, 1991; 1992). Initially the new reforms appeared to address Māori interests however, Māori

communities (through School Board of Trustees representation) were not able to participate on a level playing field because under the democratic scenario, majority rules and Māori are not the majority.

Under the new reforms and the *1989 Education Act*, charters were established as a means to outlining school's aims, purposes and objectives (*1989 Education Act*). The *Picot* Taskforce (Department of Education) first recommended this in 1988 after which it was contained in *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms

> *In collaboration with the principal, the staff and the community, the board will be responsible for the preparation of the institution's charter within the overall national guidelines for education. The charter will define the purpose of the institution and the intended outcomes for students...., (ibid:3).*

There were three sections of the *1989 Education Act* relevant to the charters, section 61 (charters), section 62 (views and concerns of Māori parents); and section 63 (charters deemed to contain certain aims). Community involvement, participation and consultation in the preparation of school charters was also a prerequisite of charter development (see section 61: 3 (a) (b) (c) of the *1989 Education Act*).

The Treaty of Waitangi was one of the non-discretionary segments of school charters meaning that it was a compulsory component of all school charters[3]. The directives for inclusion of the Treaty are accommodated in section five of the charter framework and are divided into two areas; the goals and objectives. The goal statement of the charter framework reads

> *To fulfill the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi by valuing and reflecting New Zealand's dual cultural heritage, (1990:12).*

While the objectives of the Treaty within the framework read:

a.   To ensure the curriculum reflects Māori perspectives;

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[3] Contrary to popular belief, the Treaty of Waitangi is still a part of schools' charters. While the focus for schooling shifted to accommodate other foci (like assessment), the assumption was that schools had already given 'effect' to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and therefore the Treaty did not need to be highlighted.

b. To make equitable provisions in the curriculum for the instructional needs of Māori children;
c. To provide opportunities for students who wish to learn the Māori language and culture;
d. To provide for students whose parents wish for them to be educated through the Māori language;
e. To recognise Māori values in the provision of resources and facilities within the school;
f. To make staffing or financial provision to enable the school to meet the requirements of a – e above, (ibid:12).

The charter was intended to be a mechanism for fostering partnership relationships between the community and the school. It was to achieve this by taking account of the resources of the community and the particular wishes of the institution's community (Department of Education, 1988). This mechanism was to be implemented by a greater mechanism for achieving parental involvement and partnership in education - School Boards of Trustees (ibid). With the charter framework providing the goal and objectives of the Treaty of Waitangi, it was feasible that what was to be required of Boards of Trustees in developing their school charter would be clear however, this has not been the case.

The Treaty remains a polemical topic for many individuals, groups and schools. The texts and differences in meanings are problematic because the charter framework does not indicate which 'version' of the Treaty should be used; the Māori, the English or both? (Johnston, 1991). The goal statement is too broad and does not consider past histories (see Simon, 1986, 1990; Smith 1988) and the charter does not make allowances for the unequal power relations that are prevalent between Māori and Pākehā in decision-making forums like School Boards of Trustees.

It is what Johnston (1993) describes as a 'misconception' that encompasses the notion that the introduction of Māori language and culture through the Treaty of Waitangi in the non-negotiable section of charters, guarantees that Māori interests will be met. References to the Treaty of Waitangi such as in the charters, in the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) and in the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) are 'insipid weak' (Johnston, 1993) accounts that lack promise and engagement.

Ultimately partnership between Mäori and the State (Päkehä) is seen as superficial. Päkehä notions of partnership see Päkehä firmly in control at the structural decision-making and power level and Mäori as subordinate to this. Mäori conceptions of partnership differ significantly and see equal Mäori and Päkehä representation and participation at all levels of society - a 50 / 50 sharing of power (see Table 1). The partnership that eventuates from the reforms:

- Permeates from unilateral structures of governance;
- Is one-sided in that it is Päkehä dominated, and;
- Reinforces [false] Päkehä notions of superiority.

Although partnership and the Treaty of Waitangi recognised Mäori conceptions of difference as valid, those conceptions were confined solely to cultural considerations; Mäori cultural differences were recognised as both valid and worthwhile in comparison to Pākehā culture but inequalities in terms of issues relating to Mäori decision-making and unequal power-relations between Mäori and Päkehä, remain unresolved, (Johnston, 1998:168).

The appearance of the Treaty in the school charters is therefore seen as being a 'tokenistic' gesture that has no thrust (Johnston, 1993). In its present form

....the potential 'effectiveness' of the Treaty is nullified by the unequal 'power relations' that exist in New Zealand society today, dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori....Māori have always relied upon the 'dominant treaty partner' with regard to having their interests and aspirations catered for. There is nothing in the recent spate of changes made to the education system, which suggests that this situation will change, (ibid:5).

Mäori visions of partnership in education guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi and the [supposed] partnership mechanisms of the educational reforms envisage a greater amount of power, autonomy, decision-making rights and participatory rights equal to the Crown. However, the reforms and the partnership mechanisms have been illusory for Mäori; partnership is a myth.

4.5.1 *1990 National Education Guidelines*

Educational reform continued into the 1990s with the Ministry of Education establishing the *National Education Guidelines* in 1990, two years after the

introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) as a means of 'hardening up' school objectives and goals. The *1990 National Education Guidelines* (Ministry of Education) are a compulsory requirement of every school's charter and an integral part of school self-management as they are indicative of the values, visions and views of every school's community – staff, Māori, Pākehā. The *1990 National Education Guidelines* (ibid) included four components:

1. The *National Administration Guidelines* (NAGs);

- "…. Statements of desirable achievements by the school system, or by an element of the school system".

2. The *National Education Goals* (NEGs);

- "…. Statements of policy concerning teaching, learning and assessment that are made for purposes of giving direction to the way in which curriculum and assessment responsibilities are to be managed in schools".

3. The *National Curriculum Statements* (NCSs);

- "…. Statements of the areas of knowledge and understanding to be covered by students, skills to be developed by students and, desirable levels of knowledge to be achieved by students during the years of schooling".

4. *Foundation Curriculum Policy Statements.*

- "…. Statements of desirable codes or principles of conduct or administration for specified kinds or descriptions of person or body";
- (Ministry of Education, 1997).

The *1990 National Education Guidelines* are given effect by Sections 60A and 61 of the *1989 Education Act*. In particular, Section 61 (2) states that

Every [school] charter and proposed charter shall be deemed to contain the aim of achieving, meeting, and following (as the case may be) the national education guidelines.

However, the new guidelines were of little benefit to Māori because at one level, Mä ori had little input in decision-making and therefore a lack of power to effect a positive change for Mäori (national Mäori education statistics throughout the 1990s continued to dominate negative areas, see Ministry of Education, 1995). Mäori still had to comply and conform to a 'mainstream' education system. Revision of the

National Education Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1990) has been ongoing since their implementation and continues to be so. For example, in 1993 the *Guidelines* were revised to clarify the role of Boards of Trustees in relation to students' learning and achievement and to provide schools with more flexibility in deciding how to meet the requirements of the guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1997). School Boards of Trustees had the flexibility to develop sound governance and management practices to support successful learning (ibid) and schools were given a greater amount of flexibility in deciding how to meet the requirements of the *Guidelines* (ibid).

However, in terms of promoting greater involvement and participation of Māori whānau in schooling, the *Guidelines* (ibid) (and their components) made no specific statements. While Section 62 of the *1989 Education Act* required School Boards of Trustees to consult their Māori communities, the ambiguity of the requirement and the inadequacy of acceptable guidelines for Māori partnership relationships maintained an inconsistent level of Māori community consultation; it also allowed for different types of consultation, both minimal and nominal (Johnston, 1990). The *Guidelines* (Ministry of Education, 1997) were further amended in 1996 and in 1999 when components *(NAGs)* were revised.

The role of the *National Administration Guidelines (NAGs)* (Ministry of Education, 1997) is to support learning environments and assist schools to work towards the *National Educational Guidelines* (ibid) through effective governance and management practices. As School Boards are responsible to the State for exercising authority over the management of their schools, they are required to exercise partnership relationships with principals, senior management, staff and their school community to meet the requirements of the *NAGS*. The *NAGs* provide direction to School Boards of Trustees in six areas of school operations. Within each one of these six areas (listed below) there are a number of requirements to be attained:

1. Curriculum Requirements and Student Achievement

- At a partnership level, each Board of Trustees through the principal and staff in consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make

known to the school's community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students.

2. Documentation and Self-review

-   This impacts in all strategic planning and reviewing where community involvement occurs. Schools must report to students and their parents on the achievement of individual students and to the community on the achievement of students as a whole, including the achievement of Māori students.

3. Employer Responsibilities

-   Every Board of Trustees must develop and implement personnel and industrial policies that comply with the State's frameworks, this includes the aspirations of cultural and minority groups (Māori), in the workplace (school environment).

4. Financial and Property Management

-   School Boards of Trustees are required to report on their activities and to comply with any current asset management agreement and they are to ensure that the schools buildings and facilities provide a safe environment for its students and wider community.

5. Health and Safety

-   Each Board of Trustees must ensure the health and safety of its students, employees and visitors. This also extends outside of the school property and includes issues such as drugs and alcohol, dealing with non-custodial parents and, child abuse.

6. Administration

-   Boards of Trustees must ensure that all general legislation concerning requirements such as school attendance is met. Boards must also ensure that enrolment procedures do not discriminate parents, families or children and, that procedures for dealing with absences / truancy are met, (Ministry of Education, 1997).

1999 saw the Labour Government introduce changes to the *NAGs* (Ministry of Education) that were to take effect by July 1st 2000. These changes exemplify an attempt reminiscent of successive governments in recent years to increase the

participation and partnership between schools and their Māori communities and as a means of making schools accountable to their Māori communities. The changes and extensions of the *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms like those changes to the *NAGs* have occurred as a means of contesting the increase in Māori education underachievement and negating this trend. However, like all policy before them the changes to the *NAGs* have been undertaken within a framework that operates within set and rigid [monocultural Pākehā] parameters. This process emphasises the differences between Māori and Pākehā conceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Treaty principles, biculturalism and partnership, differences that maintain a [dominant] Pākehā majority and a powerless Māori minority. In particular, Māori inclusion is cultural - how to include Māori language and culture into the school environment rather than structural, that is, structural changes that would enable Māori more control over decision-making in schools.

NAG 1, point (v) and *NAG 2, point (iii)* contain factors that directly impact on partnership between Māori communities and schools. *NAG 1* (revised) reads

> *Each Board of Trustees is required to foster student achievement by providing teaching and learning programmes, which incorporate the New Zealand Curriculum (essential learning areas, essential skills and attitudes and values) as expressed in National Curriculum Statements, (Ministry of Education, 1999).*

While *point (v)* reads each board through the principal and staff is required

> *In consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make known to the school's community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students, (ibid).*

The requirements of this *NAG* are very broad. In fact the Ministry of Education (1999) recognises the ambiguity where in response to a question of consultation between schools and Māori communities, the Ministry replies

> *.... The regulations are general, not specific, because each school's policies... will need to take account of the nature and make-up of the school and its Māori community, (ibid).*

However, it is this situation of an ambiguous guideline one that is general and unspecific, that leads to ineffective consultation between a school and its Māori community because there are no set guidelines. Subsequently, the potential is for unfavourable relations to develop and a lack of willingness on behalf of the Māori (and Pākehā) parents to participate in school affairs occurs.

NAG 2, point (iii) (revised) reads

> *Each board of trustees with the principal and teaching staff is required to: Report to students and their parents on the achievement of individual students, and to the school's community on the achievement of students as a whole and of groups (identified through 1 iii above) including the achievement of Māori students against the plans and targets referred to in 1 v above, (ibid).*

The Ministry of Education makes the statement that it is 'reasonable to expect that consultation between the school and its Māori community will become a standard part of a school's planning and reporting process' (ibid). Again the ambiguity in the statement and in words such as 'reasonable' suggests the potential for schools to develop communication between the School Board of Trustees, students and the wider community that may not necessarily result in the types of partnership procedures that Māori communities might expect. The guideline is not specific or proactive enough to direct some form of definite action.

4.6 Summary

Since the new reforms were officially mandated in 1989, partnership relationships between Māori communities, whānau and schools have often been left to develop in an ad hoc fashion due to a lack of partnership guidelines. The contestable nature of the Treaty texts, the lack of power that the Treaty wielded in the charter framework and the lack of Treaty knowledge that communities – Māori and school had, served to widen and weaken partnership relationships between schools and Māori communities

Parents and local communities have been sold the belief that under the restructuring they will gain more power. In actual terms there has been a devolving of increased responsibility to the local community and a corresponding increase in the power of the state....,(Smith & Smith, 1989:3).

It is important to mention that the New Zealand Treasury has played a dominant role in contributing to the restructuring of the education system. Treasury's dominant role is indicated by key differences in the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) that dealt casually with Māori issues in the curriculum and the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) which took a more in-depth analysis of Māori education in the curriculum, including extensive and detailed recommendations

Treasury had been concerned about the state's role in education as early as 1984...they note the very large expenditure on welfare services (of which education was the second highest).... It is not surprising then, that Treasury responded with criticism to the curriculum Review, and its calls for increased resources in education.... What is surprising is the extent to which it has been able to influence education policy....,(Burke, 1990:25).

Johnston (1991) adds that Māori represent an anomaly for New Right theory which has resulted in extreme criticism by its proponents on the use and validity of Māori culture and language (see Sexton, 1990). This Neo-liberalist approach fails to recognise Māori conceptions of difference therefore initiatives that involve Māori communities and that propose partnership relationships with the State and, or its institutions for example, are in this sense essentially flawed.

In the lead-up to the restructuring of the education system in 1988-89, a better deal for Māori was promulgated with convincing rhetoric. With the Prime Minister holding the reins, the Tomorrow's Schools' kaupapa would deliver changes aimed at eliminating the achievement gap mentioned above, and move Māori to a level comparable to that enjoyed by their non-Māori colleagues. The fact that the opposite has happened is an indictment on the current system, (Grace, in Tapine & Waiti, 1997).

There is a plethora of research about New Right ideology and its historical influence (see Marshall, Smith and Peters, 1990; Marshall and Peters, 1996). There has also been an abundance written about the impact of New Right ideology and its underpinning philosophies on education in literature elsewhere (see Marshall et al, 1990; Wilson, 1990; Codd, 1989; 1990; Burke, 1990; New Zealand Treasury, 1987; Stewart-Harawira, 1995).

Attitudes to the Treaty and its role in the education system's development have varied. For instance, references to the Treaty of Waitangi in the *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* stated that

.... The provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi will be observed.... Māori people have a special status under the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi, (Department of Education, 1988:3-4).

This is the only mention of the Treaty throughout the entire *Report* and therefore exemplifies its status within the parameters of the projected reforms (it never featured at all in *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988). However, this does not lessen its significance or forestall the need to consider and discuss more expansively, Treaty of Waitangi implications for education in New Zealand.

What this chapter has outlined is that the significance and importance of the Treaty of Waitangi in guiding policy and partnership relationships has been both minimalistic and ambiguous. The Treaty of Waitangi has been relegated to a position of acknowledgement that is highly contestable and open to many interpretations. The intent of wider consultation for developments and for Māori is also unclear. The main issue here is that acknowledgement and wider consultation occurs in a

framework that is developed by Pākehā, that is controlled by Pākehā and that values all Pākehā knowledge and values as opposed to those of Māori. Once again unequal power relations are reflected in the development and implementation of government education initiatives; partnership is misleading.

Both the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) and the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) accentuate the significance of the notion of partnership in the education system. This includes a greater involvement for whānau in their local school and in the schooling of their children. Both reports identify that Māori do not want to assimilate to Pākehā practice but that they would like to maintain and develop Māori cultural identity while also succeed in the system (Burke, 1990). Irwin states that

> *Māori do want the best of both worlds and this means receiving an education which maintains their own lifestyle, language and culture, whilst also enhancing life chances, access to power, and equality of opportunity, (1990:31).*

In reality however, partnership is the rhetoric to a solution to address Māori interests in education. The Treaty of Waitangi, partnership and biculturalism will remain highly contestable issues between Māori and Pākehā as long as both Māori and Pākehā conceptions and interpretations of these digress. As mentioned earlier, Māori conceptions focus on the political aspects of biculturalism that are encompassed by the Treaty of Waitangi. Johnston (1998) adds that the Treaty was defined in terms of principles and therefore an undefined partnership was established between Māori and Pākehā. This 'undefined' partnership has overseen policy and legislation development under Pākehā control and Māori subordination. Until such time that a Pākehā conception of the Treaty of Waitangi, partnership and biculturalism include structural, political and social considerations that reflect a Māori conception, these issues will be challenged and disputed by Māori.

The following chapter analyses the impact of these educational reforms throughout the ensuing decade and into the 21st century within the context of *'Better Relationships'* between schools and their Māori communities. Partnership continues

to gain popularity among the rhetoric as can be seen in the content of the reforms and sin their 'intent', however the maintenance of structural inequalities persists.

Chapter 5.

Hei Whakahou - Te Tirotiro o Ngā Wā
- The Changes - A Review of Performance 1997 - 2001

The Government is committed to developing an education strategy, in partnership with Māori, local communities, and schools, to achieve these goals. As two of the Government's key advisers in this area, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kōkiri, have been asked to undertake a comprehensive consultation process with parents, whānau, educators, and communities, (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1997:5).

5.1 Introduction

In 1997, the Ministry of Education commissioned a report titled *Māori Participation and Performance in Education* (Chapple, Jefferies and Walker, 1997). The report identified and examined the 'education gap' between Māori and non-Māori across all education sectors in New Zealand given that disparities were seen to exist in these areas. However, the notion of a 'gap' is problematic. The education 'gap' defined by the *Māori Participation and Performance in Education* report (ibid), argues that the main reasons for the 'gap' existing is because Mäori have fewer family resources, including less time, less money, less education and Māori are less likely to own their own home. While recent education reforms have not been developed to specifically address these disadvantages, the resource of parent time and the ability to become engaged in their children's schooling has been developed in policy elsewhere. *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) for instance, among many areas was supposed to address issues like this, especially when you consider Section 3.2.2 of this reform that states

The whānau will be able to have access to and participate in education, (p.26).

However, increased meaningful Māori parental involvement in schooling is also problematic as *Māori Participation and Performance – A Summary* (Else, 1997) demonstrates Māori are still failing the education system because of a focus on a cultural deficit.

This deficit focus is based upon Pākehā notions of 'what is to count as knowledge' and the perception that [Māori] difference is positioned in comparison to a [Pākehā] norm (Kenrick, 2002; Brah, 1992; Hall, 1997; Johnston, 1998). To attain such measures, State policies and practices serve to quash the cynicism of difference through normalization processes (Johnston, 1998). Here, the dominant group's values, culture and language are elevated to a position of normality (Kenrick, 2002) and thus, a position of superiority (Johnston, 1998; Woodward, 1997). For example, as the last chapter established, Mäori recommendations for more whänau participation in schools was reduced to an individual on school Boards of Trustees.

While Māori and Pākehā supposedly enjoy an equal partnership relationship across the socio-political arena as projected by the rhetoric of State policies and practices, credibility is invisible. Subsequently, there is no such thing as neutrality or decision making that is beneficial for all; this is twofold. For example, Johnston (1998) clearly demonstrates that when Māori are not part of a decision-making process, decisions made for them (and not by them) are unobtainable and ultimately Māori challenge these decisions. Also, when Māori are part of a decision-making process, the process itself can function to marginalise Māori decision-making (Kenrick, 2002). Thus, the measuring 'yardstick' has predominantly been Pākehā defined and controlled since the 1960s and has remained so up to the 1990s decade. That is, the norm against which Māori educational (under)achievement was measured is Pākehā; Māori notions of 'what is to count' were disregarded throughout the 1960s and 1970s but have slowly started to be noticed in the last 20 years.

This chapter explores State education policy directives from 1997 to 2001 and attempts by the State to address the educational disparities between Māori and non-Māori. These directives have endeavored to bring Māori into line under Pākehā defined notions of partnership rather than addressing the achievement of equality based on conceptions of Māori as different but equal (Kenrick, 2002) in what

Kenrick describes as "normalising Māori to Pākehāness" (p.6). This chapter analyses the changes in education under the premise that most of the changes have occurred while Māori have been consistently viewed by the State as deficit.

5.2 *Making Education Work For Māori 1997*

In 1997, the Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri) and the Ministry of Education released a booklet titled *Making Education Work for Māori: Talking Points for Parents and Whānau.* The booklet set out a range of discussion topics on Māori educational issues to enable dialogue on the development of strategies to improve Māori educational achievement in early childhood education, parent education, compulsory education and post-compulsory education / training. At the government's request, this project was undertaken to seek ways to reduce the disparities between Māori and non-Māori in the education sector.

The booklet asked whānau, teachers, parents, employers, Māori, non-Māori, groups, individuals, students and the State to share their views, experiences and beliefs on Māori success in education at a range of hui (25) that were planned around the country in one month (November 18th - December 18th, 1997); extended up to the 21st of January 1998. Participants were also asked how each could make a difference in improving educational achievement for Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1997).

Many Māori concerns were based on the notion of partnership. For instance, partnership mechanisms created by previous education policies had been unsatisfactory for Māori. Māori still wanted more say in the education of their children

Parents need to be more involved and offer more direction.... This is often because Māori parents feel ill at-ease in an institutional setting (ibid:6).

.... Ensuring whānau – school community partnership building is undertaken; ensuring parents and whānau are helped to learn ways of supporting the

learning their children do at school, ensuring the prevision of other parent education services (ibid:5).

These submissions support the greater involvement of Māori parents and whānau in schooling however, there is an element of sceptibility among the community due to unequal notions (and practices) of partnership between Māori and the State. For example, as one submission states

.... Whatever it is that we want to do, the Pākehā will always be at the helm to direct and dictate. Until such time and when we can take full responsibility for our own dealing in education – greater improvements will be made (ibid:6)

Māori needs and percentages highlighted throughout the consultation process were summarised into five broad issues. These were:

1. Māori want more say in education;
2. The needs to be greater accountability to Māori;
3. The need for more responsiveness and diversity in education;
4. The need for changes in attitudes and expectations for Māori children and Māori education, and;
5. The need for better information and communication.
   (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1998:5).

Responses to the booklet, to the hui and to the consultation between all of the participants (including Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education) were released by these government agencies later in 1998 under the report titled, *Making Education Work for Māori: Report on Consultation*. With regards to raising the achievements of Māori students, the following themes were identified:

- Māori want better information and better ways to have their voices heard;
- Māori want schools and the system to have to be accountable for achieving what they want for their children;
- Māori expect schools and the system to identify and to respond to their needs and their aspirations for learning;
- Māori want everyone involved to have high expectations of the achievement of their children.
   (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1998:9).

The report revealed a need for greater partnerships between Māori and the State at a range of levels across education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The appeal for greater

responsiveness, accountability and a greater say by Māori in education mirrored Māori responses to earlier reform processes (see Chapter Four). While these responses were [supposedly] addressed, Māori and Pākehā indifference on the Treaty of Waitangi, partnership and biculturalism, combined with Pākehā control and authority has seen these issues become a 'thorn in the backside' for Māori. Consequently, issues like greater State responsiveness to Māori concerns have not been addressed (see Ministry of Education, 1994; Chapple et al, 1997; Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1997; 1998; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; 2000).

The five broad issues and four themes identified and that represented Māori aspirations and concerns could be achieved if 'true' partnership was practiced between Māori and Pākehā throughout all of society's institutions, not just in education. As a result of Pākehä being in control, Māori education strategy development remains futile as the power relations and educational structures remain firmly fixed in the favour of Pākehä. Instead, Māori visions for Māori education are acknowledged or 'paraphrased' so as to fit within government report parameters. Such parameters are indicative in other processes like the 'Closing the Gaps' reports (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; 2000) that as Kenrick stated

> *.... Equates to normalising Māori to Pākehāness. Such a philosophy is not concerned with equity − the unequal treatment of groups to achieve equal outcomes.... Thus, Closing the Gaps appears to measure Māori against a Pākehā defined criteria of what counts as gaps, (2002:6).*

The 1998 'Closing the Gaps' report (Te Puni Kōkiri) highlighted disparities across the socio-economic sector, as did the 2000 report however, the 2000 'Closing the Gaps' report (Te Puni Kōkiri) claimed that improvement had been made even though this was of little significance to the overall status of Māori in comparison to non-Māori. Disparities between Māori and non-Māori as identified by the 'Closing the Gaps' reports (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; 2000) exist because of a number of barriers that have been created by our nation's education system and its policies, for example:

- A lack of resources available among Māori communities;
- Ignorance within school communities, and;
- Myths about Māori children / Māori education in general;
(Johnston, 1998).

Greater partnership, consultation and collaboration between schools and their Māori communities would seemingly help to address these barriers and therefore lead to positive educational outcomes for Māori. Nonetheless, these relationships have not been very forthcoming due to two conflicting views across education:

1. A deficit (Pākehā) view of Māori and Māori education.
2. A Māori conception of the Treaty of Waitangi, partnership and biculturalism and implications for education.

For example, the 2000 'Closing the Gaps' report (Te Puni Kōkiri) identified the need for greater improvement in the participation and achievement by Māori across the education system including parental and whānau involvement in schooling

Greater improvement in participation and achievement within the education sector is critical if social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori are to be reduced. The outcomes of education for Māori affect their opportunities in employment and income, with flow-on effects in housing, criminal justice, and health. (p.18).

According to Kenrick (2002), what has emerged from the rhetoric surrounding the 'Closing the Gaps' directives is an attempt to reconcile Māori needs however, this too has proved problematic.

5.3 Labour Party Manifesto 1999

A number of tensions have arisen to sustain a conflict, which included recognising on one hand social justice, the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, notions of equality and self-determination and on the other a tension created by the public backlash surrounding Māori education policy in the build up to the 1999 New Zealand general elections. While the Labour Party committed themselves to developing Māori education interventions and strategies in direct partnership with

Māori and a commitment to getting rid of the 'Gap'. Public outcry that 'Gaps' existed for Pākehä too resulted in a reframing of those commitments to be inclusive of all those who were disadvantaged (ibid). The emphasis of the 'Closing the Gaps' rhetoric was shifting now to disparities between all groups, not just between two groups - Mäori and non-Mäori. Kenrick (2002) relates the sudden silence of the government over 'Closing the Gaps' rhetoric to public and media backlash

> *Given media coverage of the Closing the Gaps policy and comments to newspaper editors it is feasible that this silence is a response to public concern that once again Mäori have been singled out for preferential treatment, (p.8).*

As a part of their political manifestation, Labour's Mäori education policy sought to be more inclusive of Mäori at the development and decision-making stages in order to recognise partnership between Mäori and the State. The Labour Party stated in their political manifesto that the party's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi with respect to compulsory education were to:

- Uphold the right of Māori to educate and be educated through direct delivery of education by Māori or through 'general' education.
- Develop Māori education policy in partnership with Māori.
- Amend the Education Act to affirm Labour's commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi.
  (New Zealand Labour Party, 2000:16).

The term 'partnership' is a prominent issue that appears throughout the party manifesto in conjunction with greater liaison and consultation with Māori communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. The political rhetoric however, exemplifies previous Mäori education policy since the 1980s whereby greater partnership, consultation, greater responsiveness to Māori communities and greater community communication was (and continues to be) guaranteed by the government (Ministry of Education). For instance, in 1999, the Labour Party proposed that they would fund more community forums to be facilitated by Māori educators and to occur nationwide

> *These forums will not be simply 'more talk' about problems. These forums will be action focused. The problems are clear. Some of the solutions are also clear. What we now need is to develop a long-term action plan to put solutions into*

practice. This action plan needs to have significant input from as many Māori as possible. It also needs to be developed by both sides of the partnership so that we can encourage and support each other towards achieving high educational standards and better educational outcomes for Māori, (New Zealand Labour Party, 1999:17).

While it is typical of government(s) to acknowledge a problem area and to propose a strategy, this situation conceals the greater issue of unequal partnership and power relations at a structural level of society. Proposed discussions, forums and policy development occurs in an environment that does not itself undergo structural change to effect greater partnership. Therefore from the onset, policies, initiatives and / or legislation are destined to fail or to prolong the secondary issues (greater Māori involvement in schooling) due to the primary issue (unequal partnership) not being addressed. This alludes 'us' to the notion of 'good intentions' however, these have not been forthcoming, nor will they be unless Māori conceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi, biculturalism and of partnership are recognised at the highest structural / Ministerial levels of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Disparities raised by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education and the political agenda of the Labour Party in 1999 have resulted in a number of improved guidelines and directives for schools on how to involve Māori communities in decision-making processes. While the directives have been developed by the State, they reflect the election promises made by the Labour Party in 1999. These guidelines and directives are contained in annual reports on Mäori education titled, *Ngä Haeata Mätauranga* (Ministry of Education).

5.4 *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga 2000, 2001*

In an attempt to build better partnerships with Māori, further policy directives were visited by the government, for example, *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga 1998 – 1999 and Direction for 2000* - annual report on Māori education, states that the Ministry of Education will work more closely with Māori communities in more meaningful and focussed partnerships (Ministry of Education, 2000:5). The nurturing and status of existing relationships between Māori and the State is once again acknowledged

through reference to partnership relationships at government level and throughout the education sector. The *Ngä Haeata Mätauranga* report (ibid) discloses the Māori education strategy that reinforces the need for the government, the education system and schools to work more effectively with Māori students, whānau, hapū and iwi. This state includes formalising partnerships with iwi to strengthen education in their rohe and refocusing curriculum development from a Māori worldview (ibid). The report states that

> *Two-way engagement is essential to bringing balance, perspective and shared understandings.... (ibid:6).*

Such a statement would have been expected by Mäori to underpin the *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms that were to enable whānau greater access to and participation in education. However, this hasn't occurred to the necessary extent that Māori had hoped or that government had intended for if it is being made 12 years later in the *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga 1998 – 1999 and Direction for 2000* report (Ministry of Education, 2000). If it had of occurred in the appropriate manner, then perhaps initiatives that have included improved decision-making capacities for Māori in mainstream education would be 10 to 12 years old. Instead, they are only 2 to 3 years old as is the case now with a number of Māori parenting initiatives that include Strengthening Families, *Whakaaro Mātauranga* and iwi partnerships throughout the country (Ministry of Education, 2001).

Of interest in the most recent *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* report is the transition in the rhetoric from that of 'Closing the Gaps' (as in previous reports) to 'reducing the disparities in educational achievement' (ibid). The Ministry has opted for a more pleasant, euphemistic title for Māori failure in the education system as outlined previously. The three main broad themes running through the work of the Ministry of Education in the *Ngä Haeata Mätauranga* report (ibid) are:

1. Raising the educational achievement of all students;
2. Reducing the disparities in educational achievement;
3. Enhancing the capacity of the Ministry to facilitate the provision of high quality education, (p.4).

Thus, Mäori have been directly moved out of the directive statements. Mäori are not singled out but are included with all groups however, these changes should perhaps be effected at a structural level too so that Mäori are represented here and not only at a lower 'chalkface' level. According to the Honourable Parekura Horomia's (the Associate Minister for Education) introductory statements to the 2001 report (ibid), one of his main objectives was to

.... Encourage government to support whānau, hapū, iwi and other communities to build their capacity to design and develop education that works for them. It is clear that Māori want greater input into education (Making Education Work for Māori), and I envisage that we will have increasingly significant roles and responsibilities in shaping education in our own communities, (ibid:3).

For the attainment of these objectives there can only be one process and this is the breaking down of the mono-cultural [Pākehā] framework of society (the very framework that Māori politicians work in) to reflect a 'true sharing of power' between Māori and Pākehā in order to fulfil the Ministry's themes and objectives.

The annual *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* reports on Māori education (Ministry of Education, 2000; 2001) have once again produced the type of rhetoric that attempts to position Māori in a positive frame of thinking while at the same time maintaining Māori subordinate status. Like so many reports and initiatives in the previous two decades, acknowledgment of a [Māori] problem is made by the State and that attempts are being made to address the problem or reduce the disparities between Māori and non-Māori. These attempts have supposedly focused on the notion of ***'Better Relationships'*** between schools and their Māori communities since 1988 however, a lack of partnership at the structural level has negated the concept of ***'Better Relationships'***, especially from a Māori perspective.

The Ministry of Education have recently initiated two important approaches in an attempt to guarantee that mainstream schools will involve Māori parents and whānau more meaningfully in raising Māori educational achievement. These reforms are clearly stated in the 2001 *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* report and are the:

- *Better Relationships for Better Learning Guidelines* (2000);

- *Whakaaro Mātauranga* (2001);
  (Ministry of Education, 2001:40).

These two reforms are examined in more detail in the following section. This section of the chapter will critically analyse these guidelines in order to see whether or not the **_'Better Relationships'_** aspects of the guidelines are a positive movement for Māori and an adequate mechanism for addressing Māori educational underachievement. That is, has the Ministry of Education finally got it right? Will *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* (Ministry of Education, 2000) address notions of partnership? Will Mäori educational underachievement be addressed?

5.5 *Better Relationships for Better Learning (*2000)

From a State perspective, the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000) guidelines are seen as an obligation to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi where they highlight a focus of improving Māori educational achievement

> *This is part of the government's commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and reflects the emphasis given by the government to significantly improve the educational status of Māori, (ibid:6).*

> *The National Education Guidelines require schools to operate consistently with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, (ibid:6).*

While this statement sounds and looks refreshing for Māori, its ambiguity is remindful of previous policies that have guaranteed such promises to Māori but have failed to deliver positive outcomes for Māori due to [Māori and Pākehā] different interpretations and conceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi, its principles and a lack of guidelines to show 'how'.

What is prevalent in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000) guidelines specifically is the rhetoric on how schools can be more inclusive and responsive to the needs and aspirations of their Māori communities

with an emphasis on partnership and improving educational achievement. For example, the document states that

> *Success in education is much more likely when schools, parents and the wider community work well together.... It is characterised by a strong and genuine sense of partnership where the school, family, and community can apply their collective skills, energies, and abilities to support, encourage, and enhance the learning of children, (ibid:4).*

Responsiveness had been one of five key areas that Māori identified as being critical for Māori educational achievement in education (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1998) hence, one of a number of reasons for the development of these guidelines to foster greater communication and partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities

> *Schools that are more inclusive of the concerns and interests of Māori parents are better able to translate these into more effective programmes of learning and teaching for Māori children, (ibid:4).*

Ironically however, educational institutions that have been inclusive and responsive to Māori parents' needs have been Māori controlled initiatives such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Therefore the dilemma for many Māori seems to be 'will mainstream schools be more inclusive of our hopes and concerns?' or 'will these hopes and concerns be reinterpreted to comply with Pākehā notions of partnership and biculturalism?'

The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000) guidelines contain eight aspects that focus on governance, consultation and parental engagement. These are:

1. Principles of success;
2. Governance and the Board of Trustees;
3. Māori language and culture in the school;
4. School activities and interaction with Māori parents;
5. Truancy and discipline;

6. Relationships with iwi, hapū, and marae;
7. Relationships with the community;
8. Relationships with other schools.
    (Ministry of Education, 2000:9).

Rather than being a 'working text' on forming partnerships the guidelines are intended to be a resource for schools to assist them in the development of more inclusive relationships with their Māori parents and communities. They also consider how parents' active participation might be developed, what consultation means, what some schools are currently practicing, examples of barriers schools and whānau face and challenges that they meet as well (ibid).

However, a major concern is that the guidelines are too generic and treat all Māori iwi, hapū, parents and communities as homogenous. The guidelines are a [State] Ministry of Education initiative and although Māori have assisted in the formulation of the guidelines ultimately, like all other power structures Māori have remained inferior throughout the process because the policy has been developed and implemented according to Pākehā conceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi (and its principles), Pākehā conceptions of partnership and Pākehā conceptions of biculturalism. Pākehā (the State) hold and control the power to use for their own benefit and for their own merits, merits that warrant an electorate's votes during parliamentary elections, for example. Even though the guidelines are careful to state that they are not Māori community specific, this digresses from the real issue [of power and control]

These guidelines do not set out how, when, and with whom to consult.... The guidelines provide examples and models for schools to use or to adapt to their own circumstances, (ibid:9).

A Māori community in Bluff for instance, is surely not indicative of what a Māori community does in Northland or in Hawkes Bay or Taranaki. It is acknowledged that ideas, experiences and strategies used may be adaptable if not useable however, the socio-economic levels throughout the country are not the same. A decile one school's Māori community will be different and have different needs and aspirations to a decile four school's Māori community. Also, Ngāpuhi aspirations for their people will differ somewhat to Ngāti Porou aspirations or to Ngāti Kahungunu educational

needs. Greater Ministry of Education consultation with individual iwi that reflects partnership relationships would produce greater participation at the decision-making level and not only at a consultation level, as has been the case in the recent past.

The outcomes of these partnership relationships have the potential to produce outcomes and initiatives much greater than the guideline booklets for all schools and their Māori communities currently do. Recognition of Māori notions of difference (among the Māori community too) would sit more appropriately for the *'Better Relationships'* aspects of better learning. Māori would have a greater say and have the autonomy to forge strong partnership relationships with the State (via their community's school) that have the potential to be more community specific and relevant. An example of this occurring is the new Pouwhakataki Māori community liaison officers working with their iwi and hapū (Māori communities), schools, School Boards of Trustees and the Ministry of Education under iwi / hapū directives as well as their Ministry objectives, developed as a part of *Whakaaro Mätauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2001).

5.6 *Whakaaro Mätauranga* 2001

Whakaaro Mātauranga (Ministry of Education, 2001) is an attempt by the State at addressing Māori educational underachievement. It has been born out of consultation with Māori albeit via Pākehā conceptions of partnership, biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi. *Whakaaro Mātauranga* (ibid) is an attempt to assist Māori whānau in the development and maintenance of good, effective partnership relationships with their children's schools and so is a positive progression from previous strategies. As part of its Māori education strategy the Ministry of Education wants to build and maintain positive relationships with Māori communities in education. The Ministry is thus working alongside other agencies to respond appropriately and effectively to the needs of whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori organisations and Māori communities.

Also as a part of the *Whakaaro Mä*tauranga (ibid) strategy, 21 Pouwhakataki - Māori community liaison officers have been appointed throughout the country to act as a 'bridge' between the education sector and the local community as of August 2002 (Ministry of Education, 2002) A prominent role of the 21 Pouwhakataki is to reinforce the message of *'Te Mana Ki te Taumata – Get there with learning'*, a national information campaign launched in 2001 to raise expectations of Māori educational achievement (Ministry of Education, 2001).

The role of Pouwhakataki in each area (rohe) includes information brokerage. This means providing Māori with the means and ways to accessing information on how the education system functions, the role of School Boards of Trustees and how to communicate more effectively with schools (educational institutions). Kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face contact) is an important part of the Pouwhakataki role in the community. This is seen (and has been recognised) as the most effective medium of communicating with Māori

> *Schools and principals can also feel uncomfortable dealing with whānau.... There is a willingness to do something but they don't really know how to communicate. Political correctness and sensitivities to issues can act as a barrier. Pouwhakataki can help communicate to schools some of the tikanga (protocol) that will facilitate better communication with whānau, (ibid:1).*

However, until such time as this dichotomy is reduced to a truly bicultural axiom that is acknowledged and practiced at a Ministerial level of society, the notion of *'**Better Relationships** for Better Learning'* will remain a senseless vision by Mäori and the State. For example, if Pouwhakataki are going to be an effective [State] mechanism of fostering partnership relationships between schools and their Mäori communities, then perhaps there should be more Pouwhakataki positions commissioned within each region or rohe to share out the workload of the current 21 [national] positions. Joe Doherty, Project Manager in the Ministry of Education in reference to criticisms of a limited number of Pouwhakataki was quoted as saying that

> *One of the common comments that has come out in the consultation is that resources are really thin on the ground. My response is this [the Pouwhakataki] is the resource you have been given, let's work out the best way to use it, (ibid:4).*

If Māori had a greater share of the decision-making process, at one level there would be more Pouwhakataki - teams in each region or rohe. However, such notions are not reflected in reality where the State continues to maintain full power and control. Once again Māori are forced to comply with inflexible practices and rigid policy. For instance, *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) created School Boards of Trustees and the [ostensible] capacity for Mäori participation on these Boards. The fragmentisation of Mäori collectiveness at a decision-making level to an individual capacity was a notable feature of these reforms (see Johnston, 1991; 1998). This situation has been created once again by the State where Pouwhakataki are a minority within their departments and rohe. While this might not seem visibly apparent at a national level where Pouwhakataki have the capacity to collectively meet with other Pouwhakataki, the reality is that most of the work is performed in the regions and rohe where Pouwhakataki are consistently outnumbered by schools, teachers, School Boards of Trustees and Mäori / non-Mäori communities.

While not all schools have large Māori rolls (in comparison with non-Māori), it is important to recognise that the crux of the matter is that they, the Pouwhakataki are there to 'bridge' the gap between the education institutions (schools) and their local Māori community (Ministry of Education, 2002) as set down by their Ministry of Education job descriptions. Because Māori educational achievement is low in comparison to non-Māori (see Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; 2000) and relative to the particular area, school or community that the measurement is taken from, it would be expected that Pouwhakataki will address each school's Māori community separately or as being dissimilar to the next school in certain contexts. It would be improper to treat every Māori community in their area and rohe as being the same. Treating all Māori communities as the same would also compromise their position from a Māori community perspective and the idea that Māori are not homogenous, nor are individual iwi or even hapū to this extent either. Homogenous treatment of Māori by the State is reminiscent of our country's past history, it is still evident today. Too often Māori are treated or labeled as being 'generic Māori'. For instance, government reports and directives on Māori education policy have consistently referred to 'one type' of Māori, that is, just Māori.

In referring back to Doherty's comment on having resources that are 'thin on the ground', a number of variables have been overlooked and disregarded. While I remind myself that the initiative has a positive focus for Māori, the Pouwhakataki themselves will be severely stretched across the boundaries of their rohe and in being so will create and face a number of barriers, barriers such as time, burn-out, being away for long periods of time from their own whānau, distance and travel. The work of Pouwhakataki is critical of the system that has created these roles. For instance, Māori are being 'softened up' with statements like:

> *We need to ensure both the role and the person are owned by the community,*
> *that the selected people have credibility within their community ...., (Ministry of*
> *Education, 2001:2)*

The initiatives are deficit in their approach in that the structural relations have been maintained, Pākehā have remained in control of mainstream education in New Zealand. Like many State education policy directives and strategies, Mäori are too often treated as a homogenous group or as 'generic' Mäori. While this treatment has continued in recent times, so too has the maintenance of the label that has been attached to Mäori, that is, 'disadvantaged', 'deficit', 'deprived', and 'different' (Pihama, 1993). Thus, such views have consistently driven Mäori education policy in an effort to assimilate Mäori, to encourage 'sameness' among Mäori and to normalise Mäori against Pākehä notions of equality and difference (Kenrick, 2002).

New educational initiatives therefore continue to locate Mäori in an inferior position in comparison to Päkehä. Johnston (1998) has argued that 'what counts as difference' is an assertion that privileges Päkehä (policy makers) who are conveniently situated to limit and enunciate remedies to 'fix up' the differences of Mäori. For example, Smith (1997) discussed the notion that the lives of Mäori women are shaped by different factors. Conversely, the major assumption is that, Mäori women are a generic group and that their experiences, needs and desires are identical. This [incorrect] notion is replicated throughout Mäori educational policy for example, in the development and implementation of the *Better Relationships for Better* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000).

Many of the recent Ministry of Education initiatives fit alongside what Mäori have been arguing for. For example, Penetito (1996) discusses relationships between indigenous communities and their schools when he comments on the notion of indigenous peoples' education. He identifies two important issues that relate to indigenous peoples' education:

1. Making explicit links with the tāngata whenua and;
2. Tāngata whenua control.

He goes on to highlight a number of Barnhardt's (1991) different imperatives that spell out the links between the educational institution and tāngata whenua (see Barnhardt 1991). These include:

- Commitment to community;
- Integration of functions;
- Sustained local leadership;
- Participation of elders;
- Spirituality;
- Use of local language;
- Traditional ways of knowing;
- Traditional teaching practices.
  (ibid:4-5).

These imperatives or similar essential necessities of establishing and maintaining partnership relationships that are particular to regions, iwi and hapū could perhaps have been put to use as a guide for the development of consultation, communication and partnership relationship guidelines between individual iwi / hapū, iwi authorities and the Ministry of Education. Attempts such as these for example, would indicate a truer reflection of partnership and biculturalism between Māori and Pākehā as outlined by Māori conceptions of] the Treaty of Waitangi.

While the Pouwhakataki positions and the nature of them have a number of [structural and power-relation] inadequacies, they are a new initiative that contributes to the converging of the bicultural dichotomy identified earlier (see Chapter Four). It is worth arguing that State initiatives such as the *Whakaaro Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2001) strategy are not effectual; there is no structural change. Rather, such policies and programmes encourage greater power for those who hold the

power, Pākehā. Peter Adds (in Tapine and Waiti, 1997) in discussing notions of fulfilling tino rangatiratanga (autonomous) desires sees the education system for example as being one-sided in that the framework in which Māori are forced to navigate is one based on Pākehā epistemologies. In reference to a proposed Māori Education Commission, Adds (ibid) claimed that

> .... It will never adopt a tino rangatiratanga philosophy because it's Crown driven.... We are being assimilated by the Crown if we're developing according to their agendas. Tino rangatiratanga is not clearly articulated ...., (ibid:33).

Dr. Ranginui Walker reinforces comments such as Adds' when he speaks of carrying out Treaty of Waitangi audits at tertiary institutions on their compliance to the Treaty of Waitangi in an article on Tā Apirana Ngata in *Mana Magazine*

> It's all very well to have a programme like Closing the gaps. But how do you bloody close the gaps? The culture of the institutions like universities has to change. You really have to put the acid on universities to perform, (Fox, 2001:30).

These comments serve to strengthen the reality in which government driven Māori educational initiatives are developed, implemented and monitored. Rather than functioning in a bicultural vacuum that reflects equal partnership from a Māori perspective, which includes political aspects, power relations and structural change, government functions at a level that only includes a cultural aspect or personal approach to biculturalism. The legitimacy of Māori conceptions of difference is denied while Pākehā conceptions of difference are maintained and reinforced.

5.7 Summary

While the Māori educational reforms and policies have started with good intentions, true partnership has not been achieved or been represented at decision-making and policy implementation levels because of the unequal power relations between Māori and Pākehā. Pākehā have remained the dominant group while Māori have been compelled to operate and work within the constraints of a system and its processes that is superior to Māori and that marginalises Māori.

This chapter has explored the notion of partnership and Māori whānau involvement in the schooling of their children and in doing so has clarified the bifurcation in Māori and Pākehā conceptions of partnership.

The State has continued to acknowledge a lack of achievement by Mäori in the education system within its education reports and Mäori education policy development. In doing so, the State have simultaneously implemented initiatives to address the [Päkehä conceptualised] inadequacies of previous Mäori education policy. Many of these policies have involved the notion of partnership in more than one context.

Since the turn of this century (2000), the Ministry of Education has been active attempting to introduce policies and practices to support the revised *1999 National Administration Guidelines* (Ministry of Education). The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) and the *Whakaaro Mātauranga* education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) have been developed to assist schools in meeting the requirements of *National Administrative Guideline* 1, Point V (see Chapter Four). This chapter has been supportive of these initiatives to an extent, based on the notion that the dual [Māori / Pākehā] focus on partnership, biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi has converged considerably in comparison to the period when the new education reforms of the late 1980s were implemented. The convergence of Māori and Pākehā views on biculturalism has continued throughout the 1990s up to now where the void between Māori and Pākehā perceptions has lessened considerably; nonetheless, the dichotomy and the void that separates the two trains of thought (Māori and Pākehā) still exists at a structural level and power relation level of Aotearoa New Zealand.

While the chapter has enjoyed the potential that the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) and the *Whakaaro Mātauranga* strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) possess, the criticisms of these initiatives have been on the environment in which they have been created. The lack of structural change at the Ministerial level of the State and unequal power relations at the policy decision-making level have been the main criticisms of these new initiatives. The

policy-making environment has its own perception of the Treaty of Waitangi, biculturalism and of partnership consequently, Māori perceptions are unfairly represented and are illusory; 50 / 50 partnership at the policy-making and decision-making level of our country is non-existent. While the State may imply through national education policy that the country is moving closer to equal partnership and that the country's educational institutions are becoming more bicultural, the reality is that ultimate decision-making power resides with the State.

At the 'chalk face' local level, equal partnership is more likely to occur between schools, School Boards of Trustees and their Māori communities on an individual basis. At the second level, State mechanisms of partnership such as Pouwhakataki are beginning to make their mark on Māori education. While they are few (in numbers), they will be able to forge equal partnerships with what groups and schools they are able to work with and establish links with. At the Ministerial or State level, equal partnership is less likely to occur due to the monocultural [Pākehā] framework of society that is practiced at that level from which all policy is generated. Subsequently, it is also this level of decision-making that is the highest, it is also the most prominent. Therefore, if biculturalism and partnership are not practiced at this level, it is predictable that this lack of recognition will permeate through all levels of the country as has occurred in the past and continues to do so. As a result, conflicts have arisen and have tarnished (and continue to) Māori and Pākehā relations.

While the status quo has been maintained, a noticeable deviation in Māori education in the latter 1990s has been a greater emphasis on Māori decision-makers and educators becoming involved at the consultation level. What we are witness to is a converging of two ideologies, both Māori and Pākehā perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi, biculturalism and partnership.

PART B:

Me Pēwhea Ngā Rūnanga
The Analysis of Partnerships

Chapter 6.

Te Huarahi Whakatutuki – Methodology

Research of Māori is marked by a history that has shaped the attitudes and feelings Māori people have held towards research. Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories, which have dehumanised Māori and in practices, which have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture, (Smith, L. 1999:183).

6.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined education policies in particular the notion of relationships between Māori, the State and schools. In drawing from interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi, the thesis has demonstrated progressive interpretations of the Treaty in terms of principles and a working partnership between Māori and the State. This thesis has argued that such interpretations are problematic because Pākehā continue to be in control of both the definitions of partnership and resulting practices in schools.

The literature review revealed that the focus on educational policy reform of the 1980s to 2002 was problematic. Although educational reforms have ostensibly provided Māori with a mechanism for greater participation and involvement in education in New Zealand, Pākehā have controlled this participation. However, recent educational initiatives like *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000) and *Whakaaro Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2001) seem to indicate that government have learnt from their previous mistakes and that positive development for partnerships and potential educational achievement for Māori children are beginning to be realised.

This research explores whether or not partnership relationships between Māori communities and schools have advanced and enabled *'Better Relationships'* for *better learning*. The thesis thus sets out to explore:

- What types of partnership relationships between schools and Māori communities have been developed;
- What forms of Māori community partnership already exist in schools;
- The impact of State (school) partnership relationship initiatives for Māori communities;
- Successful partnership models of consultation and collaboration between schools and their Māori communities;
- How local partnership relationships are being created;
- How schools and their Māori communities go about developing and implementing these relationships.

6.1.1 Kaupapa Māori Research

This research draws from a research paradigm that is uniquely indigenous and uniquely Māori – Kaupapa Māori research. Kaupapa Māori research has arisen as a means to address the inadequacies of traditional research that has perpetuated colonial values and systems in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bishop, 1995). Kaupapa Māori research is linked to Māori conscientisation, revitalisation and politicisation. First articulated as a structural approach to addressing educational developments by Māori in Kura Kaupapa Māori schools, a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is the continuation of tino rangatiratanga (decision-making by Māori for Māori) by Māori people (Smith, G, 1990; Smith, L, 1991; Bishop, R, 1991) into other areas like those of research.

For example, Smith, G (1992) speaks of Kaupapa Māori as being

....the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori ...., (p.3)

and that

> *It assumes the taken-for-granted social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Māori people, in that it is a position where Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right (ibid:3).*

Six principles of Kaupapa Māori were initially developed by Smith, G (1991) as a means to identify the forms of education intervention occurring in Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori schools. They are:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination principle);

    - The goal of 'control over one's own life and cultural well-being' has made gains within the relatively autonomous development of Kura Kaupapa Māori. Greater autonomy over key decision-making in schooling has been attained for example in regard to administration, curriculum, pedagogy and Māori aspirations. Key points are that Māori people have made these choices and are therefore more committed to making them work.

2. Taonga Tuku Iho (cultural aspirations principle);

    - In Kura Kaupapa Māori, to be Māori is taken for granted. Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are validated and legitimated. Māori cultural aspirations, particularly in a wider societal context of the struggle for language and cultural survival, are more assuring. In incorporating these elements, a strong emotional and spiritual factor is introduced to support the commitment of Māori to the intervention.

3. Ako Māori (culturally preferred pedagogy);

    - Teaching and learning settings and practices are able to also closely and effectively connect with the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances (socio-economic) of Māori communities.

4. Kia Piki Ake I Ngā Raruraru O Ngā Kāinga (mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle);

    - The Kaupapa of Kura Kaupapa Māori is such a powerful and embracing force, through its emotional and spiritual elements, that it commits

Māori communities despite other social and economic impediments; it impacts at the ideological level, and is able to assist in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations.

5. Whānau (extended family structure principle);

   - This structure supports the ideological support 'won' in the previous category. It does this by providing a practical support structure to alleviate and mediate social and economic difficulties, parenting difficulties and others. While the whānau structure implies a support network for individual members there is also a reciprocal obligation on individual members to 'invest' in the whānau group. In this way, parents are 'contracted' to support and assist in the education of all of the children in the whānau. This is a major feature of Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling – it has committed parents to reinvest in schooling and education for their children.

6. Kaupapa (collective vision; philosophy principle).

   - Kura Kaupapa Māori have a collective vision which is written into a formal charter entitled 'Te Aho Matua'. This vision provides the guidelines for excellence in Māori; what a good Māori education should entail. It also acknowledges Pākehā culture and skills required by Māori children to participate fully and at every level in modern New Zealand society. "Te Aho Matua" builds on the kaupapa of Te Kōhanga Reo, and provides the parameters for the uniqueness that is Kura Kaupapa Māori, (ibid:11-13).

From these principles, Kaupapa Māori principles for research have been developed and defined by a number of Māori theorists including Te Awekotuku (1991) and Smith, L (1996, 1999). Te Awekotuku (in Smith, 1999:120) for example, identified a set of responsibilities for researchers who conduct research in Māori communities. They are:

1. Aroha ki te tangata: - a respect for people, aroha encompasses a range of interrelated, positive qualities that in this context include genuine care, respect, consideration, sensitivity and admiration for people. For example, protection, not only the physical protection of Māori communities but also their spiritual, mental and social status' too.

2. Kanohi kitea: - the seen face; that is, presenting yourself to your research community in a face-to-face manner. This serves to reinforce the researcher's sincerity in terms of principle one, 'aroha ki te tangata' above.

3. Titiro, whakarongo … korero: - look, listen … speak; this principle encompasses a holistic communication approach that enables researcher and research community to communicate in a manner that is deemed appropriate by context and situation. It allows persons the freedom to take in information in a comfortable manner. For example, some research communities might not prefer to be audio-taped, others don't mind while it gives persons a chance to have their say (and be heard by the researcher).

4. Manaaki ki te tangata: - share and host people, be generous; closely related to principle one above, Manaaki ki te tangata means that the research community remains paramount throughout the whole research process including the final stages where, for instance, the returning of research material and data is presented back to the research community by the researcher in some form – book, paper, recording etc.

5. Kia tupato: - be cautious; this encompasses a broad range of contexts but in its simplest definition would maintain that 'common sense' prevails on the behalf of the researcher. This might be seen as the 'norm' by a Māori researcher in a Māori community however, being careful will allow the maintenance and adherence to all of these research principles.

6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata: - do not trample over the *mana* of the people; this principle interrelates with all other principles by reinforcing more plainly the need for respecting one's research community like all of the above principles. For example, documenting false information or data that is highly inaccurate and damning for a particular research community exemplifies one's *mana* being trampled on (and thus, offended).

7. Kaua e mahaki: - don't flaunt your knowledge; showing off and boasting conveys disrespectfulness for your research community in the first instance and in the second instance too if the researcher had not agreed to 'publicise' their research findings in such a manner; again, the research community are foremost in all research and should be protected.

These research principles reflect a Kaupapa Māori ethical code of conduct because at one level they maintain a harmonious balance between people and the environment and between people in general, and at a second level, are conducive of Māori tikanga. Thus principles of knowledge and the process of collecting that knowledge is based on shared, reciprocal actions. For example, in terms of this thesis research, reciprocity requires the researcher to be responsible and accountable to the research community. One of the considerations is how will the researcher give back [reciprocate] the information gathered? Being a Māori researcher among Māori participants incurs a diverse range of responsibilities and accountabilities that impact on methodological procedures, for example, hui, tangihanga, illnesses and

'unplanned occurrences' that impact on many aspects of research including the continued availability of research participants and communities.

Kaupapa Māori research methodology practices evaluative processes. Evaluative research is appropriate when wanting to examine the effects of practice of innovations and new curricula in formative or summative terms. As a form of educational inquiry evaluative research design essentially provides feedback leading to a successful outcome defined in practical concrete terms (Isaac & Michael, 1981). It is based upon the premise that evaluation is about improvement not about proving (Stufflebeam, 1971 In Isaac & Michael, 1981). In the context of this research it is the 'improvement' aspect of this research design that is important to the research topic, that is, the issue of 'improved' partnership relationships to facilitate successful educational outcomes for Māori children.

6.1.2 Ethics

All research that involves human participants at Massey University comes under the jurisdiction of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. This is deemed necessary as the researcher is in a position of power over the research participants. Prior to submitting an ethics proposal, as a University staff member, I was required to:

- Attend a seminar on Ethics of Research on Human Subjects;
- Adhere to Massey University Collective Employment Contract Provisions;
- Adhere to policy on research practice (Manual of Policies and Procedures);
- Adhere to the code of conduct;
- Adhere to the code of ethical conduct.
  (Massey University, 1999).

While approval was granted by the ethics committee to commence this research, a monocultural Pākchā framework measured that process. The process did not involve responsibility for ensuring that the research met its Māori cultural practices and preferences, rather, the emphasis of this process was on protecting the university's reputation by protecting the research subjects. Subsequently, not all tikanga were

taken into account at the ethical committee stage of this process. For instance, a Pākehā framework governed by rules, regulations and a process cannot recognise and be totally sensitive to Māori cultural practices and traditions when that framework differs from those of Māori. A critical understanding of such contradictions within the field of Māori educational research must ultimately permit the possibility and capacity for emancipatory action, transformation and reciprocation of knowledge.

This research required a way of collecting data about Māori parents', teachers', principals', whānau and Board of Trustees members' experiences, perceptions and expectations of partnership relationships between their school and its Māori community. The research also needed to accomplish the necessary requirement of being culturally appropriate to Māori, this meant becoming 'involved'. Johnston (1991) states that

A culturally appropriate method also recognises that Māori are an oral people who traditionally communicate and have passed on knowledge orally. Surveys and questionnaires are unsuitable in this respect, (p.80).

Thus the research was based on a qualitative design methodology that encompassed interviewing with open-ended questions, life history interviews, oral histories, studying personal constructs and observational studies (Delamont and Salisbury, 1992), which enabled the participants to 'engage' through a medium that was also culturally appropriate.

6.2 Te Rangahau me ngā Kaiurupare – The Research and the Participants

Commencing the Research - Methods

In its initial stages, carrying out the research proposed several challenges. The first was a fiscal predicament, which would place impediments on the research. For example, a lack of financial assistance impacted on the size of the area I could visit and thus, would affect my actions. The fiscal predicament in turn impacted on how much time I had to conduct the research. As I was employed full-time during the duration of this research, this meant that the sample communities for the research had

to be in close proximity to me to enable quick access. While the research was conducted in one region, I was confident that it would be reflective of national trends as the potential sample of schools were rural / urban, small / large and had large Māori communities / few Māori communities. These features are also prevalent in schools at a national level.

6.2.1 The Sample Group of Schools

At the onset, a potential sample of schools was established. In considering which schools to approach, consideration was given to distance and time from the researcher's residence and place of employment, the type of schools they were (Primary, Intermediate, Bilingual, Kura Kaupapa Mäori), whether or not the schools had a high Māori student or Māori staff population and whether or not the schools had Māori language programmes operating at their school. The selection of the sample schools was determined by a number of interrelated variables that centred on Māori educational achievement. The majority of Māori children reside in the mainstream education system with many of these schools serving low socio-economic communities. Therefore it was important to select within these same parameters so that the research could be indicative at a national level too.

The research area has over 150 schools (including Secondary) and while the number of Māori students at each school varies anywhere between 0% and 100%, it was decided that schools with a high Māori student roll and consequently a high percentage of Māori parents and community members would be used in the research given the focus on Māori and partnership relationships. With each school having its own unique history it was envisaged that perhaps each school would also have a history of both positive and negative aspects of partnership relationships with its Māori communities.

Two schools were selected to be approached to participate in the research. Both schools had a high percentage of Māori pupils and had very low Decile ratings[1]. These figures were obtained from the Ministry of Education Primary and Secondary School Rolls for the schools' region as of July 2001, (Ministry of Education, 2001). For the purposes of confidentiality and other ethical considerations, the two schools that consented to participate in this research were given pseudonyms, Matai School and Kauri School.

A further factor that made Matai and Kauri attractive as potential schools was recent Education Review Office (ERO) reviews. In June 2001 Matai School received its most recent Education Review Office (ERO)[2] accountability review report. The report spoke of a number of aspects that could be used as base lines for comparisons in the research. Kauri School also received its most recent ERO report in June 2001. The comments from these reports are used in the research chapter as a mechanism for comparing participant interview findings and identifying the schools' progress in terms of their previous ERO reports and the schools' agreed accountabilities in terms of Better Relationships with Māori.

6.2.2 The Sample Group of Participants

Matai School's Board of Trustees comprised of six Māori members out of a total of eight representatives. The school had a proportion of Māori staff that was reflective of its Māori student roll. This ratio included all school staff - teaching and non-teaching, kaumātua and kuia.

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[1] The Ministry of Education has ranked each state school into decile (10 per cent) groupings. Factors taken into account in determining decile rankings are: household income, parental educational qualifications and occupation, household crowding, income support and ethnicity. Schools described as Decile 1 draw their students from areas of greatest socio-economic disadvantage; those in Decile 10, from areas of least socio-economic disadvantage, (Ministry of Education, 1998:4).

[2] The Education Review Office is the government department responsible for evaluating and reporting on education in schools, early childhood centres, and other educational organizations in New Zealand. Reports on individual institutions are freely available to the public and for use by both the governing body of the school or centre and the Minister responsible, (Ministry of Education, 1998:1).

Kauri School did not have a Board of Trustees. The Ministry of Education (as a result of the Board of Trustees being dissolved) appointed a Commissioner who was later replaced with the current Commisioner who is Māori. The school has three Māori teaching staff, consisting of the school's director, principal and home – school liaison officer, although there were a number of auxiliary staff and parent helpers who identified as Māori.

These factors enabled the researcher to identify these schools as optimal schools for this research because, (i) the Board of Trustees was predominantly Māori as was the Commissioner at Kauri School; (ii) both schools had a high percentage of Māori pupils on their rolls; (iii) both schools also had a percentage of Māori staff that was relative to the roll of their Māori pupils; (iv) the schools served low socio-economic communities highly populated by Māori; and (v), the schools' characteristics were indicative of a 'typical' decile one school in Aotearoa New Zealand where Māori educational achievement was minimal and partnership relationships between the schools and their Māori communities were ineffective. A letter was sent to the Principal of Matai School, to the Director of Kauri School and to the Chairperson of each School Board of Trustees / Commissioner as a second point of contact explaining the researcher's intentions (see Appendix One)[3]

6.2.3 The Research Process

In selecting the research participants, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was employed. Purposive sampling permits the researchers to hand pick participants in terms of their typicality and relevance (Cohen and Manion, 1989). For the purposes of this study the researcher interviewed each school's Board of Trustees members, Principal, Director (Kauri School), Māori teaching staff and any other persons whom were involved with the school in a decision-making capacity. As mentioned earlier, the main challenges to this study meant keeping the choice and

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[3] At the time that these first letters were sent out, the Massey University Human Ethics Committee had given their approval for the research to commence.

number of participants[4] to a level that enabled the goals of the interviews to be attainable within the financial considerations, time and geographical constraints.

The first line of inquiry was a telephone call to the Principals of both schools (one Director) that were selected as the research's sample group. Having secured the initial (verbal) interest and assent of the two Principals (one Director) (pending the schools' Board of Trustees' consent), letters (see Appendix One) were sent to the Principal (Matai School), Director (Kauri School), Chairperson of the Board of Trustees (Matai School) and to the Commissioner of Kauri School. These calls were followed up within one week at which time meetings between myself and the Principal / Director were set up so that the research could be talked about further prior to the issuing of information packs (see Appendix Two) and to clarify any other pressing issues. At the conclusion of these brief but important meetings a verbal contract of interest and assent was made between each Principal / Director and myself and, information packs were left with each school's principal / Director along with a number of other information packs that were already prepared. These extra packs were for the principal to pass onto their the School Board of Trustees / Commissioner at their next meeting so that my research could be discussed at a School Board of Trustee level.

Once the assent of Matai School's Board of Trustees and Kauri School's Commissioner had been attained via verbal contract I then called into each school, met with the principal again and asked to leave more information packs for their teaching staff to read through to gain their interest and support too. In the case of Matai School, I actually spoke to the whole school staff at a morning interval and left

[4] Right from the onset all research participants were made aware of their rights to withdraw or retract from the research at any stage of the research. They were also made aware of their rights to privacy and to confidentiality. All information disclosed during the research remains confidential. Participants rationalised that if they wanted to be frank and forthright about their experiences, they would feel much more uninhibited if their identities and those of the other people whom they were referencing remained confidential. Persons' names and names of the schools would not be disclosed in order to keep participants' rights protected at all times. On completion of the thesis, audio taped recordings of the interviews, along with hand written notes and transcripts of the interviews will be held and stored in a lockable cabinet for a period of two years, as is the policy of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

the information packs in their staff room for them to take at their own will.

While the Principal's / Director's and Board of Trustees' / Commissioner's permission to perform the research was verbally given, the actual interview process for each research participant required the participant to fill out and sign a consent form thus, individual participants at both schools maintained control and charge throughout their interviews (they also received a copy of the interview transcripts, which they could change if desirable).

The information packs contained a full description of the research, term conditions, ethical considerations, issues of confidentiality, consent forms and self addressed envelopes. When sufficient time had been allowed for perusal and consideration (two weeks), the Principal (Matai School) and Director (Kauri School) were contacted once again via the telephone at which time they confirmed personnel from their schools that were willing to participate in the research. At this time, I met up with the Principal / Director again to secure contact details for willing research participants after which I made contact with these individuals through the telephone to organise and plan an interview schedule within my allocated timeframe. I also enquired with each participant whether or not they had any other questions or concerns, I also told them that if they did not wish to post their consent form back to me that they could bring it to their interview where I would collect them. Further information packs were sent to each school for any other school auxiliary personnel, including kaumātua. Not all of Matai School's Board of Trustees members were willing to participate however, the Board agreed generically to support the research project.

6.2.4 Interviews

While the initial data for this research was obtained by means of reviewing the literature that has related to State education partnership relationships for Māori, the research focused explicitly on interviewing key participants in the partnership relationship processes of the schools in the research sample; principals, teachers, Board of Trustee members, school auxiliary staff and parents.

The actual interview meant talking with, interviewing, answering questions and recording the research participant in a place of their choice. This meant travelling to the interview location and being there on time. These routines were paramount in the researcher's attempts to form a positive relationship with the sample schools and each research participant.

The researcher's Māori ethnicity also proved to be an advantage and an asset in establishing and maintaining a good, positive relationship with the sample schools and the research participants. The interview preceded with a mihimihi and the 'ice' was broken by making links to the area: - iwi, hapū, marae, pepeha, whakapapa and general conversation on the researcher's and research participants' roles. It was important for participants to recognise where the researcher had come from, that is, what was the researcher's iwi? Hapū? Marae? Educational interests? This informal introduction occurred at the mihimihi.

Participants' input was sought before, during and after the initial contacts or interviews. Seeking and clarifying participants' opinions and views was an important aspect of the research process.

The interviews with the research participants were carried out over a period of six weeks beginning in November 2001 and running through to the first two weeks of December (the ensuing month). The interviews were held in a range of locations that included:

- The classroom;
- Principal's office;
- Director's office;
- Board members' workplaces;
- In a motor vehicle while travelling with the research participant on work related (education) business;
- Outdoors under the shade of a school playground tree;
- At a Board member's home;
- At the researcher's place of employment.

Interviews were confirmed prior to their actual date and at least two interviews had to be rescheduled due to unforeseen variables (already outlined) that included

tangihanga (funeral), urgent meetings and work related commitments. The initial stages of each interview required the participant to either state or write down their background including their life experiences within education as teachers and, or parents. The participants were also asked to state their ethnicity, gender, name, relationship with the school, curriculum / extra-curriculum interests and any other relevant information that they wished to disclose. All of the participants were very interested and positive about the research and its findings at which time the researcher agreed to present each school with a copy of the research's findings in the form of a thesis.

The validity, legitimacy and reliability of this research has been strengthened by employing appropriate methods of contacting potential research participants, following tikanga Māori protocols and offering / using te reo Māori as a medium of communication during the interviews. One of the key concepts used has been the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face) approach, rather than a telephone or written approach that does not generate an āhua (state) that Māori people can feel comfortable and relaxed in (this process also mirrors one of the key findings of the interviews where schools found that a kanohi ki te kanohi approach was essential when Māori whānau were concerned).

A maximum of one hour was allowed for each interview for a number of reasons including a lack of resources (and time) to transcribe longer interviews and time consideration (of the research participant and researcher). The interview schedule was also structured in a flexible manner that could be accommodated in a one-hour period. The interview process was explained to the research participant, which included gaining consent to be audio taped, setting the audio tape recorder to record position from the onset of introductions and mihimihi. Participants were informed that they could ask for the audio tape recorder to be turned off at any stage of the interview if required.

At the conclusion of the interview the participants were informed that the interview would be transcribed and that they would be sent a copy for their own perusal and clarification. If they had any queries or questions relating to the transcription, then they had the opportunity of contacting the researcher. If the research participant

wished to delete information, they were able to do so. Finally the research participants were all thanked for their time, responses and knowledge. This was to be the standard procedure for every interview.

6.2.5 The Interview Schedule

The actual interview schedule that participants had received with their information packs contained 16 questions that were split into four areas (see Appendix Three):

1. Developing partnerships;
2. Governance;
3. Consultation;
4. Professional development.

These areas were used as a basis for all of the interviews however, the interviews remained largely unstructured for a number of reasons. These included acknowledging that a standard set of questions would not have permitted a wider perception or viewpoint to be freely discussed or addressed; using questionnaires and surveys alone would have diverged from the real issue of becoming involved with the participants, a key component in the context of the methodological approach to this research area

> *Unstructured interviews (which are basically interviews as conversations) require that some type of relationship is established between the researcher and the participant, (Burgess, 1984:107).*

The interview question schedule was consistently used throughout all of the interviews that took place (13). The nature of some of the questions was such that a number of points provided cues for open-ended questions to generate further discussion, often determined by subjectivity and personal opinion. The actual length of the interviews varied between 40 minutes to one hour. All interviews were audio taped with the participants' knowledge and consent and all of the interviews were transcribed in full.

The interviews were unstructured as well as being fairly informal in terms of setting the participant at ease and forming a good relationship even if it was for only a short time. However, the interview also included a standard set of preliminary questions to document the research participants' personal details in order to gain and form a background on each participant that included whakapapa, iwi and hapū.

6.2.6 Background Information of the Research Participants

The following information was gained from the interviews as background information and is presented in the following diagram:

TABLE 2: RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Person	Gender	Ethnicity	Occupation
1	Male	Pākehā	Teacher / Principal
2	Male	Māori	Commissioner / Education Agency
3	Male	Māori	Government Education Agency
4	Female	Māori	Director / Teacher
5	Female	Māori	Teacher / Liaison Officer
6	Female	Māori	Health – Registered Nurse
7	Male	Pākehā	Teacher – RTLB
8	Male	Māori	Teacher – Rūmaki
9	Female	Māori	Te Kōhanga Reo
10	Female	Māori	Principal / teacher
11	Male	Māori	Community Worker
12	Female	Māori	Community Health Worker
13	Female	Pākehā	Teacher

All of the research participants were involved in education either directly or indirectly as teachers, school principals and as parent representatives to the Boards of

Trustees. All displayed a genuine passion for education where it concerned Māori children and the educational achievement of Māori children at their respective schools. While all shared this passion, not all participants had exactly the same thoughts on what should occur in terms of addressing Māori educational achievement. However, fostering partnership relationships between their school and its Mäori community was a common denominator throughout all of the interviews. At times there were a number of comments made during the interviews that the participants coincidentally all agreed upon.

The following chapter presents the findings to the research by outlining the experiences of the research participants in relation to the four areas that were outlined in the interview schedule.

Chapter 7.

Ngā Otinga Rangahau – The Research Findings

Striving for partnership as a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi is a key aspect of developing and maintaining relationships with Māori communities. The Treaty of Waitangi is about two peoples entering into an agreement as equal partners. The nature of the partnership and the manner in which it might be strengthened has implications at several levels, (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988:25).

Introducing the Schools

Matai School has a 98% Māori roll, while Kauri School has 72%. In the July 1997 Education Statistics (Ministry of Education, 2001) the number of Māori students in the (proposed) research schools' regions were one third of the regions' total student population. Accordingly, this high concentration of Māori student numbers was statistically supported by large Māori communities in both schools' regions, an important aspect of this thesis research (see Chapter Six).

Both schools (through ERO Reports) have a number of factors that are conceivable as producing better relationships between schools and their Māori communities.

Matai School

- The board, principal, staff and whānau provided high levels of support for the students in the school's immersion and bilingual settings;

- The board, staff and community are committed to the development of te reo Māori;

- A home liaison officer is employed by the board to monitor student attendance and provide a link between school and home;

- The board, staff and community are earnest in providing a supportive learning environment for the development of te reo Māori;

- The appointment of a home liaison officer reflects the commitment the board has made to ensure the safety of all students. Monitoring of attendance and home visits provides an effective system for communication between the home and school;

- An integral part of the self-review process is to consult regularly with the school community. Parents are well informed about the school and are invited to participate in the day-to-day programme and special events. Parent / teacher meetings are attended by most whānau. Parents usually speak highly of the school and the education that their children receive;

- The board is encouraged to inform their community of any follow up action plan.

(Source: June 2001 ERO Report, Ministry of Education, 2001).

Kauri School

- The director has begun to revise the charter and intends that consultation with the community will occur in the near future;

- The director has instigated a number of improvements to the property;

- Through these changes, and the work of the caretaker and cleaning staff, the school presents as a well-maintained, clean and safe site for its whole community;

- A breakfast club operates to give whānau and students an opportunity to begin the day well fed and nourished and food is provided for the many students attending the after school homework centre;

- Community members have taken advantage of computer introduction programmes. This strengthens the capacities and confidence of these adults, who are mostly school parents, in using computer technology;

- Reading recovery records demonstrate progress made. This is in part due to the pro-active approach of the reading recovery teacher who has worked with parents to ensure continuity of student attendance. Students are supported by their parents who in turn have become involved in their own continuing education. This reflects the kaupapa of Kauri School;

- The board is encouraged to inform their community of any follow up action plan.

(Source: June 2001 ERO Report, Ministry of Education, 2001).

Matai School's ERO report conveyed positive school management and governance by its Board of Trustees. There are three main points to emerge from this report summary in the area of positive home / school partnership relationships, they are:

1. School / Community support for te reo Māori;
2. Home Liaison Officer;
3. Consultation.

While Matai School's circumstances differ from Kauri School's (in that the latter was governed by a Commissioner) there were a number of noticeable differences to Kauri School's ERO report. These differences can be summarised in the following points (discussed in more detail later in this chapter):

- Kauri School's physical environment is more welcoming to its community;
- Greater consultation with the school's community is planned;
- Assistance to whānau of necessities such as food for children;
- School Community computer programmes;
- A greater proactive approach by staff with school parents.

The following table identifies each research participant and the school community to which they belong. Each participant is also accorded a name so that the presentation of research information is clearly identifiable throughout the chapter (the pseudonyms have no bearing on the individuals as they are the names of colours in te reo Māori). The reason that the participants are not grouped in a logical order for each school (ie 1-7, and 8-13) is that the interviews alternated between the two sample schools and so they were numbered according to the date they were completed.

TABLE 3: - RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' NAMES AND SCHOOLS

Participant	Name	School
1	Mā	Matai
2	Parauri	Matai
3	Kākāriki	Kauri
4	Kowhai	Kauri
5	Pango	Kauri
6	Karaka	Matai
7	Māwhero	Matai
8	Kahurangi	Matai
9	Pāpura	Kauri
10	Korotea	Kauri
11	Hāmā	Matai
12	Whero	Matai
13	Hiriwa	Kauri

This chapter presents the findings of the research participant interview process following the format of the interview question schedule (see Appendix Three) and its four identifiable key areas:

7.1 Developing Partnerships;

7.2 Governance;

7.3 Consultation;

7.4 Professional Development.

7.1 Developing Partnerships

Participants were asked how their school consulted with its Māori community in light of recent changes to the National Education Guidelines and more specifically to the

requirements of the revised National Administration Guidelines (NAGs). These requirements stipulated that schools must consult to implement changes to improve Māori educational achievement (see Chapter Four).

The questions were:

> **Question 1.** The 1999 National Administration Guidelines have required schools to consult with their Māori communities to implement changes to improve educational achievement for Māori children. How does your school consult with its Māori community?

> **Question 2.** Can you identify any barriers that might make it difficult for you to consult or work with your school's Māori community?

> **Question 3.** As a result of the 'consultation process', can you give me some examples of relationships / programmes or initiatives currently operating between the school and its Māori community, or, those that are planned in the near future?

> **Question 4.** How do you think that your school's current educational partnership and consultation initiatives could be improved to enhance the educational success of Māori children at your school?

Matai School

Responses to question 2 were diverse and covered a range of issues. *Kākāriki* and *Karaka* for instance, gave reasons that impacted on the consultation process prior to consulting with their school's community. These reasons included, a lack of communication at times between management and staff and consequently, the community too. Such effects promoted division among school staff, Board of Trustee members and ultimately members within the school's community

> *.... The barrier is structural. There's a barrier around management and leadership at the school in terms of building necessary rapport to consult, (Kākāriki).*

The low socio-economic area that Matai School was situated in was identified as a barrier. There was a genuine lack of resources, physical, material, essential and skilled people within the community. Consequently, the flow on effects ebb into the classroom and compounded disadvantage even further. Time and effort are therefore

seen as types of barriers in that teachers for example, are overworked and don't have enough time to put in the effort (120%) that is needed. This is where the appointment of a Home-School Liaison Officer has been able to ease some of this burden.

Two Pākehā Board members from Matai School stated that their ethnicity was a barrier to their school's Māori community's participation. Some Māori whānau were not willing to comply with such leadership and direction at the board of trustee level

> *I'm Pākehā. It is a problem at times, there's no two ways about it, it is a problem. Some people don't want to come and talk to a Pākehā, some people don't think that Pākehā can deal with Māori issues; only Māori can, (Mā).*

Other barriers to consultation were a lack of confidence by parents in schools and education and therefore reluctance to participate at all in their children's education. Reasons given for this lack of participation included *'bad experiences that Māori parents had suffered in their schooling years'* (Kahurangi) and a lack of interest in *'wanting to participate in school because the system doesn't respect you'* (Whero).

Matai School's barriers to consultation were more focussed at a structural and power relation level of administration and governance. While the ironing out of such issues is paramount prior to starting community consultation on major school issues, changes to the school's administrative structure and hui advocating the voices of the collective had been initiated in order to collectively work towards the school's long-term strategy plan. Some of the participants at Matai School claimed to be well past the introductory stages of consultation although a number of barriers were identified that hindered their ability to effectively consult with their Māori community. However, evidence of barriers both internally and externally of the school have reinforced the notion that consultation is dynamic as are values, attitudes and beliefs. Therefore consultation is not static, nor is it a one-off occurrence. It is seen as on-going so that it reflects the true nature of what is going on rather, than being conservative and not in touch with time. Consequently, as new problems and issues arise in education, new or fresh techniques of consultation should be adopted in order to meet the new demands

Effective consultation should lead to prompt, well-publicised and constructive action; consultation should be seen as dynamic and on going; providing feedback and action are crucial to the process, (Department of Education, 1989:28).

Matai School had implemented a number of initiatives to further consultation. These included monthly hui with the Rūmaki (immersion) whānau group to work on issues in the school's immersion stream and the establishment of a Home-School Liaison Officer to provide a 'vital link' between the school and whānau. One of the aims of this 'vital link' is to liaise with whānau who have previously (and currently) alienated themselves from schools as a result of their own schooling history. Regular hui to develop a strategic plan for the school (under guidance of the Board of Trustees) are held, with signs of improvement in the areas of numeracy and literacy providing *'benchmarks* [which] *have been set'*, *(Mā)*. The school has also held hui to develop a property development vision and plan with overwhelming responses from whānau. In fact, the school's move into rūmaki in the 1990s was the result of a major consultation process between the school and its Māori community

> *.... You know the consultation process around rūmaki was critical to get rūmaki. To get the community to buy into rūmaki, you know, which was a big shift from where they were heading with mainstream, then you moved to bilingual and then you moved to rūmaki so, now we've got you know, half the school in total immersion so that I suppose is one of the success stories of consultation at our school, (Hāmā).*

In terms of improvements or developing new consultative initiatives *Māwhero* was of the belief that *'a lot of issues impact on the school's pupils outside of school hours'* and for instance, maintained that Social Workers and / or School Liaison Officers should also be employed after school, between 3pm and 9pm

> *.... I mean I don't know what happens elsewhere but a lot of this help is in school time. Like we've got a Social Worker, now a lot of that person's time is in school time and really we need it say between 3 and 9. I mean, because a lot of students are walking the streets at that time and so we kind of need initiatives that assist the students, (Māwhero).*

Karaka said that *'closer networking and communication with other schools of the area should also be a priority, not just the school's own Māori community'*. In order

for some community initiatives to be successful, they required the support of the greater area including nearby schools

.... Even locally, we don't know what the school down the road is doing .... You know, why can't we all talk because it's a community problem. They're all, I mean at the end of the day the kids at that school play with the kids at this school, you know they all belong to the one rugby club, they're all at high school together. So in that effect the networking between all the schools needs to be better encouraged, (Karaka).

In terms of Question 4, all of the participants' responses were generally supportive of their own school's educational initiatives in benefiting the school's Māori pupils and the wider Māori community. However, the value and worth of these initiatives though, was dependent on a number of variables and interrelating factors consisting of:

- The security of whānau trust; whānau need to be included in all areas of policy development so that initiatives developed by Matai School are shared by everyone and consequently, whānau are confident and assured in the running of school affairs.

- Suitable time, planning, consultation and evaluation is allowed for; policy development that is hastily conducted will be flawed with negative consequences if adequate time, planning, consultation and monitoring is not allowed for.

- More resources (whānau) at the chalkface; if whānau trust is precarious then there will be fewer [whānau] participants in school policy development; whānau participation is vital for on-going and effective school management.

- Effective initiative monitoring is on going; constant policy evaluation is necessary so that school policies are topical, relevant and appropriate in order to fulfil school policy objectives as well as State education aims and objectives.

- Māori involvement throughout the total policy development process; the school's Māori community must be empowered to participate at a school administrative level so that policy is developed by Māori for Māori.

- A bicultural structure / framework through which school administration occurs; Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora ai ngā tamariki (with your basket and mine, the children will be well catered for). Recognition of a Māori conception of biculturalism is vital to any bicultural structure in Aotearoa New Zealand, therefore this process must also occur at the local

level whereby Mäori community and school [equal] partnership becomes the 'norm'.

- Positive lines of communication throughout the management structure and between the school and its Mäori community; all of the variables mentioned above are dependent on effective communication strategies of which, 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (a face to face approach) is the key element in this process.

Kauri School

Kauri School also had a high proportion of Māori pupils however, the school did display greater ethnic diversity than Matai School did in its pupil and community population. Therefore, unlike Matai School the circumstances were different for Kauri School when asked about how their school consulted with its Māori community (in relation to recent NAGs changes). These circumstances had been determined by a string of events and history that ultimately lead to the expulsion of the school's Board of Trustees and the appointment of a School Commissioner in the latter 1990s. Kauri School also had a smaller percentage of Māori (than Matai School) on their school roll although, Māori were still the majority. Community consultation that was previously almost non-existent was at the forefront of Kauri School's new management team and so the revised NAGs played a greater conscious role than they did at Matai School in planning and development.

Parauri stated that *'it was appropriate to consult with the local Iwi Authority'* (Te Rūnanganui) prior to consulting with the school's community so that the school's direction fits in line with the Iwi's educational (mātauranga) strategy

> *.... There's a whole 'tribal' consultation process prior to the actual 'school' consultation so that when we get into the 'school' consultation, we have the mandate to consult ....,(Parauri).*

Like Matai School, by far the greatest form of consultation with Māori communities was carried out via 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face) contact

....But I find that the most successful way of communicating with our whānau is through kanohi ki te kanohi .... There's always a way of connecting to them and that's by visiting them in their homes and making them feel at ease, (Kowhai).

Kauri School's barriers to consultation with its Māori community focussed on the school community's low socio-economic status. This aligned with common low socio-economic attributes like gangs and a lack of whānau confidence in educational institutions for example, led to other barriers such as children coming to school with inadequate clothing or hungry with no food. A mindset in the school's community of the school's history also impacted on parental and whānau involvement in school affairs

Like that parent, for six years we haven't seen that parent; we tried to make contact and all that sort of thing but it failed and so things just carried on until recently when we saw that parent again, six years! (Pango).

Kowhai didn't recognise barriers but rather saw these *'as challenges for management, teachers and the community'*. 'Kanohi ki te kanohi' was the mechanism for overcoming such challenges

With the whānau in regards to barriers, people seem to think that because they've got gang affiliations and because they're really transient it's a waste of time; there's always a way of connecting to them and that's by visiting them in their homes, kanohi ki te kanohi! (Kowhai).

Specific to Kauri School was an identified barrier that centred on time, availability and seasonal work. Because there was an identified problem of parents and caregivers receiving newsletters, 'kanohi ki te kanohi' contact was an important part of the school. Being flexible and holding hui or parent / guardian-teacher interviews outside of normal hours has been used to develop consultation. The work hours of whānau who are employed has to be compensated for due to the inconvenience of coming into school between 3 and 7pm

.... Is just finding time when it's convenient for them to come to school and because all the seasonal work that has just come up, that's coming up now. You know, you have parents working really odd hours and if you want to consult in an overall view you have to hold hui in the morning, in the afternoon, in the early evening, in the late evening and all that sort of thing, (Korotea).

Participants from Kauri School vary in some of their own identified barriers however, as a collective they are working towards the school's, the Director's and the Board's vision of greater public relations, communication and partnership relationships

> *.... Our Director is a person who is very PR about what people would like to see .... As far as the actually asking people, asking our Māori community what they want to see in their school, it's only just beginning because mainly we have been doing what ERO wanted us to do first ...., (Pango).*

Participants stated that their school had a number of major educational initiatives in place as a result of extensive community consultation including that of other schools. The school belongs to a cluster involved in a Ministry of Education initiative that seeks to foster partnership relationships. The overall project purpose is to establish and implement processes through which the cluster of schools can collectively engage with their community and caregivers of children in order to improve the current and long-term education outcomes for children. The school has also recently established home-school partnership relationships with some of its whānau with its 'Computers in homes contract'

> *We're fortunate to be part of the this project and with that I mean we've had the added advantage of actually having computers in homes. They are part of that buying in and ownership of the programme itself. With that the parents come into school for at least 10 hours of training, well they bring their whānau with them too! One of those mothers said to me, "this is the first time in 6 years that I've been into the school". I said I hope you like it, I hope you enjoy it and you come back again. And you can see the achievement on the parents' faces when they come in ...., (Kowhai)).*

The nature of Kauri School is such that it is used by a number of community groups as a base for their own programmes, therefore, this allows for closer networking between the school and such groups. This in turn strengthens the school's ability to foster and sustain community partnership relationships. As a result of these partnerships, other school initiatives that successfully bring whānau into the school have been developed or have been included under the 'umbrella' of Kauri School. These initiatives include:

- Establishing Te Kōhanga Reo within Kauri School; a Kōhanga Reo has existed on the school's property however, it has previously operated out of

the school's administrative 'umbrella'. The Kōhanga Reo now falls under the school's management structure meaning whānau are involved more widely and are able to link between the school and the Kōhanga Reo.

- A programme involving Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ); WINZ developed an initiative in conjunction with Kauri School where a programme was set up to get people back into employment. The community (predominantly Māori) could attend the programme (at Kauri School) where if needed, a childcare facility was also going to be provided as part of the programme. As a consequence, this initiative is able to link whānau more strongly into school affairs; whānau participation is more prevalent and strengthens ties between Kauri School and its [Māori] community.

Other initiatives that operate at Kauri School and that have strong community links that involve whānau in school activities are:

- Te Whānau Toko i te Ora (Māori Women's Welfare League);
- Community Education Programmes such as KNEECAP Trust;
- HIPPY, early language intervention programme, and;
- Parents As First Teachers (PAFT) involvement.

These types of initiatives mentioned above bring a lot of people into the school and so this allows the school personnel – Director, Principal, Home-School Liaison Officer and staff to 'capture' these people especially the whānau of the school, which is predominantly Māori and develop whānau trust and security in the administrative structures of the school. In terms of developing the school's current community consultative and educational initiatives, *Pāpura* proposed that *'there should be strategies throughout education that employed Māori as role models for Māori pupils'*. Too much exposure to negative issues and negative role models in Kauri School's low socio-economic area outweighs the many positive aspects of its wider community and environment

I think that's the thing, you know when I first came a lot of these kids wanted to be a gang member, that was basically what they looked at, that was the culture of their lives. The gangs were their role models. Even though they might be negative, they are powerful. They have status, a place to live, to feed, to party, a good life, and that's the model they aspire to .... Pretty hard to give up those things and live on the breadline until you get your degree in 3 or 4 years time, aye? (Pāpura).

Hiriwa, on developing the school's consultation processes said that *'as long as things were transparent between all parties concerned and that consultation never ceased then they could effectively monitor their school's educational initiatives'*

> *.... That's right, yeah, the main thing for consultation concerning me is that when we are conducting, we listen and don't make any assumptions or don't go there with set things in mind .... So long as we progress and move in time and in line with developments in education, in Māori education at our school, (Hiriwa).*

Similarities and Differences

Matai School's 98% Māori roll meant that Māori consultation was seen as a normal and natural part of the everyday organisation of the school

> *.... Well our roll is 98% Māori so it's virtually 100% therefore our parents are virtually 100% .... So whenever we hold a meeting it goes, the Māori are invited and when we send out news letters they go to Māori; so it's not as if we've got a small group, they're all Māori just about ...., (Mā).*
>
> *.... At the moment it's probably 99% Māori, so in terms of consultation with, with Māori it's not unusual to be consulting with the Māori community 'cause the school is, it's part of the Māori community, (Kākāriki).*

All of the participants from Matai School said that the revised NAGs had not really impacted on their school as they may have done so at other schools. For instance, *Māwhero* noted that

> *I don't think that that's changed because of the recent NAGs because I mean, I think that there has been. I think that it's 99% anyway so I don't think that it has made any difference*

Mā claimed for example, that *'their school was working in all of the areas that the revised NAGs were focussing on'* and so reinforced the idea that the new changes to the NAGs in 2000 had little effect on their school. Both Matai and Kauri schools consulted with their Māori communities in similar ways that included:

- Telephone conversations;

- Newsletters and notices (pānui);
- Formal and informal hui (meetings);
- Whānau group hui;
- Questionnaires;
- Parent / guardian – teacher interviews;
- Home school liaison officer visits;
- Sport activities;
- Kapa haka festivals;
- Fundraising activities;
- Community forums with outside agencies.

At Matai School, 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face) contact was by far the greatest and most effective form of consultation with its Māori community. This was more productive than less personal forms of communication such as newsletters and pānui, especially when the contact was on territory that was familiar with community members such as in their own homes.

A strong imperative for effective consultation with Māori nationally, regionally and locally and that is evident from the research is that 'kanohi ki te kanohi' contact is essential. For example, an educational institution going out of its own comfort zone shows commitment, that is, engages in structural and power relation considerations that affect Mäori. Structural change to school approaches to consultation reflects a greater bicultural approach (see Chapter Four); Māori concepts of difference in education are emerging at a mainstream education level and so

For there to be systematic change, there must be systematic procedures for abandoning yesterday, (Parauri).

Barriers to consultation between the two schools and their Māori communities while varied, have some commonalities, for instance, the location in low socio-economic areas that includes with this status a range of socio-economic issues such as, unemployment, apathy to education and single parent family difficulties. However, participants from both schools have either stated that they are already in the process of working through such barriers and challenges at a successful rate in terms of Māori community consultation or that they have started to address identified barriers to consultation and strategies to attempt to overcome these.

7.2 Governance

Questions 5, 6 and 7 focused on school governance and asked how the Māori community were involved in the governance of the school other than on the Board of Trustees. Participants were also asked whether or not the school encouraged the wider Māori community with appropriate skills and experience for example, in committees, running organisations or community groups or gained through their employment to participate in school governance. Finally, participants were asked whether or not the school drew from expertise within the Māori community for its programme planning and design. The questions were:

Question 5. Does your school encourage members of the wider Mäori community with appropriate skills and experience to participate in school affairs such as, governance, management issues, curriculum design and programme planning? What about other school activities like sport and kapa haka?

Question 6. Does your school hold hui (outside of Board of Trustee meetings) to bring together parents, teachers and Mäori community members to consider Mäori educational needs? What about the levels of communication, are these adequate and effective?

Question 7. Does the school provide opportunities for learning local Mäori history and cultural traditions? In what ways?

Matai School

Māwhero varied the most in terms of responses to issues of school governance. *Mäwhero* felt that there '*wasn't enough diversity with the school's Māori whānau in the 'real' governance areas'*. Activities that involved sport, kapa haka and fundraising for instance were never short of support however, in terms of school administration and management the school needed to be functioning at a higher level

> .... *Now I don't want to sound arrogant or anything but there's kind of a level that the school needs to be functioning at and the people who want to be involved at the governance are not at that level. So, you've gotta tension between the two ....,* (*Māwhero*).

Māwhero also felt that the role of Board of Trustee member needed to be explained in greater detail to potential Board members and to working Board members so that they knew exactly what a Board member's role was. *'The decile 1 school and its low socio-economic community make this a necessity because there are a lot more barriers in these schools' (Māwhero)*. Decile 1 schools draw their pupils from communities of the greatest socio-economic disadvantage (Ministry of Education, 1998). Therefore schools are likely to encounter other problems including social, health, housing, justice and employment issues. *Māwhero* recently resigned their Board of Trustee status although is still active through the school's wider community. *Māwhero* found that the Board of trustees level was too problematic. There were no set guidelines or what there were they were too ambiguous and unclear. There was a lack of consistency among Trustee roles and too often there were conflict of interests between Board members that took far too long to resolve. That is why Māwhero wanted the role of Board members to be clarified more clearly.

Mā when asked about lines of communication between school staff, Board of Trustee members, students and whānau of the school stated that it is *'generally pretty good'* however, at times not all people were satisfied with this

> *I think communication is fine but some are not happy with it because it's the perception of some people that anybody can come to a board meeting and say what they want to straight away, sometimes these are complaints which ERO brought up and said, "you know, you've got a communication policy, you've got this", (Mā).*

Kahurangi said that communication was *'alright on the surface'* but did mention reasons for 'weaker' communication on the 'inside - nuts an bolts' areas. For example, *Kahurangi* stated that

> *There's too much unequal partnership across a number of levels in education including whānau and schools. This is seen in initiatives, rules and regulations that we, Māori are forced to comply with such as, Tomorrow's Schools, the NEGs, the curriculum framework, we don't have a say, instead we have to try and work in this system, a system that is monocultural and Pākehā orientated ....*

Kahurangi alluded to the fact that although they were a Bilingual School with rūmaki

(total immersion), reo rua (bilingual) and auraki (mainstream) classes, the school was obliged to follow mainstream government education policy. This was where communication difficulties arose with some whānau. Many felt that even communication with staff and the Board of Trustees was too rigid with the Board having to follow set guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education. Issues like this (according to *Kahurangi*), *'just take a longer time to work through'.*

A strong part of Matai School's teaching in rūmaki, reo rua and auraki (English mainstream) is the inclusion of the school Kaumātua and Kuia in the classroom programme as well as in extra-curricular activities. The school Kaumātua and Kuia are able to assist the school's teachers in the transmission of local knowledge and traditions

> *Yes, at Matai, that is part and parcel of the whole school. It's done through the classroom, through waiata and the Kaumätua are accessible to all teachers and to all of the pupils too...., (Karaka).*

Kauri School

The responses to questions related to governance at Kauri School were positive in that the school's staff, Māori community and the wider community were working through 'a new regime'; a new School Board of Trustees was due to be elected at the end of 2001.

Kākāriki said that of the Māori parents and whānau who did want to be a part of their school's governance, it was the same people all the time involved in all of the school's affairs *'people were just thrashed'*

> *Yeah, the reality I reckon for Māoridom is if you've got certain skills and you go to a hui and they know that you've done something with money, you'll get nominated as the treasurer. If you're okay at facilitating a hui, you'll become the chairperson ...., (Kākāriki).*

Pango said that *'the school had not actively encouraged its Māori whānau to become involved in school governance in recently'*. Their school was just starting to re-develop [and rekindle] its community consultation and relationships. Issues that stem from these initial contacts such as school governance *'will evolve and develop later on .... establishing the ties again is the priority'*

> *.... but I mean come back next year or at the end of the year and there will be parents everywhere. That's what we're hoping is gonna happen. I mean when the Director started, when she came here she couldn't get over how there were no parents here ...., (Pango).*

Korotea's response was similar to *Pango's* in that it was *'hard enough getting parents to come into school at all let alone become involved in school governance and management'*. They said that because of the range of barriers to whānau participation and involvement at their school (mentioned earlier), *'whatever parental involvement can be secured is a bonus'*

> *.... It's not that, I don't think that Māori parents don't care about their kid's learning, I believe that they really do but they just don't know how ...., (Korotea).*

Hiriwa also blames the barriers in the school's wider community for the lack of parental participation at school. *'In the past improper planning and leadership compounded the problem'* consequently, parents stayed away and further problems led to the Ministry of Education appointing a Commissioner. These issues are being worked through and are still at a developmental stage today. *Hiriwa* states that *'with the new Board of Trustees about to be appointed at the end of 2001 and a positive vibe in the community, issues of governance, leadership and management will develop'*. This process would develop further once the school had sustained its relations with the Māori community and with the wider community

> *.... There is so much happening in the community now, more so than I have known in my time here. New management has addressed a whole range of issues that ERO had picked up on and we are now enjoying happier times, families are coming into school more frequently and so on, so I guess once we establish new beginnings we can move forward into school management and governance, (Hiriwa).*

Kowhai had been in their current position for 3 months and like other participants agreed that *'the school and its Māori community were moving onward'* (from the past) and *'a new level of school governance and parental involvement was evolving'*. The new Board of Trustees was about to be elected and there was a lot of encouragement and enthusiasm for the new Board although there was a little apprehension by some of the school's community in terms of 'what was involved'

> *I did say to them don't be whakamā because we're gonna evolve together .... it's about me actually making it clear and concise and simple enough for them to actually understand what's involved and what are the issues of the board of trustees .... They've been in to see me individually and said, "oh, I don't think I can do this", I said, "well just give it a try anyway and we'll see, 'cause I know that you would enjoy it", (Kowhai).*

One of the main issues for the Board of Trustees and staff was to develop and foster confidence in the Māori parents and wider community of the school environment. Lack of confidence, disinterest, apathy and scepticism of the education system and more specifically of their own children's school are some of the more negative reasons given for poor parental participation in school governance. These reasons are also the barriers and challenges that the new Board of Trustees faces and needs to strategise to overcome. With a new management regime, a new Board of Trustees and the development and implementation of new Māori community partnership relationship initiatives, *Kowhai* wanted *'to get more of the whānau to realise the positive impacts and buy into the partnership as well so that all of the whānau from Kauri School's community move together as one'*

> *Well I just think that we've started the ball rolling and people are talking out there .... I have always said to the staff, lets clean up our backyard, lets get back on the professional track and the rest will take care of itself because they're really good talkers and they talk top one another and liken it to the kumara vine, you don't want all the pirau leaves falling down because they're the ones that'll be getting left by the big ones..., (Kowhai)..*

Similarities and Differences

All of the participants from Matai School answered that the school's Māori community participates at varying degrees in issues of school governance whether

they were Board of Trustee members, school staff or Māori parents / guardians. *Whero* said that *'what happens at their school happens right across the country'.* Māori whānau are encouraged to participate and are willing, but the economic status of many whānau and the importance of work (and difficulty of securing time off work) takes precedence and so school hui sometimes suffer in terms of poor attendance by whānau. The opposite also occurs in that there are parents who do not work but who do not care for their children's education either however, this group is a minority

> *Some people don't care 'cause they're too uncomfortable at school, they might send their kids there but they themselves are too uncomfortable there .... Maybe they had a bad time at school when they were younger, (Whero).*

There is an inclination for parents at Matai School to want to participate informally rather than formally in administrative management duties. Parental involvement and participation in the 'less formal' areas occurs in sport, fundraising and kapa haka for example

> *I mean today they've got the kapa haka over at .... and there will be parents over there, there's bound to be a big contingent of parents over there this afternoon, yeah, (Karaka).*

The Board of Trustees at Matai School have co-opted members onto their Board from the school's Māori community when the need has arisen. The Board of Trustees in its recent history has pro-actively looked at who is in their community and has co-opted Māori parents and whānau who have shown interest in school governance affairs. The Board has also co-opted parents who possess useful skills and have demonstrated a willingness to assist in the affairs of the school.

Kauri School's recent history told of its governance and management problems that resulted in its Board of Trustees being disbanded by the Ministry of Education. Because the school is rebuilding its management structure the responses were *'yes, the school encouraged parental involvement in school governance' (Kahurangi)* however, such responses have been minimal at this time.

Kauri School have the capacity to call on expertise from their wider Mäori community for learning about local knowledge and so like Matai School, they are able to use this to their and the pupils' advantage. However, within Kauri School's immediate whänau community, there is a lack of 'local Mäori history knowledge' or, the school is yet to secure the confidence of those in its immediate community who possess this knowledge. Such a predicament is an area that Kauri School are looking to address in the near future once the new Board of Trustees is functioning and new school community partnership initiatives are up and running

> *I think it's really healthy for our parents to actually be involved in governance at this time. I did say to them don't be whakamä because we're gonna evolve today .... I'm really excited about them all coming on ...., (Kowhai).*

Käkäriki also stated that

> *Once we get our Board up and running and they start performing well, it will take the support of the community for them to achieve their goals. At that stage, more of the whänau will hopefully jump on board and help out with the Board of Trustees, in the classroom and on the sports field.*

Although Kauri School and Matai School come from similar low socio-economic areas with high Mäori populations, the governance issues at each school differs considerably. There are some similarities with barriers and challenges, for example, both schools are situated in low socio-economic areas and they both have a decile 1 rating that places them behind other schools who are not confronted by wider societal economic issues that directly impact on education at the local level. In terms of parental involvement at a governance level, Matai is more advanced than Kauri. This situation is conceivable though given that Matai is governed by a Board of Trustees and Kauri by a Commissioner. However, this does not mean that Matai is better off than Kauri, only that the two schools are at different stages of parental participation in their school's governance.

7.3 Consultation

This section of the interview schedule elaborated on the developing partnerships section and asked the following questions:

Question 8. Do you think that increased consultation between schools and Māori communities will encourage Māori communities to become involved in their children's education like the *Whakaaro Mātauranga* strategy proposes to do? What about your school?

Question 9. Does your school hold hui outside of regular Board of Trustees meetings for whānau and the wider Māori community to attend?

Question 10. Do you think that current educational initiatives regarding Māori community consultation at your school are fulfilling obligations and responsibilities towards Māori as outlined under the Treaty of Waitangi?

Question 11. Do you think that school provides an environment that is warm, accessible and inviting for its Māori community?

Matai School

Question 8 also included a more national scope as well as a school specific focus too in that it asked if participants thought that increased consultation between schools and Māori whānau would encourage Māori communities to be involved in their children's education. Participants at Matai School were unanimous in their responses in that increased consultation with Māori communities would encourage greater Māori parental participation in the schooling of their children. Two of the participants also said that there is a group of parents and whānau who need assistance but who refuse the services offered or the invitations to attend hui mainly for reasons already discussed (see barriers, Question 2). They also thought that this was a reality in other schools and that it did not just occur among the Māori population.

Kahurangi said that the Pouwhakataki (see Chapter Five) are a great concept for Māori however, the scope of their mahi is so great that they will not be very effective "only two for Kahungunu"! *Karaka* also agreed that with the Pouwhakataki there was

a big need for these personnel out in the community but that there was not enough of them to allow them to do their job effectively and efficiently. The area they covered was too vast to allow them to spend quality time with all schools in the region

> ....*People need them, our whānau need them. One Pouwhakataki represented a whānau through a suspension process and just to think that they had that support .... another down side is that they are guided by ministerial policies, it's like schools, we want to be delivering under a certain kaupapa and the philosophy of Te Aho Matua but at the end of the day you've got government policy and Ministry requirements binding you .... just like the Pouwhakataki ...., (Karaka).*

All of the participants responded positively to Question 9 stating that *'yes, we do' (Parauri)* consult with hui at different venues in the school's community to cater for all groups and community members, the main reason for these types of hui being *'when the need arises'*. For instance, *Karaka* spoke of hui being held in special circumstances whether this was for disciplinary, school uniform or tangihanga reasons

> *Yes, the word goes out around the Board members .... there have been some good turn outs depending on what the kaupapa has been .... but people turn up and voice their say.*

The school have a rūmaki whānau (family of children in the total immersion side of the school) group who meet once a month

> *As I say there's the rūmaki group, which I mean is not the board but I think they meet regularly to talk over issues they have in rūmaki .... at other times it's more when the need arises and not as regular, (Māwhero).*

Some hui at Matai School are also held out in the community at other venues to support local initiatives and to step outside of the school setting so that the hui are more 'attractive' to those who would not normally be comfortable coming into school. Some of the Māori educational needs that dominate these types of hui include issues of property development, health and safety, alternative discipline planning, fundraising, kapa haka, sport and community wide forums.

Responses to Question 10 by participants at Matai School varied from one extreme of *'yes it is'* to the other extreme of *'no, not really'*. *Mā* said that *'by virtue of the school being a Bilingual School, obligations and responsibilities to the Treaty of Waitangi*

were being met'. Hāmā responded by saying that *'there is a struggle in terms of partnership between Māori and the Ministry of Education'.* The Ministry of Education are seen to maintain full control and authority over all school policy decision-making

> *.... To me they are to a point, like for instance the Ministry and other government agencies are espousing to want to forge closer relationships with iwi and Māori and so they are putting out documents, holding hui run by their kaupapa, but it's a one-way battle at the moment. They're saying that this is what we're going to do, we're going to find out what we want you to do ...., (Hāmā).*

Whero stated that *'the Treaty of Waitangi was used in the school's policy development'* however, the school's community (including Māori) did not know enough about the Treaty and its implications for partnership at the local school level (let alone nationally)

> *We wouldn't have some of the problems that we do have now if everyone had a greater understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi. Some whānau don't know a lot about the Treaty and its obligations and responsibilities to both Māori and Pākehā .... I think that as a school we should engage in greater consultation with our Māori community and educate everyone more about the Treaty ...., (Whero).*

Kahurangi felt that *'as a Bilingual School, the Treaty of Waitangi was not reflected equitably at their school through the New Zealand National Curriculum Framework'* (Ministry of Education, 1993). Ministry of Education requirements that are monitored by the Education Review Office are deemed to be constraining especially when as a teacher, *Kahurangi* would like to 'employ a greater Kaupapa Māori approach (similar to Kura Kaupapa Māori) *in their teaching approach'*

> *.... Even with rūmaki there is a problem there and it's with the document. We don't follow Te Aho Matua, we follow the document and man, what a mix up. It's hard enough trying to follow the document and our own tikanga at the same time .... I mean you try to stay in line with ERO and you've got to follow their guidelines and it's totally out of context to Te Aho Matua ...., (Kahurangi).*

All of the participants at Matai School said that the school was not as inviting as it could be to whānau and to all visitors including staff. There were two responses for this reason, one being that the school's physical environment (architectural layout) was *'back to front' (Parauri)* and two, the school's spirit and or the *'temperament of*

the school and its staff was not always as positive' (Hāmā) as it could have been. The Board of Trustees was extensively engaged in property management issues to 'fix' up the school. This had been on-going since 2000) and was perhaps going to continue on into 2003

> *....Architects said that from a kaupapa Māori perspective the school is back to front, the gate's at the back and that sort of stuff .... like where the car park is should be the marae-ā-tea, it needs to change. Moving into the reception area shouldn't be like moving into a courthouse, but moving into a place where you can sit down and feel comfortable and relax and that sort of stuff .... so in terms of the environment, no it's not inviting. But that can be fixed up, (Kākāriki).*
>
> *I mean it's oh heck, you can walk in there and, and not feel welcome I mean, physically even .... you walk in there and see some work on display, you've a chair to sit on and wait and that's it; and staff at the front play a big part, it has got to be welcoming otherwise why stay, you know?, (Karaka).*

Mā thought that the whole school environment was good, but agreed that they knew some whānau didn't think so while others did and so, *'the general feeling was hard to gauge at times'. Mā* did say that *'the school hoped to achieve a warmer' environment with its property development in the near future'* with the idea of making the whole school really attractive. This *Mā* said could be achieved by *'building a wharenui'* (meeting house) that the Board and community were currently investigating and working on

> *.... But the majority of people that I've spoken to say they feel really warm when they come in here and that they feel welcome. So I find it difficult sometimes to understand where some people are coming from, I really do, (Mā).*

Principals, teachers, Boards of Trustee members and many Māori have had very little training on the Treaty of Waitangi apart from what they observe through the media. For those that have been fortunate to experience some Treaty of Waitangi based training, this has predominantly been in the form of a Māori teacher teaching what they already know or a visit form an education advisor who may have run a course on the Treaty of Waitangi.

Kauri School

At Kauri School the participants all said that increased consultation with Māori whānau has got to be good and healthy for everyone *'if they see things happening in their backyard they'll become more involved'*. Participants said that the reinforcement of the direct 'kanohi ki te kanohi' approach would foster the links between Māori whānau and the school and develop the urge of whānau to want to become more involved in all aspects of their children's education even after going onto high school. *Korotea* when speaking about the Pouwhakataki said that

> *.... they were too far and few between ....that's one of my concerns, and another, they're good positions for Māori but again they're accountable to the Ministry and the ones here have over 150 schools in .... to work with. See in that time frame and 150 schools and having one here, you're looking at one day a term for that person to visit your school, yeah it's tokenism ...., (Korotea).*

Kowhai 's response was similar to *Korotea's* although they did think that *'it was better to make do with what they had at present'*

> *.... I mean getting involved with politics takes time and our people can't wait for the cogs to turn so we've gotta continue with I suppose the good work that is being done out here by our Pouwhakataki and hopefully it's going to make a difference to the way people really think ...., (Kowhai).*

Responses to Question 9 at Kauri School reveal that hui have been called in the past when the need has arisen or when an important kaupapa (issue) has required hui and consultation. For instance, a number of hui were held advertising the fact that the school would be electing a new Board of Trustees in December 2001. Because of the school's history at this management level and the nature of the socio-economic area, the purpose of the hui included the explanation of roles and positions on the Board of Trustees as well as responsibilities and obligations to the children to the whānau, to the community, to the school, to the wider region and to Māori. At Kauri School many community groups use the school's facilities daily and almost permanently. The school is the focal point for a lot of community organisations and therefore most hui are held on site at the school

.... and we're really helping our young people for example. So what we're going to do is bring all the agencies together at our next hui with rangatahi and decide what it is they need, what are their needs? 'Cause at the end of the day everybody's doing their bit but are the criminal statistics getting any lower? No, in fact they're increasing especially for this neck of the woods, you know there's a real criminal element here with our young people, so that's a hui coming up ...., (Kowhai).

In response to Question 10 on the Treaty of Waitangi participants of Kauri School were more sceptical of the Ministry of Education fulfilling its obligatory rights to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. *Kowhai* for instance says that *'obligation is minimal most of the time rather, it is the schools themselves who try to fulfil Treaty obligations with little support or guidance from the Ministry'*

.... I think that it is the Treaty of Waitangi that drives somebody like me because I was involved in setting up the original consultation document with the Ministry when we were setting up charters to move to the Boards of Trustees through the regime and this moving towards Tomorrow's Schools, so I was pleased it was in there .... I was saddened to hear that it might have been two years ago when schools were given the option of leaving the Treaty out of their charter document, (Kowhai).

Parauri and *Korotea* were of the opinion that the Ministry of Education was not meeting their Treaty obligations

I don't think the Ministry is meeting their role or their responsibility as far as the Treaty is concerned with their obligation to support the taonga of Māori and that's culture; it's language, art, mana, all of that, (Korotea).

The Ministry needs to make the shift towards things Māori rather than expecting the Māori communities to do all the shifting, giving out all the Māori knowledge you know and all the intellectual stuff without compromising, (Parauri).

Hiriwa a teacher at Kauri School, said that *'they tried to apply the Treaty in their whole approach to education'*, that is, their teaching, their meetings and interviews with whānau and in their responsibilities with colleagues

Apart from a little during teacher training and one or two courses while teaching, I have had little training with regards to the Treaty, but I do try to apply my knowledge of the Treaty with everything I do in education, even outside of this .... the Treaty is more alive at school now than it was in the past, our new board and management are pushing this ...., (Hiriwa).

With regard to the physical environment at Kauri School, participants were full of praise for their whole school's environment especially in the last six months. Since the appointment of a Commissioner (followed by another Commissioner), a new Director and the potential of a new Board of Trustees, the physical environment and the 'spirit' of the whole school community was very positive. A *'new regime' (Kowhai)* had sown a new lease of life into the school's community into the pupils and into the staff. This was having a decided positive effect on education at the school. The school under its Commissioner had restructured the school administration block and opened up the office reception area of the school to make it more pleasant and inviting to whānau

> *Yeah, the physical environment means a heck of a lot 'cause our people are totally visual aye, and if they see it's clean, the grounds are clean, they see their children's work, yeah, and it's bright. We talk about this wairua thing flowing through the school .... people see what you are onto and they want to become a part of it, (Kowhai).*

Pango said that *'the changes have been so beneficial for the school, the pupils and their whānau'.* The reception area is a very big and colourful area that displays a great deal of the pupils' schoolwork, school photos and other items

> *.... Physically if you'd have come in at the beginning of the year I would have said no it's horrible, it's cold. But now, you walk in and the offices are up the front, the staffroom is there too. When we were in the middle before it wasn't very good at all but now the children, they're happier too, (Pango).*

> *.... I think we provide a fairly open environment, anytime when someone walks in we offer them a cup of tea and it doesn't matter if the visitors don't have kids here, we still look after them, (Pāpura).*

Parauri and *Pāpura* both liked how the school was now a more positive place to be and work. The children were more motivated through the involvement of whānau and new initiatives and the teachers too had become more involved with whānau who were now coming into the school more regularly

The school has a warm āhua flowing through it now and where we are also developing the confidence of the school environment in our Māori kids' parents. Yes, they see it in the work ethics, parents see it in the work of their children everyday and you don't change, we know, we've been there ourselves, (Pāpura).

The revamped physical environment at Kauri School had instilled a new lease of life in the school and was creating (and maintaining) an 'air of positivity' among everyone, the new Director, the staff and everyone involved with the school. The warmer environment made it easier to attract parents and Māori whānau so that the school and the whānau could hui on educational issues affecting their children.

Similarities and Differences

Both schools were very much pro-active in their consultation with their Māori communities with differing effects. What was evident was the fact that consultation was recognised as critical to progression. Policy was also recognised as needing to be constantly reviewed so that changes to consultative processes could be made when necessary, that is, to engage in new strategies and be open to new approaches to consultation with the schools' Māori communities.

Flexibility was a common trait that linked Matai and Kauri Schools. Both schools were often involved in impromptu hui with their Māori communities when this was necessary; issues did not have to be held over to the monthly meeting of the schools' Board of Trustees / Commissioner reports. Such hui were often held at different venues to cater for further group interests, not only time.

Participants from both schools were positive, yet sceptical too of national initiatives such as the establishment of Pouwhakataki (see Chapter Five) throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Positive comments centred on the structural aspects of the initiative, they were new positions that were to be filled by Māori personnel and that involved a large amount of work out in Māori communities even though the Pouwhakataki did not have complete autonomy to work with Māori communities. However, sceptical comments centred on the insufficient number of Pouwhakataki positions to cater for

all schools in the regions. For instance, the nature of these positions centres on a 'kanohi ki te kanohi' approach with Māori communities that takes time and effort to foster and perform. Subsequently, providing sufficient coverage to all schools in regions was seen as inadequate and remindful of Māori not being able to be in control of key [State] decision-making processes

> *That's a big Whakaaro. What you're looking at is say 100 whānau from this school, so many at the next, the next and then all the rest .... How are they the Pouwhakataki going to be able to meet and hui with whānau from different schools or even suburbs? .... You know, I don't think there are enough to share the burden of developing better relations between whānau and schools, (Māwhero).*

Matai School was going through a consultative process at present to redevelop its property management policy because this was seen as a hindrance to creating a positive environment at the school. Kauri School on the contrary had invested extensive time and effort in rearranging the ecology of the whole school especially the office and administrative area of the school that confronts parents and visitors when they first arrive. Contrastingly, Kauri School's investment in the management of the school's physical environment had significantly contributed to *'lifting the āhua* (nature) *of the school making the school a warm place and making whānau feel welcome' (Pāpura).* This process was one of the first steps that Kauri School entered into under their first Commissioner and new Director towards developing a positive relationship with the school's community

> *Physically, if you had come in at the beginning of the year, I would have said that it was cold .... But since .... Has been in and just about ripped everything up and changed things, it's beautiful now, warmer and much more friendlier for our whānau, (Pango).*

7.4 Professional Development

This section of the interview schedule required participants to respond to questions relating to the professional development of their school's staff. The objective was to identify if all participants were aware of the School's or Board's policies regarding professional development. Professional development is important for staff but it is

also important for the children who are taught in the classroom because it enables teachers to keep 'up to date'. This area of school administration has wider implications for the Māori community and whānau who have their own hopes and aspirations for their children's education and for the way in which their school operates. That is, are Māori whānau consulted in this area of the school's affairs? Are the Māori community involved in the facilitation of professional development for the school's staff? All of the research participants were also asked to provide any concluding statements with regard to topic of this thesis.

Question 12. Does your school have strategies to retain and support Māori teaching staff?

Question 13. Is professional development training that relates specifically to Māori education readily available for all school staff to participate in? What about whānau in the school's community?

Question 14. In conclusion, is there anything that you would like to add to this interview about what your school needs to do to further enhance the national initiative of *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* with your school's Mäori community?

Matai School

All participants stated that supporting Māori teaching staff was part of the school's strategic plan developed by the Board of Trustees in consultation with the whole school community. There are systems in place to support teachers but if teachers have decided to move on, for instance to other employment, for promotion then the school supported this too. *Ma's* response was that *'if every school held onto their teachers then their school wouldn't have picked up the good teachers that they have now'*.

Professional development was available to all teachers at Matai School if they went through the appropriate channels. There were some constraints to this though that mainly included the financial inability of the School's Board of Trustees to support the staff. However, the school did employ two kaumātua (Māori elders) who worked across the whole school immersion, bilingual and mainstream. The kaumātua are a

'part of the school' (Parauri) and are seen as a natural part of the school's staff. While passing onto the pupils their skills and knowledge, the teachers too were able to develop and build up their own knowledge by participating in the teaching and learning offered by the kaumātua

> .... With that one, the school employs a kuia and kaumātua to be there full-time, almost full-time I'd say and it keeps them safe, it keeps; it's safety for teachers too, to know that they're alright in what they are doing. They can go to the kaumātua to have their questions answered, yeah, help them out, a bit of spiritual healing too, (Karaka).

One aspect of professional development that hasn't been properly communicated to the wider Māori community though is that professional development like consultation should be on going. Professional development is dynamic, it's determined and controlled by new knowledge and new technologies

> .... At times access for staff to professional development courses outside of school is blocked by board of trustee members who are ignorant of the fact that it should be on-going and not just a one off, (Whero).

In terms of offering professional support to the school's Māori whānau, Matai School has accessed hui and one off courses for whānau that the school thinks might benefit whānau but this is a 'touchy area' (Mā) because of the labels that can unintentionally be put on a parent or a whānau

> .... A parenting seminar was delivered in Napier by a national organisation. It was aimed at the low socio-economic area schools and communities. I spoke to some whānau who were keen to go but who didn't turn up in the end ....it was really just to try and help some of our young Māori parents to find other ways or give them other strategies for dealing with their children, (Mā).

Kauri School

At Kauri School *Hiriwa* thought that the school 'needed more Māori staff to reflect the Māori student population and the Māori community'. For what Māori teaching staff there were, in the past there was little offered in terms of support systems.

However, this was going to be one of the future directions for management at the school

> .... *Well at this point I'm concerned at the stage of where our Māori students are at and the proportion of Māori teachers to the high percentage of Polynesian and Māori students in the school, (Kowhai).*

Responses to Question 13 were similar in that professional development was minimal at the present time and even in the recent past. The focus for professional development was going to be one of the focus' for staff in 2002. This development was going to be part of the school's strategic plan, *'all part of the new regime' (Korotea)*

> *Yes, that's a goal .... 'cause all we're doing at the moment is providing te reo Māori courses. But I think that that can be introduced when I find my feet and settle in here a bit more with the community and find out what their particular needs are. Yeah getting my handle around Kahungunu and finding out who the key groups are .... we always come back to tangata whenua, which is Kahungunu in this instance, (Kowhai).*

In 2002 there will be a greater focus on the inclusion of Māori whānau in the classroom assisting (and educating at the same time) the teachers as local history is taught. Because of Kauri School's circumstances, the participants all agreed that there would be greater emphasis on professional development for staff in relation to Māori education, there would be improved support systems for Māori teachers, and greater Māori community participation in this area would be made accessible through the strategic plan in the coming year

> .... *We as a school will be moving forward in this direction. I haven't been so fortunate in the recent past to attend courses and that but we have already started to plan for this next year. Whānau have come along to listen and talk, not lots but it's certainly more than there used to be here, (Hiriwa).*

Similarities and Differences

Both schools were looking to involve their community as much as they could in school affairs even in the professional development of their staff. This would be made possible through effective consultation between the schools and their Māori communities, more so than has occurred in the past. Kauri School's Māori community

were more positive than ever before as were the staff and management of the school while Matai School was looking to develop what initiatives they already had in place with more effective communication so that Māori whānau and the school were clearer on what each wanted.

Matai had a higher number of Māori staff than Kauri however, Kauri were hoping to boost their number of Māori teachers to be reflective of the school's number of Māori pupils. Matai School encouraged professional development training for its Māori teaching staff while Kauri School had not been so proactive in this area in recent years. Different circumstances shaped the divergence in this situation however, once Kauri School had its structures in place, professional development was an aspect that the school was going to address. By getting the whānau on 'board' and involved more in decision-making processes, Kauri School had a positive vision for their future direction.

Kauri School is able to call upon kaumātua for guidance and for helping out at pōwhiri and in the classroom. In this respect they are in a similar position to Matai School except that Matai School has the luxury of having the kaumātua on board all of the time. There have been instances of whānau being included in the classroom to teach about local Māori history. However, this is an area that the school wants to develop as part of its overall strategy to get parents into school and to 'buy in' to their children's education.

Chapter 8.

Ngā Hua - The Analysis

Maintaining effective relationships is a key task for us .... As a Ministry, we do need to be aware of the diverse needs and interests within Māoridom and respond to these needs. We need to get better at working more closely with Māori, not in a controlling sense but more in a partnership that helps to empower them. Flexible and positive consultation and engagement will improve the quality of our work and contribute to better educational outcomes for Māori (Ministry of Education, 1993:2).

8.1 Elaboration of Key Findings

The lead up to the *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) process began in the mid-1980s with the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987), followed by the *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence 1987* (Department of Education, 1988).

The *1987 Curriculum Review* advocated a greater voice for Māori in education. The *Review* Committee reported that any new developments in education should include the careful planning, involvement and participation of Māori. This thesis has argued that the *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) also encouraged greater Māori parental involvement in the schooling of their children, greater partnership between schools and their Māori communities and improved school / Māori community relationships. In the Picot Taskforce's final report it stated that the Treaty of Waitangi was to be 'observed' and given 'special status'.

However, as mentioned previously (see Chapter Four), 1988 saw the introduction of the *Tomorrow's Schools* (Department of Education) educational reforms that completely ignored the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori were also ignored and Māori

aspirations and recommendations for Māori educational achievement were not considered in the new educational policy directives (Johnston, 1998). The *1989 Education Act* entrenched the new reforms into legislation while a School Board of Trustees and a school charter became the mechanisms that fostered partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities. What the research has indicated is that schools and their Māori communities have been left to develop and grow in an ad hoc fashion, yet the notion of partnership has been used extensively to promote educational reforms since the implementation of these reforms in the late1980s. This notion is demonstrated in the research.

For example, recent changes to educational policy in the form of the *1999 Revised National Administration Guidelines* (Ministry of Education, 1999) have not had a great effect on some schools as yet who have a high percentage of Māori pupils and whānau on their roles. For instance, Kauri and Matai Schools (the two schools involved in this research) and their respective Boards of Trustees / Commissioners were working with their Māori communities long before these changes were made official in 2000. This was not always in a positive or successful manner. However, what is significant is that it was 'normal' for these schools to be consulting or at least attempting to consult with their Māori communities because they had a high percentage of Māori pupils on their school roles.

What is important is the notion that the schools' Boards of Trustees were attempting to forge partnership relationships with their Māori communities long before the new reforms were implemented. The main concern however, is that there were no guidelines for these two schools or their Boards of Trustees to forge successful partnership relationships. Rather, they (like most schools) were left to function without adequate support from the State. *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) for instance, stated that school Boards of Trustees were to be a mechanism to foster partnership between schools and their [Māori] communities however, the reforms did not specify the mandate that this partnership should take, neither were guidelines produced for Mäori communities or schools to forge partnership relationships (see Chapter Four).

Matai School

In terms of enhancing *'Better Relationships' for Better Learning* participants at Matai School suggested a range of factors that the school needed to follow, move towards or develop further. These included:

- Up front, open and transparent consultation with the school's Māori community;
- Kanohi ki te kanohi consultation;
- The maintenance of a two-way communication process that is clear to everyone;
- New peer initiatives and more positive Māori role models;
- Honesty throughout consultative processes;
- Work through 'in-board' management issues before taking on new initiatives.

While there was a lot of positive activity at Matai School and within the Māori community, there was also a dissatisfaction displayed by some of the participants to the 'clashing' of kaupapa. The Board of Trustees for instance, were often preoccupied with issues concerning management that needed to be worked through before school education and Māori community educational initiatives could be implemented. One notable aspect of participants' comments at Matai School was that too many people (including individuals) were 'paddling their own waka' (canoe) and so people at school and out in the community needed to work closer in order to boost Māori educational achievement at their school.

Kauri School

Kauri School's responses to enhancing *'Better Relationships' for Better Learning* were similar overall to Matai School's. However, each school had its own history and circumstances. Kauri School for instance, had to essentially 'start over again' while Matai School was in the process of reviewing what policies they already had and worked with. At Kauri School, factors that supported improved school-Māori community relationships were:

- Credibility, transparency and delivering 'positives' to the Māori community;
- Kanohi ki te kanohi contact with the Māori community;
- Clean up own (school's) backyard to get whānau to 'buy' into this;
- Give whānau more choices but remain professional throughout;
- Cohesion, collectivity and honesty so that everyone moves forward together.

Kauri School had made giant steps towards developing (and implementing) its strategic plan. The school was riding the 'crest of a wave' after being in the 'doldrums' for a long period. A collective spirit has been developed among the school staff and this 'positive spirit' has interspersed with the pupils that in turn is having an overall positive effect in the community. Kauri School for instance, are about creating an environment that will attract Māori whānau, visitors and any other community members so that the community on the whole have a greater say in the education of their children. The school's Māori community have not taken full advantage of education at the school in the past; Kauri School was about changing this state of affairs.

While both Kauri and Matai Schools have struggled at times to reach out to their Māori communities, greater Māori participation in school policy development has served to start to eliminate such struggles. Having now started to address school and Māori community partnership relationships, these two schools (and all schools in Aotearoa New Zealand) can begin the task of addressing Māori educational achievement at their schools, that is, the 'Better Learning' aspects of *'Better Relationships' for Better Learning.*

Māori community involvement and participation has occurred in varying degrees and capacities within Kauri and Matai Schools' environments. This has been both effective (in terms of procuring positive outcomes for Māori children, whānau, teachers, principals and Boards of Trustees) and inadequate in the same contexts. For example, each school's Māori community have been either involved in school and education activities or they have become involved at some stage however, these same communities have not fully participated in decision-making roles on affairs of school policy and the appropriation of school resources. The difference being that there was a willingness to become involved in school activities such as kapa haka, fundraising, sport and trips (to a lesser extent), but a reluctance to participate in decision-making

processes at a higher (Board of Trustee) level. Both Kauri and Matai Schools have started to breakdown such barriers or to try to 'balance the scales' through a range of new initiatives and strategies that are community specific, that is, modelled towards their school's Mäori community.

Past school histories of reaching out to the schools' Mäori communities was testimonial to Kauri and Matai schools' revamped 'partnership' initiatives. However, these new initiatives will take time to evolve and develop the confidence in whänau to willingly become more involved in their children's schooling because of the lack of partnership guidelines, that is, Mäori community confidence needs to be developed in order for them to want to participate more actively in issues of school policy development and governance.

One of the most important aspects that was common between both schools' communication strategies was the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' approach. This approach not only reflected traditional Mäori forms of communication, it also reminded and stressed the importance of good, clear and authentic communication. These basic tenets of effective two-way communication needed to be revisited in a 'back to basics' manner. This process has started to occur and is beginning to bear fruits for both schools.

Tomorrow's Schools 1988 (Department of Education, 1988) for instance, has enabled a greater participation for Māori in the education system but this is dependent on the schools, principals and Boards of Trustees (Johnston, 1998). Add Māori communities to these bodies and then every Board has to mould all bodies together in a workable and sustainable manner that is conducive to all groups' interests being fulfilled.

While the 'kanohi ki te kanohi' approach may have become a taken for granted process across mainstream education in Aotearoa New Zealand, it has not occurred to the extent that its simple, yet effective approach has often been overlooked. A lack of assertiveness, confidence and interest on the behalf of Mäori communities combined with the 'newsletter' or 'telephone' approach of many mainstream schools has seen school and Mäori community partnerships almost cease to exist. Subsequently, the

interests of Māori children have been subverted, as have been many other areas of Māori education (see Chapter Three). Nonetheless, reverting 'back to the basics' has been beneficial and effective for Kauri and Matai Schools where Māori community participation in school affairs has increased due to the schools and their Māori communities undergoing greater and more effective processes of communication - 'kanohi ki te kanohi'. While this process has been left up to the schools themselves to plan and develop with quite often a lack of resources to do so, the schools have relished the positives of such initiatives in that the schools' communities are beginning to gain control. That is, they are 'coming on board' and are gradually starting to become directly involved in decision-making, policy development and issues of school management and governance.

A number of barriers and constraints exist in most aspects relations between schools and their Māori communities, these also vary between schools and communities. However, both Matai and Kauri Schools have begun to strategise with their own Māori communities to overcome such obstacles. As mentioned, the process is slow and will continue to be so. Even so, the early results of developing school and Māori community partnerships at Kauri and Matai schools have evolved from more effective communication thus, increased involvement and participation in school affairs. The dynamism of school communities (and Māori communities) means that schools such as Kauri and Matai must continue to refine effective methods of communicating with their Māori communities. A school that is proactive with its community will enjoy the rewards of a healthy relationship; a school that languishes in developing partnership relationships with its community will suffer.

This notion is reflected in the adaptation of a Māori proverb to the schooling and education context; *"Kura tū, kura ora; kura noho, kura mate"*. A school (and its school community) that is proactive and productive will enjoy a healthy status; a school (and its school community) that languishes in its policies and or the credibility of these will suffer and be open to criticisms and penalties. For instance, Kauri School has had first hand experience of this state in that the school has only recently had a new Board of Trustees inducted. Matai School (Board of Trustees) too have been reminded of its duties and obligations by State agencies such as the Education

Review Office (ERO). As discussed in the previous chapter, these experiences have been transformed into positive situations for both schools in that convalescent communication (with a lack of guidelines) between the schools (Board of Trustees) and their Māori communities has improved the overall performance of Kauri and Matai Schools (with room for review, practice and continued improvement).

This research has demonstrated that given a lack of guidelines, Mäori community consultation has been carried out to the best of the schools' ability and within the [rigid] parameters that schools are obliged to follow as set by the Ministry of Education. The research evidence suggests that the schools and their Boards of Trustees have been recently practicing the idea that one consultation approach was applicable across time and space. That is, there was a practiced fallacy that Mäori community consultation was the same for every Mäori community, the *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) for instance, exemplify this belief. However, the dynamism of Mäori communities and Māori educational issues requires that educational initiatives and consultation methods be reflective of a school's total environment and of time too (see Chapter Five).

For instance, consultation in the past has predominantly been one-sided. Māori as a minority group have often gone through consultation processes that have had predetermined outcomes, policies and practices and consultation has only occurred to 'quieten' those calling for consultation. *Making Education Work for Mäori* (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education, 1998) for instance identified a number of Mä ori concerns with Mäori education (see Chapter Five). Such concerns were highlighted in earlier reports such as the *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) and continued to be reiterated by Mäori [and the State] ever since 1998 (see Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2000, 2001). Whilst the identification of such concerns acknowledges Mä ori aspirations and State responsibilities, the latter is 'seemingly' addressed through recognition (and mention) in State reports and policies; State credibility is invisible. While the research has divulged that the State is beginning to become more responsive to Māori needs, that response is slow. The bicultural dichotomy (see

Chapter Four) continues to slowly merge however, the slowness of this process across all levels of society reflects the continued dominance of the State over Māori. State education policy recognises Māori aspirations at a cultural level but not at a structural level.

8.2 Summary / Conclusion

Although new Ministry of Education initiatives such as the *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) are a positive movement in addressing a lack of partnership guidelines, some of the research participants have expressed that they're *'hopeless'*, while others have suggested that they are *'better late than never'*. This latter group's views stem from the belief that they (Māori) still have to 'fit' into a monocultural system that at a decision-making and policy implementation level fails to fully recognise Māori conceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi, partnership and biculturalism. Structural change is minimal and Māori remain subordinate to State (Pākehā) mechanisms of control and power. For example, the State's *Whakaaro Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2001) education strategy and the establishment of Pouwhakataki exemplifies the minimalistic approach of the State. It could be argued that this initiative is reminiscent of early 1980s State initiatives for Māori education such as Taha Māori programmes. Structural aspects are overlooked while the personal aspects of biculturalism are instead focussed on. Tokenism is practiced.

While such initiatives are a partial response to Māori challenges to the State's aberration to address Māori educational achievement in the 1970s and 1980s (Johnston, 1998), the State interprets Māori aspirations according to State perceptions of what biculturalism means. Subsequently, structural change is impalpable and policies remain culturally focussed (Smith, 1986). Pouwhakataki are answerable first to the Minister of Education; Māori communities come second. Research participants at Kauri and Matai schools were of the belief that Pouwhakataki would be ineffective if Māori were not allowed to participate at a national [structural] educational policy development level.

The *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) and the recent *Whakaaro Mātauranga* strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) are subsequently seen as maintaining unequal power and partnership relations between Māori and Pākehā (the State, the education system and schools). The guidelines for instance, are too ambiguous and generic in that they consider the Māori population to be homogenous. This belief derives from Pākehā perceptions of 'what is to count as knowledge'. Māori community diversity is suppressed by State policies and practices undergoing normalisation processes (Kenrick, 2002); Pākehā superiority is maintained and Māori are marginalised. For example, Boards of Trustees were supposedly developed at one level to permit Māori participation in school governance. However, this level of [Māori community] participation was reduced to 'an individual' Māori representative on Boards of Trustees where 'one' Māori voice could represent the expectations and aspirations of the whole Māori community; the belief is maintained and practiced still today. Views, perceptions and ideas of individual Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi are shaped by varying factors that relate to life experiences. These differ between whānau, region and tribe. Consequently, the State does not recognise the dynamism of Māori. This is not a new situation but one that has been ongoing throughout New Zealand's education history. The *1961 Hunn Report* for example, classified Māori as one group that fitted three broad categories (Johnston, 1991; see Chapter Four).

While the *'Better Relationship for Better Learning'* guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) are a small but positive advancement for Māori education, they treat all Māori [communities] as homogenous (see Chapter Five). Consequently, State policy and practices are flawed from the onset and destined to maintain Māori subordinate status and Pākehā superiority. Some of the participants from Matai School for instance, felt that their school was too bound by 'red tape' and that they didn't have the freedom to develop as a school following Kaupapa Māori perspectives *(Parauri, Kahurangi, Karaka)*. Their Māori individuality was not recognised and so they felt burdened by having to conform to State [generic] policies for Māori education. Johnston (1991) confirms this practice when she states that the rhetoric surrounding State initiatives for Māori validates the notion of Pākehā being normal and Māori as not.

All schools experience a myriad of barriers to creating an effective learning environment for Māori. These barriers are acted upon by a number of forces that include State control and authority, education policy, the make up of the school's Māori community, the iwi / hapū that the Māori community are part of, the school's decile rating and other prominent variables such as the labour market, justice and health (see Ministry of Education, 2000).

One important variable divulged through the research is the repetition of 'structural' barriers. For instance, barriers that concern leadership and management and that can divide a school's Māori community to create even further barriers to consultation. Schools have been left to develop their own specific strategies to overcome the structural barriers and mechanisms such as School Boards of Trustees and school charters have struggled to facilitate the participation and involvement of Māori communities promulgated by educational reform in the last 15 years. Johnston (1998) premised this situation when she argued that educational reform did not take Māori recommendations seriously in regard to Māori educational achievement. Subsequently, educational reforms have been ineffective in conveying Māori expectations because they have not moved past cultural considerations.

What is evident from this research is that School Boards of Trustees and their Māori communities are working through any problems to consultation and developing partnerships when the need arises and at their own 'whim'. Schools are attempting to develop their own community partnership guidelines (successfully and with failure) because the guidelines produced and published by the Ministry of Education thus far have been either non-existent or they are too broad and ambiguous for individual schools to follow. Where guidelines are needed for schools and their Boards of Trustees to develop partnership relationships with their Māori communities, the research has confirmed that they are lacking and inappropriate. Thus, confusion over the meaning of partnership prevails and inhibits the development of school policies and practices. Johnston (1998:162) supports this situation by asking *'does partnership mean a 50 / 50 split between Māori or Pākehā, does partnership refer to resources, decision-making processes or both or something entirely different?'*

Another hindrance that impacts at a governance level of school administration and management is an inclination of Mäori whänau to participate in less 'formal' school affairs such as, fund-raising, sport and kapa haka. These areas are seen as less 'academically' demanding and thus, Mäori whänau see themselves as 'able' to participate at this level of schooling. Such examples of partnerships at an involvement level rather than a participation level are reminiscent of partnership relationships identified in Chapter Three between Native Schools and their Mäori communities. Simon and Smith (1998) for instance, stated that schools would often depend on local Mäori for support, food and fund-raising. This level of involvement as mentioned above is still existent today. While not the intention of this chapter, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the assimilatory practices of Native Schools have directly impacted on the level of Mäori participation and involvement in education today (see Chapter Three) that is evident across Mäori communities.

While any level of Mäori whänau interaction with their children's schools is positive, there still exists a lack of confidence of Māori whänau to engage at the 'formal' governance level. *Kowhai* from Kauri School for instance, identified the imbalance in what whānau involvement they had at their school and had started to implement new strategies with whānau. Other reasons for a lack of participation in school governance include 'burnout', as the same individuals are doing the work (all the time). *Kākāriki* stated that

> ....the reality for Māoridom is if you've got certain skills you go to a hui and they know that you've done something with money ..., you'll get nominated as the treasurer.... Once people find out that you have skills, they'll come knocking at your door'.

Conflict among management and leadership structures at School Board of Trustee level that often arise as a result of being forced to comply to State regulations had occurred on numerous occasions and varying degrees at Matai School. The Board of Trustee Chairperson for instance, resigned their position attributing their reasons to fatigue and frustration. Smith (1991) discusses the resistance by Mäori to these types of structural considerations in the education system as an underlying reason for the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Mäori. He goes onto say that *'Kura Kaupapa Mäori*

schools function within a specific cultural framework and mediate social and economic context' (p.13). It is this type of holistic environment incorporating Te Reo Mäori and Tikanga Mäori (Kaupapa Mäori Framework) that is seen to be lacking in mainstream schools, especially at the structural level. Consequently, stresses and frustrations are not uncommon among the few Mäori whänau that participate in issues of school governance.

Poor leadership and direction at a Board of Trustee level was clearly evident in Kauri School's past as was the participation level of its Mäori community in school affairs, governance and social issues. Structural impediments thus impacted on the [existence of] partnership relationships between the school and its Mäori community however, progress had been made and the school was part of a stronger and positive environment now. Guidelines or assistance usually appears when it is too late. Such was the case at Kauri School when their Board of Trustees was dissolved and a Commissioner appointed. If appropriate and community specific guidelines were available when needed, then perhaps the previous Board of Trustees would not have faced difficulties in their ability to govern the school, nor would they have perhaps been dissolved.

While the new reforms have attempted to give [Mäori] parents and communities a greater say in their children's education, what has not been considered is that low decile schools reside in low socio-economic areas and there is a considerable lack of Mäori parent leadership / management skills and experience necessary for positive achievement in these environments. Factors taken into account in determining decile ranking are household income, parental educational qualifications, occupation and income support. Schools described as decile one draw their students from areas of greatest socio-economic disadvantage (Ministry of Education, 1998). Therefore, while the literature acknowledges the status and circumstances of such communities, education policy requires these [Mäori] communities to participate and function at a level comparative with other communities. Kauri and Matai Schools exemplify the ineffectiveness of the educational reforms since the implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988). Even though some schools are doing

well in working with their Māori communities and attempting to foster new partnerships, others are finding it difficult to attract Māori parents to participate in specific areas such as, school governance. For instance, Matai and Kauri Schools both now have Boards of Trustees with a Māori majority on these Boards. However, this does not mean that these bodies have the support of the total Māori community. Matai School's Board have had to rethink consultation and actually go out into the community to hold hui, be more flexible to cater for the whole community's needs (legitimately) and be more proactive and inclusive of the school's whānau in issues such as property management.

Boards of Trustees have a difficult task (as representatives of the whānau) to foster the desires of the whole Māori community if there is a general lack of willingness to participate in school governance hui and other school hui concerning administration and management. This premise is a difficult area for the likes of School Boards of Trustees in low decile and low socio-economic areas such as Matai and Kauri Schools. The underlying reasons for Mäori parental apathy at this level of school administration and management include a lack of interest, concern and confidence of many Māori whānau to participate in their children's schooling (see Chapter Three). Some of these concerns have been attributed to negative educational experiences of Māori parents when they were at school, while other reasons include a lack of interest and skill to participate at this level. Both Kauri and Matai Schools have identified these barriers and are currently working to eliminate them with positive responses to date. *Māwhero* for instance, stated that

> .... *Even some of the teachers don't even understand the role of the Board, so perhaps it's a training thing ....there's a kind of level that the school needs to be functioning at and the people who are involved in governance are not always up to this level.*

While the ***'Better Relationships for Better Learning'*** guidelines state that '*... more formalised training that caters for the requirements of Māori trustees can also be developed',* (Ministry of Education, 2000:16), they do not specifically say how this training can be developed. This situation is too repetitive of State education policies and directives that acknowledge issues, instead of a more practical approach that involves equal partnership from the onset. For example, the ***'Better Relationships for***

Better Learning' guidelines (ibid) also state that the *National Education Guidelines* (Ministry of Education, 1997) require schools to operate consistently with the Treaty of Waitangi principles. However, the principles themselves are open to different interpretations by Māori and Pākehā subsequently, Pākehā interpretations prevail. An approach that permeates equal Māori and Pākehā participation throughout the consultation, planning, development, implementation and monitoring processes of educational policy development would recognise structural considerations. In order to meet the obligations of all Māori, that is, recognise the diversity among Māori, the policy process described needs to actually occur at a regional and local level and not only at a national level that is centralised in one region. That is, the relationship between school Boards of Trustees such as Kauri and Matai School Boards and the State (Ministry of Education) should occur more succinctly and reflect equal partnership.

Another aspect related to the Treaty of Waitangi is the lack of knowledge among schools, teachers, Boards of Trustees and Māori communities (and whole school communities) about the Treaty. There is a lack of training and professional development in this area too, subsequently the ramifications are tremendous. While impacting on the whole socio-economic, cultural and political spheres of society in Aotearoa New Zealand, this [lack of Treaty knowledge] implicates on the notion of biculturalism. The State's control of education policy and its ability to interpret the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi via Pākehā conceptions of biculturalism results in such education policy reflecting Māori cultural considerations only (like Taha Mā ori programmes for instance), structural aspects are thus competently ignored. Durie (in Kawharu, 1989) states that participation is an essential element of an *'effective democracy'*, Māori participation is minimal. Structural barriers negate the autonomy of Māori to make decisions thus, policy development for Māori [education] is futile.

This thesis has demonstrated that within the current context of Māori educational achievement in Aotearoa New Zealand, the State and its mainstream schools will not be able to build *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* if schools are not supported and allowed to develop and enter into partnerships with their Māori

communities. While many schools are engaged presently in their own initiatives, these must be supported by the State and fully recognised too. Support of this nature requires the removal of structural constraints that impacts on Mäori [communities] and schools.

Chapter 9.

Hei Whakamutunga – Summary

My ideal goal for Māori education in the future, at a broad level, includes a long-term plan designed to operate at whānau, hapū and iwi levels right across the country. I would like to see education organised across all sectors, across all iwi, but in a planned way. I am a firm believer that Māoridom, as a whole is only as strong as its least organised iwi. I don't think enough is done to organise across all iwi. In true Darwinian terms, the strongest will survive and the weakest perish, (Penetito, W. in Tapine & Waiti, 1997:60).

This thesis set out to examine a selection of recent educational initiatives that sought to increase partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities against an analysis of Māori educational history in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was recognised that State motives in initiating these partnership initiatives were about addressing Māori ascertains for Māori language and culture in schools as a means of addressing educational underachievement. The context in which these partnership initiatives have been and continue to be developed and implemented, was of specific interest to the research.

This thesis has concentrated at the local level explicitly where partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities have been analysed. This analysis has included identifying how such partnerships have been created and what types of models, approaches and guidelines have been produced and practiced.

Part A of this thesis was concerned with the analysis of partnership relationships between the State and Māori communities. The notion of partnership derives from the Treaty of Waitangi and the implications the Treaty has for State and Māori relationships. The analysis for such relationships across education in Aotearoa New Zealand was based on a review of literature relevant to the research topic for this thesis.

Chapter Two explored the Treaty of Waitangi, the principles of the Treaty and the notion of partnership. Analysis determined that the concept of partnership between Māori and the State has evolved through Pākehā conceptions of partnership that results in unequal power relations between Māori and Päkehä. Consequently, Māori interests and needs have consistently been adjusted by the dominant [Pākehā] interest group to conform to predetermined [monocultural] structures and frameworks that further Päkehä percentages.

What is prevalent in the chapter is that a lack of understanding among communities (Mäori and Päkehä) about the Treaty of Waitangi serves to reinforce notions of Pākehā superiority. This confusion is especially apparent at a School Board of Trustee level (see Chapter Four) where Māori and Pākehā members are not fully aware of the implications of partnership at a national level or a local school-Māori community level. The Treaty of Waitangi and the Treaty principles are not being acknowledged, consequently, it is the schools themselves, School Boards of Trustees and their Māori communities who are left to try to fulfil Treaty of Waitangi obligations with little support, guidance or guidelines from the State (Ministry of Education).

Chapter Three explored the notion of partnership relationships within the context of Māori educational history in Aotearoa New Zealand. This inquiry extended from the Pre-European colonisation era up to the 1980s. Throughout this analysis it was clear that the Treaty of Waitangi and biculturalism (including partnership) had no bearing on educational policy for Māori at least until the 1960s. During this period, it is clear that Māori awareness of inequalities has resulted in Māori politicisation, conscientisation, resistance, emancipation and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).

The Treaty of Waitangi gained considerable momentum throughout the 1970s, 1980s and into the 21st century. Subsequently, this momentum impacted across education in a manner unseen before. However, various interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles have witnessed the maintenance of unequal power relationships in education between Māori and Pākehā. Consequently, partnership relationships in

education continue to be developed in a monocultural framework that places Māori as another minority group forced to comply with State regulations.

An analysis of Mäori educational history and its dire consequences for Mäori revealed that in the last 30 years, Mäori political conscientisation and [Mäori] interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi have allowed Mäori to move outside of the mainstream education system. Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Mäori have evolved to satisfy Mäori aspirations across education. This development has occurred as a result of a direct contrast to Päkehä notions of biculturalism.

Chapter Four critiqued representations of biculturalism by exploring interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to four significant developments in education in the late 1980s:

1. The *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987);
2. The *1988 Picot Report – Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988);
3. *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988);
4. The *1989 Education Act*.

These developments occurred (among other [important] issues) to supposedly facilitate greater Māori parental involvement and participation in their children's schooling. However, the rhetoric concerning greater partnership, participation and involvement of Mäori communities in education has not delivered positive outcomes for Māori. The current state of Māori educational underachievement, a lack of (bicultural) partnership guidelines for Māori communities and schools and the contestable nature of the Treaty of Waitangi have seen the weakening of partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities.

For instance, Chapter Four outlined that the *1988 Picot Report - Administering for Excellence* (Department of Education, 1988) picked up on the rhetoric of the *1987 Curriculum Review* (Department of Education, 1987) by stating that the Treaty of Waitangi would be accorded due mention in that it would be given a 'special status' and it was to be 'observed' by the 'new' education system. However, *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) totally ignored the Treaty of

Waitangi. School charters for instance, were amended to make the Treaty of Waitangi a voluntary rather than a compulsory component. With the Treaty being relegated to a weakened inferior position, confusion, ambiguity and continued conflict over its interpretations troubled schools, School Boards of Trustees and their Māori communities. The *1990 National Education Guidelines* (Ministry of Education) were developed to support *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) however, only recently (1999) have efforts been made to specifically involve Mäori communities in the schooling of their children. Even so, a lack of direction in this area for schools is still very much evident today.

Chapter Five examined State educational policy for Mäori in the period 1997 - 2001, one decade after the *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms. While State directives have acknowledged Mäori aspirations for education, education policy has continued to align Mäori within Päkehä notions of biculturalism and partnership. The normalisation of Mäori to 'Päkehāness' is prevalent in this era of Mäori educational policy development whereby State intentions for Mäori are positive however, while these have occurred, dominant [Päkehä] group values, culture and language have been elevated to a position of superiority. Consequently, Mäori are still recognised as being deficit and failing the education system.

The bifurcation in Māori and Pākehā conceptions of biculturalism have seen new State initiatives such as, *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* (Ministry of Education, 2000) and *Whakaaro Mätauranga 2001* (Ministry of Education) develop albeit, still in a monocultural framework that emphasises Pākehā culture as the 'norm' and Mäori culture as 'inferior'. While State educational initiatives since the turn of the century (2000) are beginning to become more intertwined with Mäori processes at all levels of development and implementation, two distinct 'streams' are still seen to exist; a Mäori conception of biculturalism and partnership and a Päkehä conception of biculturalism and partnership. Päkehä views of Mäori maintain obsolete perceptions and consequently, State policies and practices reinforce these views by quashing the cynism of Mäori difference through normalisation.

Part B of the thesis introduced the research. This section specifically focused on the research methodology (Chapter Six), presented the findings of the research (Chapter Seven), analysed the research findings and compared these findings with the literature review (Chapter Eight) and concludes with the final summary (Chapter Nine).

Chapter Six introduced the research methodology, the methods used and the research participants of this study. The chapter outlined Kaupapa Māori research methods and principles, the implications of carrying out research of this nature, ethical considerations and the interview process. Background information concerning the research participants and their respective schools was also presented as a lead in to Chapter Seven, which presented the research findings.

Chapter Seven began by introducing the research schools (Kauri and Matai) in more detail before presenting the findings to the research and the results of the interviews with the research participants. These findings were compared between the two schools and included the experiences of the School Principal, Teachers, School Director, Commissioner, School Board of Trustees members and School Māori community members.

Chapter Eight analysed the research findings against Part A of the thesis, the literature review. This analysis proved that schools are entering into partnership relationships with their Mäori communities however, structural barriers and a lack of guidelines meant that in doing so, the relationships have often been flawed or they have occurred with little planning or consultation. Consequently, change and positive progression has been slow and often stationary.

The final chapter (Chapter Nine) summarises the findings of this thesis to determine to what extent the *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* (Ministry of Education, 2000) are producing positive outcomes for schools and their Mäori communities and Mäori education in general in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Although greater partnership, participation and involvement with Māori in education are key notions that have been promulgated by State educational reforms throughout the last 15 years, what this thesis has revealed is that there are problems with the types of partnership relationships that schools and their Māori communities are developing and entering into. Mäori have not been empowered to the extent that Mäori are able to be in control and make decisions for Mäori These problems centre on the following conclusions that have been divulged by this research and include the following key points, that:

- *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) has not provided the guidelines and mediums necessary for greater Māori community participation and input into the education of Māori children in schools as it [ostensibly] intended to do;

- *Tomorrow's Schools 1988* (Department of Education, 1988) has not lead to a higher level of Māori involvement in education nor have the reforms improved the situation of Māori across the education sector in Aotearoa New Zealand;

- The Treaty of Waitangi and the Treaty principle of partnership is not [structurally] recognised in the education system subsequently, interpretations and practices have been filtered down through all levels of education and into schools;

- There is a lack of Treaty of Waitangi education for schools, School Boards of Trustees and Māori communities to even contemplate a Māori bicultural focus in developing partnership relationships;

- Schools, School Boards of Trustees and Māori communities have been left by the State to forge their own partnership relationships without support and guidance in critical areas. What has evolved is a situation where some schools are disadvantaged (more than other schools), this has

compounded the negative educational statistics for Māori;

- Schools that have become involved in 'successful' partnerships with their Māori communities have had to do so with very little support and guidance from the Ministry of Education;

- 'Kanohi ki te kanohi' contact is a characteristic of Māori communication that schools have taken on board with greater compulsion with their Māori communities. This personal approach is far greater than a 'newsletter' approach that has characterised State initiatives up to now;

- Māori educational underachievement will never be rightfully addressed through partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities unless structural changes are made to the education system that exemplifies equal partnership between Māori and Pākehā, moreover with a Māori majority at the educational policy development level for Māori.

These circumstances have been shaped by a range of factors in Aotearoa New Zealand's education history that have been discussed in Part A of the thesis. Part B outlined that for there to be any significant improvement in the facilitation of Māori educational initiatives and Māori educational underachievement in the future, structural change needs to occur at one level while at another level, *'Better Relationship'* guidelines for schools and their [diverse] Mäori communities need to be readily available for all schools.

To plan for tomorrow and tomorrow's schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, mechanisms of Māori underachievement (Johnston, 1998) must be critically understood against the broader issue of effecting structural change at a national and Ministerial level. This might mean Kaupapa Māori framework planning at a national level by Māori for Māori rather than planning by Pākehā for Māori by means of a

Pākehā [monocultural] framework. Therefore, the challenge for the education system is to deliver *'**Better Relationships**' for better learning* that have been developed within a Kaupapa Mäori framework.

This thesis has established that *'**Better Relationships**'* will not occur in Aotearoa New Zealand unless there are changes initiated at a structural level and a power relation level of society. This notion means that Mäori conceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi and of partnership must be recognised structurally by the State including the diversity among Mäori communities. It is imperative that these recommended changes reflect Mäori conceptions of biculturalism that are underpinned by the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles. By recognising and practicing such change, only then will consultation between Mäori and the State produce better outcomes, that is, outcomes that both Mäori and the State [in equal partnership] want to attain and not outcomes that the State wants to attain for Mäori.

While the research has provided a greater insight and awareness as to the nature of partnership relationships between schools and their Mäori communities, the one common denominator that affects both areas in this context is people. However, it is also the common denominator that cannot be factored for. The diversity amongst Mäori communities (see Chapters Four, Five) and the barriers that schools and Mäori communities encounter when attempting to forge partnership relationships (see Chapter Seven) result in diversification within 'this' common denominator that cannot be disregarded. For instance, in order to increase and sustain the participation rate of Mäori whānau across education, a number of imperatives must be accomplished. These include:

- The need for whānau to be supported across a range of areas including, health, employment and education, both locally and nationally;

- Whānau must be kept informed of what is occurring in education, not through the media but through direct [kanohi ki te kanohi] contact; this information should include for instance, national statistics, future Mäori

education broadcasts and trends, law and regulation changes, individual school policies and practices and rights and obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi;

- All whānau must be notified and kept up to date of the school's activities, academic, cultural, sport, fundraising initiatives and governance / management issues;

- Māori whānau must be embraced by the education system in a positive and diversified manner that accounts for all whānau including, single parent whānau, unemployed whānau, whānau that reside in low socio-economic areas and [academically] unqualified whānau;

- Māori whānau must be equipped with the skills and resources necessary to become empowered by the education system and by their local school to participate in the school affairs of their children that ultimately become whole whānau affairs;

- Whānau need to have the confidence of the education system and its ability to be inclusive and empowering of Māori whānau; accordingly, the credibility and accountability of the education system to Māori children and their whānau must be transparent for all whānau.

Satisfying the needs and aspirations of Māori whānau as well as whole school communities (even of those who are unconsciously unaware) will create a greater level of access to and participation by whānau. There is not one particular way to achieve this as the [un]common denominator discussed above alludes to rather, a multiplicity of imperatives has to be considered and practiced. Perhaps then will the unconscious mind become the conscious mind thus opening the door to greater participation and involvement of Māori whānau in the development, the maintenance and appraisal of partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities.

The education system mirrors the rest of the spheres of its society in that Māori are a minority group dominated in all areas of the socio-economic and political sector by a monocultural Pākehā framework. Schools will therefore continue to struggle with Māori community partnership relationship initiatives within the current constraints of national educational policy to the extent that divisiveness and conflict among Māori communities (created and maintained by the reforms) will remain a barrier for Māori and an advantage for Pākehā. The advantage for Pākehā is the retention of superiority and dominance of Māori and mana Māori (Māori power and authority) such as the control over one's own destiny - tino rangatiratanga.

This approach continues to see Pākehā as the dominant partner and Māori needs and interests reduced as cultural additives to education policies and practices. For example, Māori considerations that are recognised as legitimate and valuable are the cultural aspects however, these aspects are only a small part of a greater whole (Johnston, 1998). The structure in which Māori are forced to traverse is one based on Pākehā epistemologies, one that Adds (1997, in Tapine and Waiti) claims

> ....*will never adopt a tino rangatiratanga philosophy because it's Crown driven....We are being assimilated by the Crown if we're developing according to their agendas. Tino rangatiratanga is not clearly articulated ....., (p.33).*

Johnston (1998) supports this statement when she says that

> *Pākehā control over the agenda of politics results in Pākehā conceptions of difference* (that are in turn) *dominating, (p.330).*

These comments serve to strengthen the reality in which government driven Māori educational initiatives are developed, implemented and monitored. Rather than functioning in a bicultural vacuum that reflects equal partnership for Māori, government continues to function at levels that Johnston (1998) identifies as only including a cultural or personal approach to biculturalism. That approach continues to see Pākehā as the dominant partner and Māori needs and interests reduced to cultural additives to education policies and practices.

However, having a 'truly' bicultural state and taking it for granted will make initiatives that focus on better guidelines for partnership relationships between Māori communities and schools a reality and thus, more productive. Creating such a state would entail a process of the de-normalisation of dominant [Päkehä] values, language and culture. Achieving this de-normalisation throughout Aotearoa New Zealand might actually result in Māori and Pākehā developing *__Better Relationship__* guidelines for Māori and Pākehā relations; and only then might we begin to address the much wider issues of educational underachievement of Māori children.

> *'Ko koe ki tēnā, ko āhau ki tēnei kīwai o te kete'*,
> **'You at that and I at this handle of the basket'.**
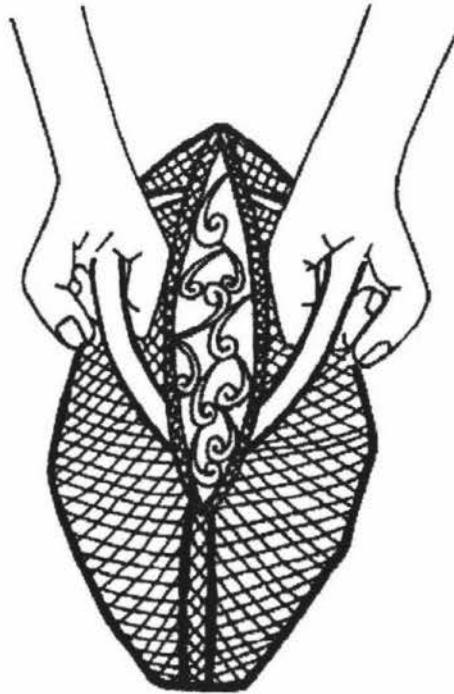
APPENDIX ONE

█████████
█████████

29th August 2001

The Principal,
Tēnā koe e te Tumuaki, ngā mihi nunui o te marama ki a koe.

My name is James Graham. I am completing my Master of Education degree where I am at its research stage. This research will contribute to the degree's required thesis component. I am a staff member at Massey University College of Education, Ruawharo Campus, Napier.

The research title is *Nāu te rūnanga, nāku te rūnanga, ka piki ake te ōranga o te iwi: Partnership relationships between schools and Māori communities*. The research is focused on exploring how partnerships between Māori communities and schools might advance and improve '***Better Relationships*** *for Better Learning'* for Māori students. The aims of this research are:

- To examine a selection of recent educational initiatives and school policies that have been proposed to increase partnerships between schools and Māori communities.
- To conduct interviews with persons from the two key areas of the research – (i) Māori communities and (ii) schools.

In order to initiate and undertake this research I am seeking your permission and cooperation to undertake this research at your school. I understand that the School's Board of Trustees must also agree before any research can commence. A letter (pending your decision) has also been written to the Board of Trustees requesting their permission and cooperation (attached).

A letter to the board of trustees (chairperson), Information sheets, consent forms, interview schedules and self-addressed envelopes are also awaiting to be distributed pending your decision and that of the board of trustees'. Again I ask for your consideration, permission and cooperation to conduct research at your school that will, on its completion provide benefits for all. Thank-you for your time and I look forward to future contact.

Nāku noa
Nā James Graham

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/35.

███████████
███████████

30th August 2001

The Chairperson 'School Board of Trustees',
Tēnā koe e te Kaihautū, ngā mihi nunui o te marama ki a koe.

My name is James Graham. I am completing my Master of Education degree where I am at its research stage. This research will contribute to the degree's required thesis component. I am a staff member at Massey University College of Education, Ruawharo Campus, Napier.

The research title is *Nāu te rūnanga, nāku te rūnanga: ka piki ake te ōranga o te iwi: Partnership relationships between schools and Māori communities*. The research is focused on exploring how partnerships between Māori communities and schools might advance and improve '***Better Relationships*** *for Better Learning*' for Māori students. The aims of this research are:

- To examine a selection of recent educational initiatives and school policies that have been proposed to increase partnerships between schools and Māori communities.
- To conduct interviews with persons from the two key areas of the research – (i) Māori communities and (ii) schools.

In order to initiate and undertake this research I am seeking your Board's permission and cooperation to undertake research at your school. I have already had confirmation from the school principal expressing his / her assent (pending the Board's). I understand that the School's Board of Trustees must also agree before any research can commence, hence the nature and purpose of this letter. Information sheets that detail all relevant information of the research, consent forms, interview schedules and self-addressed envelopes are attached to this letter. If you and your Board agree for your school to be part of the research, please have the research participant(s) including Board members, teachers and community members (see information sheet) complete the consent form, put it in the enclosed envelope and post it back to me.

Again I ask for your consideration, permission and cooperation to conduct research at your school that will, on its completion provide benefits for all. Thank-you for your time and I look forward to future contact.

Nāku noa
Nā James Graham

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/35.

APPENDIX TWO

NĀU TE RŪNANGA, NĀKU TE RŪNANGA,
KA PIKI AKE TE ŌRANGA O TE IWI

PARTNERSHIP RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
SCHOOLS AND MĀORI COMMUNITIES

INFORMATION SHEET

Ko Kauhehei te maunga, Ko Te Rotoātara te waiu, Ko Te Whatuiāpiti te tangata, Tihei Mauriora! Ka haere atu tōku aroha ki te iwi e ngakaunui ana ki te kaupapa nei. Tēnā koutou te iwi e whakapau kaha ana ki te whāngai te mātauranga ki ā tātou tamariki hei whakamana i a rātou, arā, kia mōhio ai rātou he mana motuhake tō rātou. Ka mihi, ka tangi tēnei ki ngā aituā o te wā. Nā koutou i waiho mai te reo nei, nā koutou anō hoki i para te huarahi hei whāinga mā mātou, heoi anō, tēnā anō tātou e noho nei hei urupā ora mō rātou mā.

Introduction

Tēnā koe. My name is James Graham. I am studying for a Master of Education degree and this research will be the required thesis component. I am also a staff member of Te Uru Māraurau – Department of Māori & Multicultural Education at Massey University College of Education.

I can be contacted through Te Uru Māraurau – Department of Maori and Multicultural Education, Massey University College of Education, Ruawharo Campus, Tamatea Drive, Private Bag, Napier; ph. (06) 8355202 extn 733. A message can also be left on e-mail: J.Graham@massey.ac.nz

My supervisor is Dr. Patricia Maringi Johnston. She can be contacted at Te Uru Māraurau – Department of Maori and Multicultural Education, Massey University College of Education, Hokowhitu Campus, Palmerston North. P.Johnston@massey.ac.nz, Ph. (06) 3569099 extn 8612.

The Research

Kia ora anō, I am seeking your participation in this research, which is looking at past government educational initiatives and policies for Māori education. I am particularly interested in the government's claims that by improving school and Maori community relationships and partnerships, Maori educational achievement rates will improve. At present there is a lack of current resources and partnership guidelines available to Maori communities and schools, so I would like to ascertain how a partnership relationship between those communities has developed.

The purpose and nature of this research requires the participation of Board of Trustee members to be interviewed. It is recognised that School Boards of Trustees encompass either all or at least one of the following categories of persons under the umbrella of Māori / Māori communities: parent(s), kaumatua (Maori elders), employed / unemployed Maori community members, Iwi / Hapū organisation representatives, Marae representatives and Māori teachers. Other research participants will be your school's principal and any of the school's teachers who are willing to participate. This will mean that the research's participants will comprise of Board of Trustee representatives, school principals (Māori and / or non-Māori), school teachers (Māori and / or non-Māori) and any other willing research participants from the school's community.

The research has the potential to work towards providing positive educational outcomes for Māori. By examining the development of relationships between schools and Māori communities, I hope to be able to present back to those communities some of the positive aspects from those relationships. What I would also like to explore is the notion that greater partnership, collaboration and consultation among Maori communities and schools will lead to positive outcomes for schools, Maori children and Māori communities. The potential from the research is the development of good practices and implementation of partnership guidelines relevant to specific schools and their communities.

The questions I wish to ask are:

- Will improved partnership between schools and Māori communities result in successful educational outcomes for Māori children?
- How can educational success for Māori children be improved through effective partnership between schools and communities?
- Will consultation between schools and Māori communities encourage the empowerment of Māori communities and Māori children?
- Are current educational initiatives fulfilling obligations and responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi?
- How can current educational initiatives be improved to enhance the educational success of Māori children?

I would also like to know of any of your school's policies and / or guidelines (that encompass partnerships between the school and its Maori community), which might help me in my research. If such materials were made available to me, I would, of course, respect any restrictions or protocols governing their use.

I would like to interview you for one or two hours at a location to be decided by you. With your permission I would also like to tape the interview. If you do not wish to be named in any publication from the research, I would respect this.

The interview would be governed by protocols laid down by Massey University Human Ethics Committee; this includes your right to:

- to decline to participate
- to refuse to answer any particular questions
- to withdraw from the study at any time
- to ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- to provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher, to do this
- to be given access to a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded

I will transcribe in full the interview and a copy of this will be made available for your perusal and comment. All information from these interviews will be kept in lockable cabinets. Your identity and that of the school and its area will be completely confidential. The material and information gained from this research will be used towards my thesis, which has the same title that heads this Information Sheet. On completion of the thesis, I will put together a report on my findings for your records that

might be used to develop further relationships between Māori communities and schools. I await your reply in anticipation.

Nāku noa
nā James Graham

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/35.

NĀU TE RŪNANGA, NĀKU TE RŪNANGA,
KA PIKI AKE TE ŌRANGA O E IWI

PARTNERSHIP RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
SCHOOLS AND MĀORI COMMUNITIES

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

(The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio taped.
I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

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

Signed: ....

Name: ....

Date: ....

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/35.

APPENDIX THREE

The Interview Schedule

Schedule of Question for Interviews of School Principal / Director / Board of Trustees / Teachers / Commissioner / Whānau

(Each Participant will be asked (where applicable) to briefly detail their: length of time employed at the school to date, class / teaching level (if teaching), curriculum interests, extra-curricular (wider school community) interests, ethnicity, and gender, time on the Board of trustees, position on the Board (including relevant sub-committee's) and any other information they might wish to add).

Developing Partnerships.

Question 1. The 1999 National Administration Guidelines have required schools to consult with their Maori communities to implement changes to improve educational achievement for Maori children. How does your school consult with its Māori community?

Question 2. Can you identify any barriers that might make it difficult for you to consult or work with your school's Māori community?

Question 3. As a result of the 'consultation process', can you give me some examples of relationships / programmes or initiatives currently operating between the school and its Maori community, or, those that are planned in the near future?

Question 4. How do you think that your school's current educational partnership and consultation initiatives could be improved to enhance the educational success of Māori children at your school?

Governance

Question 5. Does your school encourage members of the wider Māori community with appropriate skills and experience to participate in school affairs such as, governance, management issues, curriculum design and programme planning? What about other school activities like sport and kapa haka?

Question 6. Does your school hold hui (outside of Board of Trustee meetings) to bring together parents, teachers and Māori community members to consider Māori educational needs? What about the levels of communication, are these adequate and effective?

Question 7. Does the school provide opportunities for learning local Māori history and cultural traditions? In what ways?

Consultation

Question 8. Do you think that increased consultation between schools and Māori communities will encourage Māori communities to become involved in their children's education like the *Whakaaro Mātauranga* strategy proposes to do? What about your school?

Question 9. Does your school hold hui outside of regular Board of Trustees meetings for whānau and the wider Māori community to attend?

Question 10. Do you think that current educational initiatives regarding Mäori community consultation at your school are fulfilling obligations and responsibilities towards Mäori as outlined under the Treaty of Waitangi?

Question 11. Do you think that school provides an environment that is warm, accessible and inviting for its Mäori community?

Professional Development

Question 12. Does your school have strategies to retain and support Māori teaching staff?

Question 13. Is professional development training that relates specifically to Māori education readily available for all school staff to participate in? What about whānau in the school's community?

Question 14. In conclusion, is there anything that you would like to add to this interview about what your school needs to do to further enhance the national initiative of *'Better Relationships for Better Learning'* with your school's Mäori community?

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