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MAORITANGA

A STUDY OF TEACHER SENSITIVITY

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts  
at Massey University.

by

MICHAEL DRIES NIGHTINGALE

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## ABSTRACT

ii.

For many years it has been recognised, both by official and unofficial sources, that as a group, Maori children do less well in school than Pakeha children. The major explanations for this have usually involved reference to lower socio-economic status or linguistic variables. While not denying that these variables are important, this study has attempted to place much greater emphasis on variables related to the discontinuity between the teachers' background and the sub-cultural and minority group status of their Maori pupils.

Ranginui Walker's statement that teachers are predominantly monocultural and not sensitised to react to biculturalism or the minority group needs of Maori pupils, was taken as a hypothesis.

A Questionnaire was designed and circulated amongst groups of Pakeha teachers and psychologists. A group of Maoris was also selected to complete part of this Questionnaire. The results suggest that by and large Pakeha teachers seek few experiences which would lead them to a greater understanding of the "Maori side" of their Maori pupils' lives. Furthermore they appear to have a poor knowledge of Maoritanga. This conclusion was found to be true of teachers in areas where there was a relatively high percentage of Maori pupils, as well as their counterparts in areas where relatively few Maori pupils are on school rolls.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

Much has been written on the problems of educating minority groups in various parts of the world. Clearly the presence of children from a minority culture in an education system presents a number of complex problems which often prove highly resistant to solution despite the best efforts of authorities.

The presence of a substantial minority of Maori children in the New Zealand education system has proved no exception. Over the years since Pakeha settlement, considerable efforts have been made to produce an educational environment in which Maori pupils can achieve equality with Pakeha pupils. There can be no doubt that great strides in this direction have been taken. Yet, in the middle seventies, there remains at the point of school leaving a disparity between Maori and Pakeha achievements which contributes in no small measure, to the continuance of a disparity in living standards and employment opportunities between Maori and Pakeha in the wider New Zealand society.

That education is of great importance for the cultural and socio-economic wellbeing of a minority there can be no doubt. Education however is only one facet of society. There have at times been attempts which seem to place at the feet of schools the entire responsibility for such disparity as exists. Such attempts are patently over-simplifications. New Zealand society as a whole, both Maori and Pakeha, is responsible for the present state of the races.

This thesis is an attempt to examine one facet of a multi-faceted situation produced by contact between the two major racial groups in New Zealand. The particular facet examined (i.e. Teacher Awareness of Maoritanga) is considered by the writer to be an important one. In choosing this aspect to study however, the writer does not wish to convey the impression that it is the only area of importance. The problem of English language competency for example, while being closely related, remains of sufficient independent importance to warrant a continuance of the work which has already been undertaken in this area.

Furthermore the writer does not believe that the education system alone should shoulder either the blame for, or the burden of correcting, the existing disparities between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand, for this is a responsibility of the whole society. Progress in the direction of greater equality and improved communications between the two major racial groups in New Zealand will depend upon the combined efforts of many groups and individuals both private and public, Maori and Pakeha.

Arguments developed in subsequent chapters place emphasis on interactions chiefly in direction of Pakeha to Maori. One could equally have studied interactions from the opposite point of view (i.e. Maori to Pakeha). This was beyond the scope of the present study however. It is to be hoped that a future study will stress interactions in the direction of Maori to Pakeha.

The theme of this thesis is that Maori children are influenced a great deal by Maori sub-cultural socialization patterns. Optimum educational and personal development would

be fostered if the school system understood and adapted to these influences. Classroom teachers are considered to be of the utmost importance in this respect. It will be hypothesised that by and large teachers do not have the required level of sophistication in their awareness of the Maori sub-culture. This lack of awareness it will be implied should be seen as one important contribution to the relatively high failure rate which Maori pupils experience as they pass through the New Zealand school system.

Chapter Two places the argument firmly in the sociological realm. It deals with cultural and sub-cultural influence in the socialization process. The very existence of a separate Maori sub-cultural identity has been doubted by some New Zealanders. The third Chapter is therefore devoted entirely to arguing a case to the contrary, while Chapter Four examines aspects of racial understanding and misunderstanding in New Zealand. Chapter Five outlines the values which could accrue for Maori pupils from having classroom teachers who possess high levels of bicultural sensitivity. Support for this point of view is found in numerous official and semi-official policy statements. Some of these are discussed. Finally in this Chapter some implications for teacher training and retraining are stated and responsibilities of officials outlined.

The final two Chapters examine, in some detail, the design and results of the current research. It will be suggested that the general hypothesis that teachers are on the whole ignorant of "things Maori" is well supported by these results.

Culture, Socialization and Reality

A central understanding for this thesis is that it is through their culture that individuals make sense out of a world which consists of both social and physical realities.

Culture

Tyler in 1871 defined culture as the following: "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom, and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society." (Cited in Rose, 1970, p.80) Many definitions have been proposed since. (Merill, 1960, p.81)

Chinoy (in Rose, 1970, p.81) identifies three major components of culture. First there are "normative patterns which define what are felt to be proper, legitimate or expected modes of action or of social relationship".

Second he includes ideas, beliefs, knowledge and values. Such ideas dictate the holder's view of himself as well as of the social and physical realities of the world in which he lives. The holders of these beliefs learn to share cognitive and expressive ideas as well as "standards and ideas by which they define their goals, select a course of action and judge themselves and others; success, rationality, honour, courage, patriotism, loyalty, efficiency". (ibid., p.85)

Third there is the material aspect of culture or "those material things that men create and use ..." (ibid., p.86)

Merill (1969, p.86) points out that culture consists of an "ideal" set of values, actions etc., but that few if any of the members of a particular culture ever actually behave in ways completely congruent with this ideal. Despite the disparity between the actual behaviours and the ideals, such

ideals can still provide understandings and points of reference and comparison for the holders.

Merrill (1969, p.79) states "the basic reality of society is two or more persons in meaningful symbolic interaction". Culture is the medium through which individuals may engage in social relationships. The degree to which individuals (or groups) possess reciprocal expectations concerning the others' behaviour is very important. Without the expectation of predictable patterned behaviour it would be very difficult for an individual to relate to another person or group of persons.

### Social Interaction

In order to understand this reciprocal process of social interaction the concepts of symbol and meaning (or reality) need further definition. Jaeger and Selznick (in Rose, 1970, p.103f) believe that "culture is created when, in the struggle against alienation man transforms the instrumental and the impersonal, the physical and the organic into a realm of evocative, expressive, PERSON-centred meanings". They claim (ibid., p.104) "no human resource is more impressive, more subtle, than the remarkable capacity for symbolization". White (ibid., p.104) defines a symbol as "anything the value or meaning of which is bestowed upon it by those who use it".

Three aspects of signs have been delineated (ibid., p.104). Signs may serve as an indication (e.g. dark clouds indicate rain) or as a denotation (e.g. a sign post denotes the direction to Wellington, cup denotes a drinking vessel). Finally they may serve as a connotation. Few emotions are aroused by the purely denotative aspect of signs. In its connotative aspect however a sign connotes a wide and not fully specified set of suggestions and overtones. It conjours up emotions which are directly related to an individual's or a group's past experience



in relation to that sign. Thus somebody on the right side of the law may view a policeman's uniform as a symbol of help and assistance whereas for one at odds with the law it may arouse feelings of oppression and hate. Connotative meanings bestowed on signs thus vary between sub-cultures and individuals in so far as past experiences also vary. Since connotative meanings influence behaviour, teachers would do well to consider their influence in relation to individuals and groups within a classroom.

Some signs of course may serve two or all three of these functions at the same time. It is in its third aspect (connotation) that a sign becomes most powerful in influencing human experience. Jaeger and Selznick (ibid., p.105) suggest that signs which have powerful connotations are capable of evoking direct response and providing human beings with "consumatory experience".

Thus the strains of "God Defend New Zealand" played at the last Olympic Games as the New Zealand "Eight" received their medals was a most moving and powerful experience. Only New Zealanders could have felt its full impact.

It seems to be a characteristic of man through his culture to create symbols in order to sustain meaningful experiences. Symbols are capable of re-evoking experiences which have been significant in the life of individuals or in a culture. Since members of different cultures frequently have different experiences a symbol which is for one culture highly evocative may be for another near neutral or quite neutral. The white feathers of Parihaka do not evoke the same response in a Pakeha Rahotu dairy farmer as they do for a Parihaka Maori.

If men did not create such evocative symbols life would be comparatively barren. Some symbols may be very private to the individual but others are shared between groups of people whose experience is common. Still others may be shared by whole nations (as is the New Zealand flag) or indeed with most of the world (as the United Nations flag).

The concept of a subculture is clarified if one explores the significance of connotative symbolism for groups within a society.

If one refers back to Tyler's definition of culture (p.4 above) it will be obvious that because of shared experiences (e.g. T.V., newspapers, radio, state school system, common laws, etc.) there is within all people in a country such as New Zealand a shared body of knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom and so on. Thus we can talk of a New Zealand culture.

#### Sub-culture

However it would also seem likely that in any complex society there would be identifiable groups who have experiences which are more or less unique and which are not fully shared by the rest of that society. It is likely that the symbols surrounding such experiences evoke different connotations. At some point a group will possess sufficient evocative symbols which are different from the total culture to be classified as a sub-culture. Thus, lower, lower class people in industrial nations have been referred to as a sub-culture, negroes in America have been referred to as a sub-culture and so on. In many respects it is to sub-cultures we should turn if we wish to obtain the greatest depth of understanding of the individual. Experiences vary in their relevance and power



so far as individuals are concerned. It is those experiences which most directly influence and affect us which have the most power.

In the overseas news we read of a train crash in which many people are killed and we are sad. We discover that some of these people were New Zealanders and we are a little more upset. When we find that one of those people was from our township or street or even worse was a relative, we are greatly upset. Now the event has penetrated to the very core of our person. We identify with the dead man, with his relatives and so on.

Experiences which are person centred are the most powerful of all and, to a very large degree, are had within our own sub-culture. It is difficult for those outside a particular sub-culture to react in the same way. This difficulty is in part explained by the idea of "empathy" or the ability to take the role of the other person. Such "taking over a role" necessitates an emotional response. It is basic to social interaction. Personal communications between individuals (e.g. "Please Miss, I was at the meetinghouse last night." "Were you, Aroha?") demand some kind of emotional identification between the actors if it is to go beyond mere denotation to the realms of connotation. Sensitivity to each other as people is one ingredient of such empathy but shared experience is probably even more important.

#### Socialization

It is from his sub-culture that a growing child incorporates his self-image and personality through the process known as "socialization". There is however a complex interplay between one sub-culture and another as well as with the

"national culture" which also affects the development of personality and self-image (Merrill, 1969, p.97; p.103: Elkin and Handel, 1972, p.105).

Socialization "humanizes the biological organism and transforms it into a self having a sense of identity, capable of disciplined and ordered behaviour and endowed with ideals, values and aspirations". (Broom and Selznick, 1955, p.84) Socialization both transmits culture and develops personality (ibid., p.84). Elkin (1972, p.29) claims that the most basic results sought in socialization are "a motivated commitment to sustain responsive participation in society" and "forms of competence that the society accepts as appropriate".

These results are achieved through social interaction. (Shipman, 1972, p.30) Through reciprocal social responses society ensures that the initiate learns to anticipate the behaviours of others and that in return his behaviours form a more or less predictable pattern. During the process the child learns most of his attitudes towards himself and others. Such attitudes as modesty, vanity, respect (or otherwise) for members of other sub-cultures are very largely determined. The conception so formed becomes the core of personality. Since the very young child is totally dependent on his parents or parent substitute it will readily be seen that sub-cultural attitudes and values held either consciously or unconsciously by the parent generation have a major influence on the growing child at least until the age of school attendance.

Peter Rose (1970, p.74) expresses it in this way : "The way in which each individual comes to terms with these uniquely human problems, and with many others, depends in large measure

upon dictates of the milieu in which he is born and nurtured, and the thoughts, sentiments and actions of those responsible for his socialization ... To a very great extent, the roles he will be expected to play, the rules to which he will be asked to conform, the ideas that he will be required to accept, and even the kinds of social relationships that he will enjoy are predetermined by his parents' place in the social hierarchy and the cultural background from which he springs." The importance of the family in socialization is stressed by all writers on the topic. (e.g. Elkin and Handel, 1972; Bensman and Rosenberg in Rose, 1970, p.144f)

Socialization of a child is more effective if the model is powerful or occupies high status and if there is a positive affectional relation between the agent and the child. Obviously a parent and especially a mother enjoys a central position, for normally she develops close and positive affectional ties and is in a position to deliver rewards and punishments.

To a greater or lesser degree as the child grows the peer group too assumes a fairly central importance. The extent of its influence varies. With Maori children for example, there is a suggestion in the research (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970) that the peer group assumes a more important role than it does for Pakeha New Zealanders.

Socialization is also enhanced where there is a perceived similarity between the recipient and the model (Danziger, 1970, p.6). Similarly empathetic communications enhance the process. In fact Elkin (1972, p.43) says: "The capacity to interpret communication from others and to represent to oneself what others think, feel, and do is fundamental to all social life." In children adult approval and attention too seems a

major variable. (Parker, 1969, p.116)

A model or agent of socialization does not only represent himself. To the child he also represents a whole social category to which stereotyped expectations are attached (e.g. mothers, women teachers, Pakeha and so on).

By the time the process of maturation has transformed the neonate into the active five year old then, the family (and thus the sub-culture) has inculcated many fundamental learnings which form the core of the child's self. He has learned through interaction with others, who are most like him, such things as what is good to eat and what is repulsive and how these should be eaten. He has learned (even if only partially) attitudes towards his elders, towards other sub-cultures, towards the balance between individual worth and group contribution and a host of other details which may or may not be relevant to or congruent with the wider society into which school attendance is soon to precipitate him.

These learnings do not cease as he walks through the school gate but they are from now on to be supplemented (or contradicted) to a greater or lesser extent depending on the congruence of his particular sub-cultural experiences, learnings and understandings, with those of the teachers and other pupils he will meet in school.

His self-concept has been established through interaction with others. (Merrill, 1969, p.103) "The individual takes on a view of himself from observing the way others respond to him." We derive satisfaction for ourselves if we satisfy the people who mean most to us. Cooley (ibid., cited p.106) thinks "The self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements, the imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his judgement of that appear-

ance, and some sort of feeling such as pride or mortification." It follows that in normal development we strive to please those others who are "significant" to us.

As was mentioned above (page 10) "others" seem to become significant to us if they seem to be similar to ourselves, if they are capable of empathetic communication with us and if they give approval to us.

It has been argued thus far that culture and in particular sub-culture has important explanatory power in charting the meaning which groups of human beings inject into their world. It has been stated that the adult population ensures that its offspring adopt their particular interpretation of the world through the process called socialization. Greeley (in Rose, 1970, p.487) speculates that "the principal variations among ethnic groups (in U.S.) will be found to be in the expectations one has of a parent or sibling or child or spouse or cousin or niece or an aunt or friend and suggest that it is precisely this common core of assumptions about how one behaves in intimate relationships that is most difficult for an acculturation process to erase and that is most likely to survive for generations ..."

#### Subjective Reality

Broom and Selznick (1955, p.75) suggest "culture creates a world taken for granted, it forms the unconscious premises of thought and action".

We have seen then how the world initially obtains reality for the child. Berger (1966, p.169) suggests that once established "the reality of everyday life maintains itself by being embodied in routines which is the essence of institutionalization".

Beyond this however the reality of everyday life is ongoingly reaffirmed in the individual's interaction with others (the writer's underlining). That is to say reality is not necessarily a permanent facet of a person's makeup, it must be continuously affirmed by others about us.

The experiments of Sherif with a moving dot and Solomon Ash on judging line length (in Rose, 1970, p.121) indicate dramatically just how vulnerable to group pressures our judgments of reality are.

Once again when talking of the social process of reality maintenance one can distinguish between significant and less important others.

Significant Others "are particularly important for the ongoing confirmation of that crucial element of reality we call identity. To retain confidence that he is indeed who he thinks he is, the individual requires not only the implicit confirmation of this identity, that even casual everyday contacts will supply, but the explicit and emotionally charged confirmation that his significant others bestow on him." (Berger and Luckman, 1966, p.170)

#### Inconsistencies in Reality Confirmations

As the child's world expands (e.g. when he enters school) he will naturally experience some inconsistencies as he compares his own "subjective reality" with the "objective reality" which is reflected back to him in the course of social interaction.

Such inconsistencies may be handled in many ways.

Basically, the child is faced with three types of decision. He may choose to ignore the inconsistencies, he



may modify his own view of reality or he may modify his reality maintaining relationships (ibid., p.170). The first such choice is most likely where the source of such inconsistency is perceived as being non-significant. This non-significance may result from lack of status or power or lack of affectional significance seen in the source.

The second choice (i.e. that of modifying one's own view of reality) is likely if inconsistency is not too great (Nightingale, 1973, p.48) or if it comes from someone who has real status and or affectional bonds. Modification is even more likely when other sources confirm the first.

The third choice (i.e. of modifying the reality maintaining relationship) involves a removal of the source of inconsistency to the realm of non-significant other. Where such removal is of a person (e.g. a peer) whose status can easily be altered by the child it can be accompanied by few complications. Where on the other hand the person's status is powerfully reinforced by agents beyond the control of the child, considerable difficulties may arise.

To illustrate the above, let us imagine a child who is told by a friend that his home is dirty and not fit to live in. It is possible that the "friend" will be removed to the realm of "insignificant other". He will then turn to others for his significant reality confirmations. Usually no great pressures will be exerted on the child to reinstate the friendship. Providing no open hostility ensues the more distant relationship is likely to attract only passing comment from parents, teachers, etc.

Supposing on the other hand that it is a child's teacher who has persistently offended his reality maintenance to a

point where in self defence the child attempts the same manoeuvre of relegation to non-significant other. In this case it is likely that a number of forces will be brought to bear on the child to reconsider his decision. Certainly few teachers would accept the child's definition of the situation and would work towards improving relationships. Furthermore there is a tendency in society to accept that the teacher is significant and should be considered so by her children. The child must resist all of these pressures in order to demote the teacher to the realm of "non-significant" other.

The resulting confusion may overwhelm a child's sense of integrity and result in adjustment difficulties, uncertainty, excessive shyness (Whakama??), and so on. If he is older, as in the case of an adolescent he may turn to others outside the school system for his significant reality confirmations. This choice is not really open to a five year old, though.

#### Reality Maintenance

Berger (1966, p.172) believes that conversation is the most important vehicle of reality maintenance. He accepts that during conversation there is also extensive non-verbal communication. He adds, "It is important to stress, however that the greater part of reality maintenance in conversation is implicit, not explicit. Most conversation does not in so many words define the nature of the world. Rather, it takes place against the background of a world that is silently taken for granted".

To this point the importance of shared sub-cultural experiences has been stressed in building a reservoir of such things "taken for granted".



### Ocultos

Hall (in Rose, 1970, p.115) in his essay The Silent Language, sheds considerable light on this area. Using as his examples the cultures of North and South America he claims that "there are subtle differences between the people of the United States and their South American neighbours. Surface differences can be seen and dealt with. What defeats all of us are the hidden elements of man's psychological make-up whose presence is all too often not even suspected."

He uses the Spanish word "Ocultos" or "not seen" to stand for the "hidden psychological patterns that stand between peoples". *Ocultos* is potentially a very useful concept in exploring the relationship between sub-cultures within a society.

Hall uses concepts such as time, punctuality, coming to the point, use of space, and conversational distance to illustrate subtle differences between the two cultures (in Broom and Selznick, 1955, p.64f).

He concludes, "Until we face up to the *ocultos* and make them explicit, difficulties in communication are going to continue. *Ocultos* drain the great reservoir of good will that the people of the Americas feel in their hearts for each other."

Adapting this statement to question form and applying it to the New Zealand situation, it would seem both relevant and important to ask, what are the *ocultos* which lie between various sub-cultures and how do they drain good will? In particular are there specific *ocultos* between Maori and Pakeha which impede full understanding between a significant number of Maori children and their teachers?

### Culture Shock

Before moving more directly into these questions, one further concept remains to be explored briefly. The idea of "culture shock" has been proposed by sociologists to describe what happens to an individual when unquestioned expectations are shaken. It is "the experience of disorientation and frustration that occurs when an individual finds himself among people who do not share his fundamental premises". (Broom and Selznick, 1955, p.61) The over-riding importance of person centred meanings is stressed.

"Usually disagreement over abstract ideas or variation in modes of dress, eating habits or other daily routines can be learned or adjusted to, fairly readily. Acute culture shock is most likely to be experienced when expectations are violated." Expectations of interaction which place emphasis on individuality as opposed to group membership, for example, may be quite disorienting to some five year olds who experience such "ocultos" for the first time.

Many more examples could be drawn from primary language spoken, ideas of death, hospitality, reciprocity, adult child relationships, child to child relationships, time, space, achievement orientations and so on.

Some inconsistencies are quite inevitable between groups. This must be accentuated when it is the norm for socializing agents (e.g. European teachers) to be from a different group from some of their charges (e.g. Maori children). Where these are not too great or where they are handled with real insight they could well become positive motivational forces (e.g. Piaget's work on equilibrium and disequilibrium) (Evans 1968, p.499). Should the inconsistencies be too great or too

frequent however the concept of culture shock, perhaps very mild, perhaps more acute could well be evoked.

Summary

It has been argued that it is through culture that individuals make sense out of the world. A discussion on culture and sub-culture ensued.

Socialization was then discussed as the process through which individuals are initiated into their culture.

The importance of interaction between individuals based on a series of shared understandings and expectations was stressed.

During early socialization these interactions take place almost exclusively within the sub-culture.

The inference that sub-cultural definitions of reality were of supreme importance to the pre-school child was made.

The word "Ocultos" coined by Hall was introduced to stand for the hidden misunderstandings between cultural groups.

Finally the concept of culture shock was briefly explored.

Maori Sub-cultural Identity

To many New Zealanders and to Maoris in particular the answer to the question "Do distinctively Maori sub-cultural identities exist?" must be self-evident. They would answer firmly in the affirmative.

Maori Identity Doubted

That such a belief is not held by all is however plain. King (1975, p.16) for example quotes the New Zealand Listener which has doubted whether there is a Maori life pattern sufficient to sustain a sense of identity distinct from European culture. 33% of the primary teachers surveyed and fifty-six percent of the intermediate teachers agreed with this doubt (i.e. answered "Yes" to Question 2 Section 2. See Appendix A).

The argument in this thesis is that teachers need to develop a sensitivity to the sub-cultural variations which may make many of their Maori pupils "different". In view of the doubts expressed above it seems necessary therefore to affirm briefly the belief that there is for the majority of Maori New Zealanders a sub-cultural identity which is quite distinctive in many fundamental ways from Pakeha New Zealanders. This is not to say of course that Maoris do not also share along with Pakehas many common qualities as New Zealanders. However the point was made in Chapter Two that the core of personality was established through socialization and that sub-cultural values transmitted by the home were of crucial importance. It is these core values that are most likely to reflect a sub-cultural identity, should such a thing exist

in a society.

What then is Maoritanga and to what extent does it still influence the lives and personalities of Maori New Zealanders?

#### Maoritanga Defined

There are a great many definitions of Maoritanga (e.g. Te Maori, Volume 6, No.3, p.13f, p.33; King, 1975, p.32, p.191; Walsh, 1971, p.44ff; Schwimmer, 1968, p.46, p.83; Department of University Extension, Auckland, 1970, p.6).

In Te Maori (Volume 6, No.6, 1974) a writer, a young Maori just out of school says, "Maoritanga is a state of being with different attitudes to time, hospitality, food and work ... Maoritanga means loyalty to one's race ... is a large kinship group ... knowing he will always have a place to sleep and something to eat ... Maoritanga is a feeling of Aroha in one's relationship to his family and to other Maoris, a feeling of oneness shown in generosity, sociability and co-operation ... Maoritanga emphasises communal activities and a full discussion of problems involving all people concerned ... Maoritanga means one's land not judged solely by an economic value but also on its spiritual value ... Maoritanga means a marae, a sacred area of land symbolising the history of the tribal group ... Maoritanga means the public showing of grief or joy ... Maoritanga is a language in which the whole history of tradition and culture has been recorded."

In support of a separate Maori identity he lists organisations which exist simply because of the common element - Maori.

The difference between this definition and the more traditional "grass skirts and poi" definition is reflected in all of the references above. Smyth (Te Maori, Volume 6

No.6, p.33) dismisses the "tourist picture" and states, "Properly Maori culture refers to what the Maori himself calls Maoritanga - his Maoriness. It is a recognition of his different needs and values - of the fact that out of an historical experience so different from the European, he shares with his fellow Maoris in a way of life which is unique."

Walker (in King, 1975, p.32) writes in similar vein : "Maoritanga consists of an acknowledgement and pride in one's identity as a Maori and while Maoritanga has a physical base in ethnic identity, it also has a spiritual and emotional base derived from the ancestral culture of the Maori."

It has been claimed by some that Maoritanga does not reflect a unified people and that one would be better to think of Taranakitanga, Tuhoetanga and so on (ibid., p.232). This feeling is undoubtedly shared by many Maoris and adds to the very real difficulties with which Pakeha teachers are faced in their attempts to gain "sensitivity to biculturalism".

Some teachers use such intertribal differences as an argument in favour of de-emphasising Maoriness in schools. One respondent to the Questionnaire stated, "The point is that if Maoris could agree on what their culture is, scope for it could be found on an equal footing with the European within a distinctively New Zealand Culture." There is no doubt that tribal variations exist but the vast majority of Maori writers also reflect a common core of Maori values in their discussions.

The teacher's task, if he is to develop sensitivity, is not easy. He must not only come to understand the more generalised differences which apply to Maori identity but also must study local variations.



Elements of Maoritanga reflected in the various definitions include ancestral heritage, historical relationship of co-operation and/or conflict with Pakeha settlers, kinship relations, Turangawaewae, attitudes to death, grief and laughter, language, food and social organisation.

It will readily be seen that local variations are possible within such elements.

In Chapter Two it was said that culture is often stated in terms of ideals. In their day-to-day lives the behaviours of members of cultural groups vary considerably from these ideals. Maoris are no exception and instances of behaviour which departs from ideals stated above will be common. (King, 1975, p.222) This should not be taken as evidence that for example "aroha" does not exist between Maoris or that Turangawaewae is an empty concept. No doubt there are New Zealanders who do not follow rugby. Can they be said to be any less New Zealanders?

#### Existence of Maoritanga Affirmed

Definitions are all very well but one must still ask the question, "Is Maoritanga really a part of the modern Maori way of life for a significant number of Maoris - particularly for those in the child rearing age groups?"

The answer must surely be an unequivocal "Yes".

In the literature (see Bibliography) there is abundant evidence that many Maori people are influenced by and participating in specifically Maori ways of life. Reading of the Maori magazines Te Ao Hou and Te Maori with their up-to-date reports on a plethora of topics of specifically Maori flavour should convince any cynic. For those who prefer fictional material Witi Ihimaera's books (1972, 1973, 1974) or stories



like Arepera Blank's One, Two, Three, Four, Five ... or anthologies like Margaret Orbell's Contemporary Maori Writing should suffice.

For those who prefer a more scholarly approach the following are only a few confirmations of the many which may be found.

Bray (1971) believes that the resilience of Maori values should not be underestimated. He identifies for example specific temporal values. Te Uira Manihera (in King, 1975, p.7) says, "We may put on Pakeha clothes, we may eat Pakeha food but deep inside we are Maori at heart ...". The report of the Young Maori Leaders' Conference (Department of University Extension, Auckland, 1970, p.7) makes it quite clear that to those attending, Maori cultural values have deep personal significance.

The Ritchies (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970, p.129) explain that during many years of research into Maori child rearing they were never free of doubt that maybe the patterns they were identifying were not specifically Maori but socio-economic in origin. Now however, they are quite sure.

"We are not now in any doubt that there is a Maori child rearing pattern and that though it is changing it is not doing so merely in the direction of becoming less Maori". They believe that "culture patterns as they affect child rearing must have an astonishing degree of resilience over time and culture contact." (ibid., p.138)

McDonald (1973, p.vii) confirms that although there is no such thing as "the" Maori mother, "They do have a distinctiveness and it comes rather from their social setting - both from their membership of a distinctive type of social organ-

isation and from the tribe and from membership of a visible minority in a society dominated by Pakehas."

That this "distinctiveness" contributes vitally to the developing infant's view of reality cannot be doubted. "In the first five years of life the Maori child has gathered a wealth of experiences which lay the foundation for his socialization in a modern Maori society." (Schwimmer, 1968, p.44)

#### Maoritanga in Urban Settings

It has been said that with the rapid urban migration of the past two decades Maoritanga will lose its significance. The evidence again appears to contradict this assumption.

Walker (in King 1975, p.27) states, "Because the urban migration was so massive, the Maori ensured social continuity in his life style and indeed the successful transplantation of his culture into the urban milieu ..."

McDonald (1973, p.130) found that "kin-based communities expressing Maori cultural values exist in the midst of urban settlements."

The Ritchies, while finding some "nominal" Maoris in urban settings, also found many who reflected Maori values. (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970, p.148)

The Maori Presbyterian Synod in their Maori View of the Hunn Report express the view that the decline in Maori culture has been overstated (Maori Synod, 1964, p.9).

Although Ann Salmond proposes an "episodic" or "occasional" explanation for the continuance of Maori culture particularly in cities (Salmond, 1975, p.240) the text reflects the vast wealth of truly Maori experiences which influence the lives of Maori parents and children.

### Children Learn What They Live

In Maori society children are not excluded from the activities of their parents. "One finds Maori children everywhere in Maori life. They play about the house. They scamper around the cookhouse and the meeting house when Maoris gather for community affairs." (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1970, p.139)

Photographic evidence of this statement may be found in Ann Salmond's Hui and in Te Ao Hou and Te Maori.

Anyone who has attended a tangi or a hui or sports gathering or who has experience of Maori families will vouch for this. It is in this atmosphere that children learn to be Maoris. In the words of John Rangihau (in King, 1975, p.221), "My education as a Maori was a matter of observation while I grew up in this complete community. It was a community where children were allowed to do their thing ..."

### A Renaissance?

During the early part of this century among European policy makers there was apparently a "smooth the pillow of a dying race" philosophy. It was thought that the decline in Maori population would prove fatal for the race. Subsequent events have shown how misguided such sentiments were.

It would seem that we are experiencing a similar situation once more. In the very recent past it has not been uncommon to hear that Maoritanga is doomed. There seems little doubt that though there have been losses a renaissance is well under way however.

"The fabric woven over the centuries fell apart. Now, in a new time, with a new insight that fabric is slowly being put back together ..." (Te Maori, Volume 5, No.6, 1973, p.19)

Young Maoris, especially in urban settings "bitterly

resent their cultural losses" (Salmond, 1975, p.212). They are raising a clamour to learn more about their culture. (King, 1975, p.224)

Walker (ibid., p.28f) cites evidence of the accelerating Maori community activity in Urban Auckland. Maori organisations such as Nga Tamatoa are dedicating themselves to the task of preserving and reshaping Maoritanga to suit modern New Zealand.

#### Minority Group Status

To the teacher trying to understand his Maori pupils then, a sensitivity to Maoritanga would seem important. This sensitivity must be supplemented however by a sensitivity to the impact on a growing child of being born into and reared as part of a minority culture.

Minority status refers to "a position in society relative to, and lower than that of the dominant culture." (McDonald, 1973, p.40)

There is no doubt that the Pakeha dominates New Zealand and that in Pakeha terms (e.g. socio-economic index, housing, health, educational attainments, etc.) the Maori as a group is at a disadvantage. Whether or not Pakeha terms of reference are the correct ones is not at issue here. The fact<sup>is</sup>/that most Maori children are readily identifiable by their appearance as belonging to a particular segment of New Zealand society which is considered by many of the dominant group to be "disadvantaged". Such group membership brings with it some problems (e.g. see McDonald's chapter on leadership and Walker's statements in Bray and Hill, 1973, p.113).

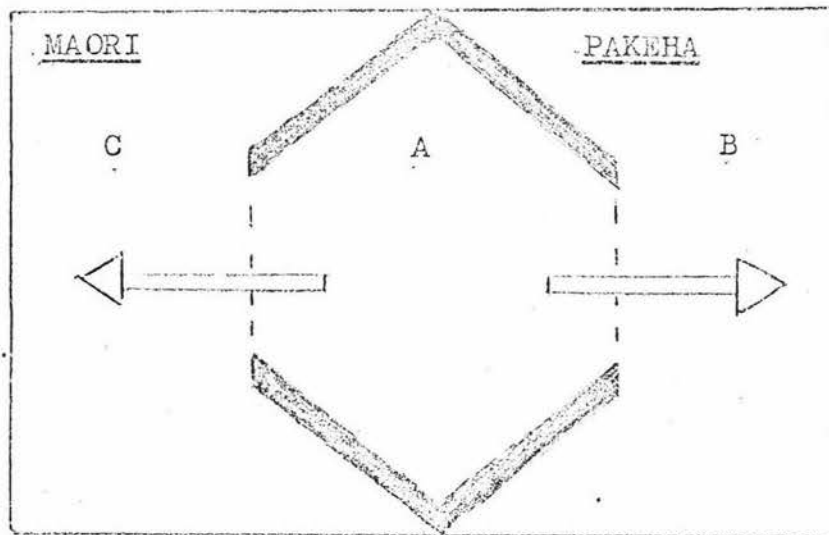
Teachers then, have the double duty to study both Maoritanga and the possible impact of minority group status.

### Summary

As later confirmed by the finding of the present study, Maori identity has frequently been doubted. The argument presented here suggests that such doubt is an error.

Maoritanga has been defined and its existence both in rural and urban settings affirmed.

No suggestion has been made that Maori New Zealanders do not also share much common culture with Pakeha New Zealanders. Rather the situation in New Zealand would seem to be as follows :-



Diagrammatic Representation of Cultural Contact  
Maori and Pakeha

Region A represents that segment of New Zealand culture which is common to both Maori and Pakeha.

Region B represents aspects of Pakeha culture which are rarely shared by Maoris.

Region C represents aspects of Maori culture which are rarely shared by Pakehas.

The dotted lines indicate that boundaries between regions are blurred.

The arrows indicate that the understandings and experiences

of some members of both cultural groups penetrate deeply into each other's domains.

The thick lines (centre top and bottom) indicate that some New Zealanders, both Pakeha and Maori, do not develop significant understandings of each other's culture at all.

The minority group status of Maoris has been mentioned.

Finally the teacher's duty to develop sensitivity to both Maoritanga and the implications of minority group status has been affirmed.

Racial Attitudes and Understandings in  
New Zealand: Pakeha to Maori

In the previous Chapter it was argued that Maoritanga is very much alive. It was implied that for many Maoris, Maoritanga acts as a vital force in defining subjective reality. Culturally New Zealand teachers are not a special category of New Zealanders. They are subjected to similar influences in socialization, mass media and so on as are other New Zealanders. It seems appropriate to ask then - How do Pakeha New Zealanders react to Maoritanga?

Racial Prejudice

It cannot be denied that some racial prejudice in New Zealand does exist. Sometimes this is real, other times assumed or imagined.

Personal acquaintances have recounted to the writer instances where they have felt the barbs of prejudice. One such incident was in a fitting room at a dress shop where the young Maori lady concerned overheard the shop assistant tell her comrade, "Watch that she doesn't pinch anything. She's a Maori."

John Rangihau gives an account of personal experience of discrimination in accommodation (in King, 1975, p.229). Vaughan believes "that race relations as such (i.e. meaningful contact between Maori and European) is almost non-existent among adults; that Pakeha attitudes towards Maoris are largely ones of indifference or disdain, ... and the Maori attitudes towards Pakehas are often ones of mistrust and resentment". (in Sanders, 1973, p.16) He claims that



Europeans hold a series of negative social images of Maoris. (ibid., p.17)

Awatere and Vaughan claim in their overview of Racial Issues in New Zealand, "A major theme in this book is white racism, subtle and blatant, which pervades important structures in New Zealand society". (Vaughan, 1972, p.109)

St George in the same book reviews studies of racial intolerance in New Zealand. He states, "In summary ... the evidence indicates the existence of negative prejudicial attitudes on the part of many New Zealanders towards peoples of the world. These attitudes parallel cultural and physical differences. Discrimination ... is less well established. But, given the prevailing attitudes as a first step on the road to racism, it is apparent that this nation must tread warily, and should actively develop a society where members can participate in Martin Luther King's words, 'in the beauty of diversity'". (ibid., p.15f)

The honest observer will not deny then that racial prejudice exists to some extent in New Zealand. It is not a one way process and exists in direction of both Pakeha to Maori and Maori to Pakeha.

#### Ignorance and Indifference

Father McCormack, a Wellington Catholic social worker has gone on record as saying, "the ignorance of the community concerning the needs of both Maoris and Pakehas to more easily understand the two distinctively different cultural backgrounds is a big problem and education would seem to be an essential beginning to overcome so much of this." (Te Maori, Volume 6, No.3, 1974)

Support for these statements is scattered throughout the



New Zealand references listed in the Bibliography of this thesis. It would be impossible to catalogue them all but the following are merely examples dealing only with Pakeha attitudes towards Maoris.

"When the Pakeha considers the Maori he thinks of grass skirts, sweet lilting songs, plenty of beer and a happy-go-lucky nature. These superficial things have been long regarded by the Pakeha as Maori culture, but the Pakeha has overlooked the deeper more meaningful things inherent in Maoritanga." (Te Maori, Volume 6, No.3, 1974, p.13)

"Generally the greater population of Europeans in New Zealand and the Government equate Maori culture with either "arts and crafts" or else some nebulous concept of "race". The first error leads to a denial of modern Maori culture." (Fitzgerald, 1972, p.47)

"We wish to make it clear although speaking dispassionately that one of the irritants which give rise to tension between Pakeha and Maori is the general Pakeha attitude that Maori language and customs are of no importance." (Maori Synod, 1961, p.15)

"The Maori character ... is regarded without seriousness with an amused tolerance, disparaged in some of its aspects and profoundly misunderstood by most Pakehas." (Association for the Study of Childhood, 1963, p.83)

"The change in the attitude of the educators should not be misunderstood. There is no real indication of any appreciation of the psychological significance of the mother tongue to a child." (Biggs in Schwimmer, 1968, p.76)

"The failure is due to an over-cautious, ultra-squeamish attempt to put our racial heads in the sand and refuse to

recognise a strong reality - the linguistic and cultural differences of Maori and Pakeha." (Whitehead, 1973, p.93)

Armstrong, writing in 1972, stated, "The plain fact is that the indifference of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation at least in our country's sole television channel towards Maoris and the things they feel and enjoy is really frightening ... if race relations founder in New Zealand the tragedy is that they will founder on inertia and indifference and insensitivity and not because of deep seated hostility of one section of the population towards another." (Armstrong, 1972, p.23)

#### Brown-Skinned Pakehas

Sometimes where there has been concern it appears to have been directed towards changing Maori ways "to be more like us".

John Rangihau exclaims, "You know the number of people who know better than I do how I am to be a Maori, just amazes me." (in King, 1975, p.232)

Meads' insightful story carries a similar message. (in Orbell, 1970)

Salmond writes, "There are powerful elements active in both national and local politics who would argue that assimilation of the Maori section of the population and eventual eradication of their cultural differences would be the best possible solution for a bi-racial New Zealand." (1975, p.222)

These sentiments were clearly reflected by some of the respondents to the Questionnaire. (Appendix A)

Question 4 (Section 4) asked teachers to write down what they thought to be the most crucial issue facing Maori children in our schools. Here are some replies :

"Issues no different from Europeans." (a psychologist)

"The same that face all children in our schools." (an intermediate teacher)

"Maori children's needs do not differ from those of many European children with similar problems." (a psychologist)

"Let's consider children, not only Maori children." (a psychologist)

"I'd like to see LESS emphasis on Maori Pakeha MORE on New Zealanders." (a secondary teacher)

"Learning the European attitude to sharing of goods/belongings/ideas." (a secondary teacher)

"How to live like Pakehas - discriminate the difference of what is acceptable in a Pakeha society even though the same things would be acceptable by Maori society." (a secondary teacher)

Although it is not claimed that these sentiments are by any means universal they do exist and are sufficiently widespread to challenge the Maori child's subjective reality.

It is not surprising then to find Arepera Blank writing,

"... I was allowed to keep my Maori leg - the attractive part of it - action songs, the haka, and how to write in my own tongue. They said that's what Maoritanga was. It's no wonder that my Maori leg is rather clumsy." (in Schwimmer, 1968, p.94)

It has been suggested that the Maori feels that he has been robbed of the richness of his own cultural pursuits to be replaced by the richness of the almighty dollar. (Te Maori, Volume 6, No.3, 1974 p.13f)

The views above have been presented in a rather negative light. One must not be simplistic however. Race relations are a tremendously complex sociological phenomenon.

It is difficult to predict the full effects of any policy. King states the dilemma clearly. "Those who wish to find security and strength through identification with a minority culture must also retain, in many ways, a feeling 'of otherness'. Whether the promotion of this feeling leads to social harmony or whether it enables people to relate to one another more equitably and with greater respect remains to be seen." (King, 1975, p.18) Already King suggests there may be evidence of a white backlash to the current greater emphasis on Maoritanga.

#### Ocultos

That there is a great reservoir of good will between Pakeha and Maori cannot be seriously doubted. That there are also genuine misunderstandings is also plain. The future solutions to King's dilemma lie in the balance between these opposing forces within New Zealand society.

In Chapter Two Hall's concept of 'ocultos' was introduced and defined. If we are to propose a course which will lead to teachers becoming more sensitive to their Maori pupils we need to explore this concept as it relates to Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand.

Land has been a key point of contact and conflict in New Zealand since Pakeha settlement. It remains a point of conflict and misunderstanding today.

In Taranaki the history of the Pakeha land acquisition has been carefully documented by Dick Scott (1975). Sinclair has contributed two chapters to Michael King's Te Ao Hurihuri

(1975, p.115f). Both deal in depth from a Maori point of view with land questions. His first chapter, Land : Maori View and Pakeha Response covers both Maori and European concepts of land ownership and illustrates some differences. His second chapter Land Since the Treaty : The Nibble, The Bite, The Swallow brings the question right up to date with a resounding condemnation of the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act.

One of the many ocultos between Maori and Pakeha on this question is illustrated by the following passage :

"The general public is apt to become a little impatient with this type of protectionism. But the Maori people have long revered their footing in ancestral land as their Turangawaewae which had to be retained if they wished to preserve their right to speak on matters of local interest. They could never again speak freely without the real fear of being told to 'sit down and keep quiet, you are a nobody. You have no footing here, your rights have been sold. Your fire has gone out.'" (in King, 1975, p.165)

This question of Turangawaewae crops up in much of the literature (only 16% of teachers were able to supply a definition). (Question 10, IV Section 6, Appendix A)

The Maori Synod comment, "But what seems obscure to the Pakeha mind is that the Maori's title to his tribal inheritance, his certificate of birth is not written with ink on paper, but enscribed on the symbol of the tribal identity - the tribal land." (Maori Synod, 1961, p.24)

To most Pakehas the notion of the 'Maori Trustee' would no doubt conjure up images of benevolence. I wonder how

many would ever realise that there has never been a Maori 'Maori Trustee'. To one Maori at least the picture is not all of benevolence. "The Trustee has efficiently resumed his former character of Maori land purchase officer, and is back working for the old firm, the European farming community and their lackeys, the government and the county councils." (in King, 1975, p.166)

The recent land march has done little to dispel the ocultos which exist between Maori and Pakeha over land.

#### Knowledge Sacred?

For teachers the mass transmission of knowledge is their stock in trade. Few would consider that knowledge is sacred or should be reserved only for those who could be entrusted with it. Yet to the more traditionalist segment of Maori society knowledge is sacred (tapu). "There is a fear that by giving things out they could be commercialised. If this happens they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane has lost its life, lost its tapu." (ibid., p.7)

Many Pakehas recognise the skill required in the preparation of flax. They are at times saddened by the knowledge that some of the skills required for preparation, dyeing and weaving appear to be dying as the old people move on.

How many Pakehas understand the tapu which is involved in such processes however? How many teachers realise the difficulties this poses for some Maori elders when flax work is introduced to the classroom? Ngai Pewhairangi comments, "I wouldn't teach them. You see the way things are done in the classroom, teaching can become mechanical. And there are dangers ... If anyone learning breaks the rules connected



with the dyeing of flax, someone will have to suffer the consequences ..." (ibid., p.8) Superstitious nonsense or deep-seated ocultos? "It's especially hard to communicate this sort of thing to Pakehas unless it's to one who lives on the marae and is brought up in this environment to see the values of Maori culture and the tapu placed on things." (ibid., p.9) These sentiments were expressed in 1975 not 1925.

Other ocultos between Maori and Pakeha exist in such diverse realms as decision-making processes (ibid., p.23), food (puha, a succulent vegetable or a thing to be ridiculed?), kinship relations (that's what keeps a good Maori down, he's got to support all those hangers on!), tangis (e.g. the public wailing especially in urban areas), pronunciation of Maori words - to mention just a few.

Indeed, teachers should realise that the very conception of a Pakeha education is fraught with difficulties from the Maori point of view. A sensitive reading of Arepera Blank's One, Two, Three, Four, Five ... for example will indicate some of the conflicts which can arise in the pursuit of "a good education". (in Schwimmer, 1968, p.85f)

A dance-poem written by Tuini Ngawai in the 1950's states :

Pakeha education  
is propagated  
for whose benefit?  
For Satan's?  
Be wary of its temptations.  
Be strong and firm.

Pakeha education  
 sucks you in then confiscates land.  
 Be strong friends,  
 Land is all we have  
 to rest a throbbing heart  
 and for our sustenance.

Pakeha education  
 dispenses social security benefits.  
 Why?  
 To suppress customary ways,  
 to confuse us,  
 to kill our sacred and cultural spirits.

(in King, 1975, p.59)

Yes, what DO Pakehas think about Maoris in relation to  
 'family benefit'?

It has not been the purpose of this discussion to map  
 all existing ocultos. Rather the intention has been to  
 illustrate the possibilities so that subsequent discussion  
 can highlight some of the implications for Pakeha classroom  
 teachers in relation to their Maori children. It may be that  
 there is a whole field for detailed sociological research  
 still needed if social scientists are to develop a sufficient  
 insight into this topic. Clearly the practical implications  
 of such research could well lead to an increased ability on  
 the part of teachers, as well as the wider New Zealand commun-  
 ity, to tap the reservoir of good will referred to above.



Summary

Some Pakeha attitudes to racial issues were discussed. The discussion was considered relevant to the context of this thesis because Pakeha teachers, by and large, are subjected to the same socialization influences as other Pakeha New Zealanders and therefore are likely to hold similar views.

It has been suggested that some racial prejudice does exist in New Zealand. In addition there is a great deal of ignorance and indifference on the part of Pakehas towards Maoris.

Some areas of misunderstanding were discussed by way of illustration.

Teacher Sensitivity to BiculturalismBenefits and Implications

In previous chapters the existence of Maoritanga and minority group status as significant forces in the socialisation of Maori children has been stressed. The importance of early sub-cultural learnings for the child's concept of self and definition of reality has also been highlighted. The desirability of Pakeha teachers being sensitive to the nuances of Maori sub-cultural interpretations of reality follows logically from these earlier arguments.

Need for Sensitivity

One cannot escape the fact that teachers by and large occupy the status of "significant other" in the socialisation of children. Hohepa (in Association for the Study of Childhood, 1972, p.26) quoting the Coleman report, makes the point that a teacher is the most important contributing factor to the progress at school of a child from a minority culture. He has to deal professionally with Maoris for much of his time and ought therefore "to aspire to a higher level of bicultural sophistication than the average person." (ibid. p.18)

Ritchie (in Association for Study of Childhood, 1964, p.85) places strong emphasis on this point when he says, "We must do everything we can to give the teacher something of the anthropological field worker's eyes and ears, his openness to the lessons of the community he works with, his appreciation of its joys and sufferings, its real meanings for its members." Such a teacher must be sensitive to the multitude of challenges and difficulties which face the Maori people in New Zealand today.

In a later article Schwimmer cites Ritchie (1968, p.46) who defined a bicultural teacher as one who is "reasonably able to predict how a child of another culture will perceive what happens in the classroom." He suggests that such a teacher "will visualize the emotional background out of which the Maori child's perceptions arise."

### Benefits of Sensitivity

Benefits arising from sensitivities of the kind described above fall into three categories. There are those which relate chiefly to interactions between teachers and Maori children, those which relate chiefly to interaction between teachers (and thus schools) and Maori homes and communities, and finally those which relate chiefly to interactions between teacher and Pakeha children.

At the outset it must be made clear that in using the term "interaction" much more is implied than teaching "Maori studies" or "Maori language" ten minutes daily. Subjective reality maintenance is an ongoing process. It takes place throughout the day and is probably more influenced by the "minor" or "informal" interactive sequences than any other forms of interaction. An "academic" discussion with fourth form Maori pupils on Maoritanga for example is unlikely to have the same effect as, say, the explicit recognition of group as opposed to individual processes through flexible school or class organisation.

To cite a further example, at the Standard One level one may stress Maoridom through teaching an action song or reading The Legend of Maui. This will be of little potency when compared with the impact of recognising the eight year

old girl's dilemma when she has been asked to stay home to "mind baby". In similar vein Myrtle Simpson (in Maori Children and the Teacher, 1971, p.27) in discussing adoption practices of Maori families states, "Teachers may unwittingly cause difficulties and embarrassment when they ask children for particulars needed on forms that the school require." She suggests such information could be sought from responsible adults to avoid embarrassment.

The teacher's job in this respect is not so much to preserve Maoritanga. This is surely the job of Maori New Zealanders. She does have a responsibility to give explicit recognition to its existence however, and she must try to see its value.

Ritchie (cited by Schwimmer, 1968, p.44) criticised the Currie Commission when he suggested that the accent was on what the classroom gives to the child rather than what the child brings to the classroom. If the teacher understands what the Maori child brings to the classroom she will be in a position to create an environment in which both Maoritanga and the Maori child can flourish.

The benefits to Maori children of such sensitive teachers has been recognised in a number of writings. The Commission on Education (1962, p.415) for example talks of preserving a child's "sense of belonging to a race of known and respected culture". For the practical outcomes of such teaching one need surely look no further than Hillary College or the private Maori schools (Jackson, 1975; Ritchie, 1972, p.18 in Association for the Study of Childhood). Father McCormack makes the same point in his report on the success of Te Aranui in

Wellington. (in Te Maori, March, 1974, p.23)

The second category of benefits mentioned above was interaction between teachers and Maori families and communities.

Hill (in Sanders, 1973, p.13) refers to clear research evidence which suggests that unless home and school are on similar wavelengths, many of the benefits of teaching will be nullified.

Kawharu (cited in Schwimmer, 1968, p.42) indicates that those children whose parents have a cultural base which is non-Pakeha, find that their parents do not respond to what they learn in school. "The child immediately faces a choice between rejecting the school culture or the home culture." The choice of course is not easily resolved, for as was mentioned in Chapter One, there will be considerable pressure mounted on him by elements in society (parents, teachers, peers) to maintain allegiance to both camps.

To illustrate the type of teacher - parent (or community) breakdown which can have direct bearing on subsequent teacher-child relationships, the writer will recount a personal experience. He was teaching in a rural school some twenty miles from a small town. On a class visit to this town a local Pakeha enthusiast offered the class some carvings. These were duly trucked back to school where the writer proudly supervised their erection in the grounds. It was some eighteen months before it became obvious to him that these carvings were from a rival group and were proving an acute source of embarrassment to local Maoris.

It takes little imagination to consider the effects on

teacher-pupil, teacher-parent relationships this must have had even though at the time there was no overt evidence of difficulties as far as the writer was concerned. There must have been many a discussion between local Maori adults in the hearing of their children. Perhaps a good deal of the discipline and whakama problems were made more acute by this unfortunate incident which even a basic sensitivity could have so simply avoided. There were many other less dramatic happenings (e.g. the saga of the green lizard) which were similarly badly handled by the writer. Although they were "excused" or "overlooked" there can be no escaping the fact that most should not have happened and could easily have been avoided.

Often teachers feel that the Maori child's background hampers his schooling. Without a sensitive understanding of the background he will have little basis to check his judgement and in fact it must therefore be held as a "prejudice". Nor unless he has good relations with the community that can only arise out of sensitivity, will he be in a position to effect a working solution to such a problem.

Achievement motivation may be used as an illustration of these statements. The education system aims among other things to develop children to a point where they can enter New Zealand's "industrial economy" with the greatest chance of success. It assumes a fairly individualised desire to compete and succeed and to seek promotion and challenges. This is reasonably in line with the dominant practices in New Zealand society. These aims are reflected quite clearly in the following quotations from respondents to the Questionnaire

(see Appendix A, answers to Question 4, Section 4 of the Questionnaire) :

"If the individual's aim is to enter into the European biased vocation or occupation must come to terms with the standard required." (sic)

"Expectations of teachers different to expectations of parents."

"The pressure of a high education to get a good job in the community."

"Total integration into the education and economic style..."

"Achieving an academic level so as to succeed in N.Z. vocational system."

"Same as for all children. They can't expect to succeed without making a reasonable effort."

"The necessity to succeed in a Pakeha system while retaining the security of Maori values."

"The problem of catching up to European standards while not feeling hostile towards Europeans."

Schwimmer (1968, p.35f) has suggested that some features of Maori Organisation may be incompatible with industrialisation.

To the non-sensitive teacher the answers may seem clear. "Of course Maori children must strive for success in the same way as we Pakehas do." For the sensitive teacher however the difficulties are great. Sensitivity does not automatically provide solutions. Rather it poses the questions.

If it is true that some Maori children have, for example, achievement orientations which differ from those of



their schools and teachers, then some working solutions must be found. All too often the application of solutions stemming from assumptions rooted in European middle class culture have been the norm. Often such solutions have failed.

In an article entitled "J Team Men" in Te Maori (March 1974, p.17f) it is suggested that there may be alternatives to imposing European type solutions to all problems confronting Maoris. The article deals with juvenile crime prevention in Otara.

Buddy Netana, the Maori policeman concerned does not wear a uniform and apparently uses "Maori ways" to help combat juvenile delinquency in this area. Initially his approach was met with resistance by his police colleagues.

"At first they thought I had gone over to the other side. They didn't really understand that we were trying to clean up a mess of Pakeha creation by using Maori methods with Maori people ... hinting is a tactic highly regarded by team members."

Their work has led them to be critical of schools in their district. They claim for example, "Most of the teachers have little idea of how to deal with minority groups... teachers are out of touch with the needs of their pupils ..."

They have therefore set about forging stronger links between school and community. It is significant that they have chosen Maori elders to help in forging these links.

"... it's the kaumatua idea at work ... the elders are aware of the family background for generations past. They know what kind of advice will be best received and most useful."



Forging links between Maori communities and the schools would seem essential. It is a familiar cry that Maori parents do not support school functions (unless there is a Maori component in the function!) Sensitivity to and knowledge of the Maori way of life must put the teacher in a stronger position to forge such links. Personal knowledge of the influential Maoris in the district is important. (Hohepa, 1972, p.28) That this person is as likely to be the local tanker driver as the local teacher or doctor, should be known.

If New Zealand is to escape the bitterness of social misunderstanding and distrust, then Pakehas must become more aware of the Maori view of reality. They must develop a respect for the fundamental tenets of Maoridom which can only be based on a fuller understanding. There can be no doubt that for the majority of Pakeha New Zealanders, Maoritanga remains a mystery.

The third benefit, accruing from a greater teacher sensitivity to Maoritanga, then would be in her increased capacity to expose Pakeha New Zealand children to Maori interpretations of reality. An example may be drawn from the recent land marches. Few Pakehas have a thorough understanding of the historical or current basis for grievance over land. Even fewer believe any "practical" outcome can result from the expression of such grievances - or know exactly what the Maori proposals are. The media did little to enlighten the general New Zealand public on these underlying issues and, apart from one or two brief discussions, seemed to focus on more sensational aspects, ranging from blisters through intra-group frictions to arrests.

Surely the education system has a duty to explore impartially such issues in a way which would assist Pakeha pupils as well as Maoris to better understand them.

While the example above may be more applicable to middle and senior school pupils, other less obvious situations could be used from the five year old stage up, to develop in Pakeha children respect for Maoridom which goes beyond that familiar "we are all one people" platitude. It may be that New Zealand's very survival as "one people" ultimately depends upon the capacity of the education system to develop such appreciations.

It would seem clear then that there would be many beneficial effects arising out of greater teacher sensitivity to Maoritanga. Clearly such sensitivity must be based on as great a depth of understanding and knowledge as is possible. It should not be equated with sentimentality or paternalism.

#### Official and Semi-official Views

Official and semi-official statements would appear congruent with the arguments developed above. In 1955, for the first time, the Department of Education took the initiative in holding formal consultations with the Maori people on the education of their children, irrespective of the type of school attended. (Education 4, 1971, p.15)

In 1957 Beeby (cited by Ramsay, 1969, p.102) saw that there was a need for teachers to become more sensitive to the problems in Maori pupils.

#### Commission on Education (1962)

By 1960 the problem of Maori education could not have been viewed in too serious a light however, for the terms of

reference for the Currie Commission did not specify a specific investigation into the topic. However, the Commission were so impressed by the volume of submissions that they decided to devote a whole chapter of their report to Maori Education. (Commission on Education, 1962, p.401).

They recognised that Maoris were at a disadvantage in New Zealand society and stated their belief that action was called for, not just by Maoris but the whole community. (ibid., p.402). Although equality is stated as an aim it was not envisaged that this would lead to "identity" between European and Maori. (ibid., p.414). While recognising the belief therefore that "the Maori child must be equipped to take his place in terms of equality as a New Zealand citizen," the Commission added their belief that "the dignity and pride of race which is his heritage must be safeguarded to him". (ibid., p.415). They accorded a special place to "sympathetic understanding and handling of pupils that comes from intimate knowledge and appreciation of their difficulties."

It is not surprising then to find them asserting "a knowledge of Maori and of the Maori people is an invaluable asset to all teachers who have Maori pupils". (ibid., p.426). Assuming that the Maori child came from the same background as the European was thought to be courting failure. (ibid., p.429).

Minority group status was recognised as another significant aspect which affected Maori schooling. (ibid., p.433). The schools' part in fostering good social relations was recognised and teachers, whether they had Maori pupils or not, were considered to have a responsibility to inculcate an

attitude of mutual tolerance and goodwill between races. From earlier statements it is clear that the Commission considered this responsibility could best be carried out by teachers who had a good background knowledge about Maoridom.

New Zealand Educational Institute Report (1967)

Teacher organisations also felt sufficiently moved by Maori educational problems to present reports. In 1967 the New Zealand Educational Institute for example presented a report to its annual meeting. In the preface the view was expressed that by providing the same educational programme for both Maori and European children we have favoured the latter. (New Zealand Educational Institute, 1967, p.8).

The report justified the singling out of Maoris for special treatment on the grounds that they are culturally "different" rather than "culturally deprived". It considered that there was "a great need for awareness of Maori values and social organisation and the contribution that the Maori way of life can make towards the synthesis of a nation". It goes on to state the view that "unawareness of the Maori is New Zealand's main lack. As long as Pakehas continue to view the solution of those problems of a plural society through Pakeha eyes, the solution to those problems will remain slow and laborious". (ibid., p.11).

Recommendations in this report quite clearly support the need for teachers to participate in activities leading to a fuller understanding of the ramifications of having Maori pupils in the New Zealand education system. (See for example Recommendations 79 - 84, p.42).

National Advisory Committee (1970)

The National Advisory Committee on Maori Education has met each year since 1956 (Education 4, 1971, p.16). The committee has a number of Maori representatives as well as representatives from teacher organisations, Education Boards and State Departments and so on. In 1970 this committee published an important report. In it, further reinforcement is given to the view that "Pakehas, particularly children and teachers, be made more aware of the cultural values that form an essential part of the Maori way of life in a changing society." (National Advisory Committee, 1970, p.3).

Here we see perhaps for the first time so clearly expressed the view that "to achieve the goal of equal opportunity it is often necessary to take measures that are vastly unequal." (ibid., p.3). The classroom teacher is seen as being of central importance.

"It is essential that these teachers have a sound working knowledge of the cultural background of Maori children. Teachers need to know of the difficulties faced by many Maori pupils in the school situation because of these cultural differences ..." (ibid., p.8).

Understandings of contemporary Maori society, Maori values and attitudes, an introduction to the language and a background of the cultural and social history of the Maori are all seen as necessary.

Education Department Publication (1971)

Maori Children and the Teacher was written by Myrtle Simpson and published by the Education Department in 1971. It is a brave attempt to come to grips with the highly com-

plex problems arising within the schools through the interaction of children and teachers from differing cultural groups. It is readable and quite short. The section dealing with Bernstein's hypothesis on restricted and elaborated codes have prompted considerable discussion and criticism. (Hawkins, 1972, Education 9/ <sup>1974</sup>). Such criticism while apparently quite valid should not detract from the very many sensitive insights and understandings which are contained in the text, however.

Maori Children and the Teacher was issued by the Education Department and is therefore presumably supported by the top officials. It may be considered as a very important document in that it attempts to transmit to all teachers a summary of Departmental thought, conviction and intention as regards Maori education.

Explicit recognition is given to the need for the teachers to develop the sensitivities which have been referred to earlier in this thesis. The author believes it is "the personal observations and the sympathetic understanding of the teacher in his day-to-day work which matter most."

Such sympathetic understanding must, it is suggested, be based on knowledge of Maoridom for "every teacher of Maori children should be in some degree a self-effacing student of Maori history and culture." (Maori Children and the Teacher, 1971, p.x).

The text also recognises that although the child must bend to the institution, the institution will also have to bend to him. (ibid., p.x).



There is repeated emphasis throughout the text on the importance of teachers understanding aspects of contemporary Maori society (including minority status). (ibid., p.29).

Maori Children and the Teacher contains a wealth of important concepts. There is an element of over-simplification but this is inevitable. Teachers could meet this by more detailed study of other texts. The message reflects Education Department thinking and to a very large degree is congruent with the argument which has been developed in this thesis. If Departmental feeling on the issue of Maori schooling is to be grasped by classroom teachers, Maori Children and the Teacher should have been read thoroughly by all.

#### Educational Development Conference Report (1975)

Most recently the Educational Development Conference expressed its views on Maori education (Educational Development Conference, 1975, p.52f). The importance of New Zealanders learning to appreciate and understand Maori culture is stressed from the beginning. Teachers in particular must understand "the background of language, experience and attitudes upon which these children must build their education." (ibid., p.53).

In some respects this report is disappointing. One can agree with its intentions (e.g. that greater Maori representation should be encouraged on School Committees). However there is no evidence that the advisory council have gained insights into the causes of such things as under-representation on school committees.

For example, they state, "While there may have been

problems in getting Maori people to become members of school controlling authorities, there has been some success involving Maori parents in the running of play centres." (ibid., p.54).

Unless we can know why this success has been achieved little improvement is likely to result from our good intentions. McDonald's work (1973), especially the section on leadership suggests that Maori mothers do not want to be on committees which are Pakeha dominated and which do not operate, at least partly, on Maori lines. Suggestions made by the Advisory Council about extensive publicity being given to date, method, and purpose of school committee elections or if this does not work co-opting of Maoris for membership (ibid., p.54) are prime examples of suggesting European solutions instead of considering Maori values. Would it not be better to give explicit recognition to the fact that Pakeha school committee members do not operate their business meetings in ways which appeal to Maoris. Nor do they value or understand these Maori ways. In fact more often than not they privately ridicule them. If Maoris are to be involved, then consideration to the ocultos of time, decision-making, leadership, status and so on will be needed.

It is a pity that the Educational Development Conference report found it necessary to distil its thoughts on Maori education to three pages, for in its oversimplification of the issues a great deal has been lost. The final report compares most unfavourably with the working party report.

The report's lack of insight is reflected in its recommendations. (Op. cit. p.132f). Few would disagree with their views that more Maori and other Polynesian teachers should



be recruited. The reality of the situation is however that in the foreseeable future the vast majority of New Zealand school children will be taught by Pakeha teachers and it is this group that we must resocialize if the arguments in this thesis are true. One looks, in vain, in Directions for Educational Development for any great emphasis on this point although one recommendation (7.22.1, p.133) does allow for some pre-service and continuing education for teachers "specializing in Maori language and culture".

#### Need for Re-Socialization of Teachers

To recapitulate a little at this juncture, it has been argued above that many benefits will accrue if New Zealand Pakeha teachers have a high degree of sensitivity to biculturalism. It has been said that various official and semi-official policy statements have recognised this.

In Chapter Four it was shown that by and large Pakeha New Zealanders are decidedly insensitive to biculturalism. Further it was clearly implied that as teachers are subjected to much the same socialization experiences as other New Zealanders, they too are likely to be insensitive to biculturalism. If the prevailing pattern of insensitivity is to be avoided classroom teachers would require fairly extensive "resocialization". Some of this may be incidental and arise through their work with Maori children and parents. Some resocialization however must be deliberately planned.

Teachers by the very nature of their job come into contact with Maori children and to a lesser extent with their parents. There is of course no guarantee that such experiences will increase bicultural sophistication. Indeed

if the approach is a closed-minded or prejudicial one then it is possible that little benefit to the teacher's understandings will follow.

For the "open-minded" teacher however many lessons are to be learned which will eventually lead to the desired increased sensitivity.

There are countless other incidental experiences such as attendance at tangis, having close Maori friends, being married to a Maori, and so on, which could increase sophistication.

Such "incidental" or "on the job" learning on its own though would seem to have some serious weaknesses. Firstly it may take a considerable number of years "in the field" to reach even minimum desired levels of sophistication. In the interim many mistakes will inevitably have been made and possibly many unwitting nails driven into the coffin of Maori school failure.

Secondly, such experiences are likely to be unsystematic and limited to specific aspects of the whole. Many significant learnings may elude the teacher.

#### Organised Experiences Needed

The need for more organised experiences and learnings is apparent.

Maraes have been held to be the last places in New Zealand where Maoritanga can flourish unthreatened by Pakehātanga. To visit a marae and admire the carved house is one thing. To spend a week sleeping there and listening to kaumatuas and others putting a Maori viewpoint is quite another. To experience the hospitality, to sense the

sincerity, to feel the anguish and hope as Maori speakers explore the dilemma posed to their race by Pakeha contact, can only be beneficial for Pakeha teachers.

Clearly for teachers already in the field, in-service training has a major role to play. Carefully balanced courses are required which aim both to fill the gaps in teacher knowledge, and to provide discussion, and analysis of experiences, opinions and prejudices in a way that leads to increased sensitivity. Maoritanga in the broadest sense, and the effects of minority group status, as well as aspects of race relations in New Zealand are the sorts of issues which should be included. The point was made earlier that these issues do not admit to a single point of view. They are very complex and many equally valid but conflicting points of view exist. King's dilemma (page 35 above) illustrates the fallacy of seeking single solutions.

Even though a teacher may have had some experiences and attended some in-service work, sensitivity will almost certainly be increased by appropriate readings (especially if this could be linked with discussion -as say in staff meeting situations).

There could be benefit from readings of both fiction and non-fiction. Illustrations of the understandings contained in fictional material have already been given.

There is also much important non-fictional material which would be of benefit to teachers. There is an array of reports (see Section 5, Appendix A and Bibliography), many of which have presumably been written with classroom teachers as well as policy makers in mind.

Socio-anthropological material by authors such as King, Metge, Kawharu, Schwimmer and Hohepa is also of importance.

Psycho-educational writings such as those by Ritchie, Ritchie and Ritchie, and McDonald provide yet another fertile source of material. Historical material like Sinclair's Origins of the Maori Wars or Dick Scott's Ask that Mountain provide an important backdrop against which to judge current writings and experiences.

Finally there are a number of journals (see notes on Bibliography, p.179) which contain many relevant articles. Te Ao Hou and Te Maori would seem to be very important in that they state a Maori viewpoint and provide a wealth of current social studies material.

It is the writer's belief that teachers who genuinely aspire to a higher level of bicultural sophistication will read in a number of these areas.

#### Responsibilities of Officials

Those responsible for implementing official policy should endeavour to ensure that such policies actually lead to teachers engaging in the type of activities outlined above. It should be recognised that attitudes inculcated by early socialization and reinforced by the wider society will not be easy to alter. If earlier suggestions that teachers by and large reflect New Zealanders' general apathy towards bicultural sophistication are true, then official policy statements, no matter how well-meaning and well-directed, will do little to alter the practicality of the situation. Intensive and extensive resocialization of teachers would require a considerable input on energy and much determination.

Ideas, attitudes and values will not be changed overnight. Seeds of thought sown on one occasion will require repeated watering and careful propagation if they are to reach maturity. The potential rewards are great but unfortunately there can be little certainty about either the precise direction to take or the exact outcomes of a particular direction.

In the previous chapters it has been the writer's intention to explore one aspect of a complex whole. He does not wish to suggest that concentration on this aspect alone will solve all of the problems confronting us in the education of Maori pupils. He does suggest however that the discussion has centred on one of the key issues in Maori education. Further more he has hypothesised that despite official hopes to the contrary, this aspect has been relatively neglected and that the majority of Pakeha classroom teachers will have had few of the experiences outlined above.

Summary

In this chapter the need for teachers to be sensitive to biculturalism has been emphasised. Some benefits of sensitivity have been described.

Official and semi-official views on this topic have been examined through a discussion of various relevant reports published since 1962. Strong support was found in those reports for the general arguments developed earlier in this chapter. Disappointment was expressed at the inadequacy of the final Educational Development Conference Report in relation to Maori education.

Given the prevailing levels of apathy on the part of New Zealanders generally, towards "things Maori", it was suggested that teachers will often lack the necessary experiences and understandings to ensure adequate levels of bicultural sophistication. A need was seen therefore for re-socialization of teachers in respect of these things.

Finally some implications were drawn for the Departmental officials who have the responsibility of turning policy into practice.

## Chapter 6

### SURVEY DESIGN

#### Hypothesis

The general hypothesis upon which this study is based has been stated by Walker (in Bray and Hill, Vol. 1, 1973, p. 112).

"Teachers are predominantly Pakeha and monocultural, consequently teachers are generally ignorant of the other (Maori) culture and not sensitised to react to biculturalism and minority group needs."

In order to test this statement it was decided to examine four aspects of teacher awareness in relation to biculturalism in New Zealand. To widen the perspective, a sample of North Island Education Department psychologists was also included.

The first aspect examined were respondents' opinions on a number of general issues relevant to New Zealand's bicultural society. In order to provide a comparison, the opinions of a group of Taranaki Maori respondents were also sought on these same issues.

The second aspect centred around experiences which respondents had had which it was felt could lead to increased sensitivity.

Thirdly respondents' reading of relevant books, reports and journals was measured.

Fourthly a direct measure of respondents' knowledge of a limited number of Maori terms and practices was decided upon.

The hypothesis is not stated in a way which will admit to a definitive proof. Levels of sensitivity do not admit to exact measure. Nor is it practical to set maximum and minimum



desirable levels of sensitivity. Readers must draw their own conclusions from the survey results which will be tabulated and discussed in Chapter Seven.

Some may feel for example that ideally all classroom teachers and psychologists should have read all of the recently published reports on Maori education. Clearly though, such an ideal is utopian. Others may feel that reports are the concern of policymakers and have little relevance for the practitioner.

Some may believe that all New Zealand teachers should have slept on a marae and be able to answer more than three quarters of the questions in Section 6 (see Appendix A). Others will claim that sleeping on a marae has no relevance to teaching New Zealand children in 1976 and knowledge of the sort tested in Section 6 will play little part in helping children succeed in school.

The writer's own views will be discernable from time to time during later discussion. It is not expected that all readers will share these views. Hopefully those who do not will read the arguments contained in the earlier sections of this thesis and begin to debate the issues both for and against. The writer suggests that to date there has been little enough informed debate (especially at classroom practitioner level) on the educational provisions for Maori children, despite the publicity this emotive topic from time to time arouses. He would welcome therefore, well-founded criticism of any views expressed.

#### Sample Groups

Four sample groups were selected. Pakeha teachers in the

Taranaki Education Board, Pakeha teachers in the Hawke's Bay Education Board, North Island Education Department psychologists and Organisers of Special Classes (all referred to as psychologists for convenience) and a group of Maoris living in Taranaki.

The proportion of Maori children in Taranaki schools is approximately 11%, the lowest of any education board in the North Island.

Hawke's Bay has the highest percentage with 30% Maori pupils in its schools.

There has been a tendency to channel major efforts to improve Maori education towards areas having a high percentage of Maori pupils. The decision to survey in Taranaki with its relatively low number of Maori pupils is considered justified however.

Historically the Maoris of Taranaki have felt the thrust of Pakeha settlement and contact very deeply. Wiremu Kingi's noble stand on the Waitara land question, Te Whiti's and Tohu's Parihaka, von Tempsky and massive land confiscations are an integral and living part of that contact. There is a rich history which lives on and in its own subtle way influences today's society in many vital ways.

The need for teachers to interpret aspects of Maoridom to Pakeha children has been stated above. This need is as important in a province of 11% Maori population as it is in a province of 30%. Some would say more important.

New Zealand teachers are highly mobile. They may teach in Taranaki in 1975 but in South Auckland in 1976. The experience of teaching in an area where there is a high propor-

tion of Maoris will undoubtedly increase the open-minded teachers' sensitivity. However it is the writer's contention that teachers should have a well developed sensitivity to biculturalism before they arrive, not by the time they leave.

The Hawke's Bay sample was included to provide comparative data. For instance how much more reading do teachers in areas of high Maori roll do compared with teachers in areas of low Maori roll? How much more understanding do they have of the terms in Section 6? How much more time is spent on relevant in-service training?

The psychologists were included because they too are considered to be practitioners. They have the responsibility of advising teachers on the educational, social and personal needs of Maori children. They must visit Maori homes and communities and examine Maori pupils. They too should aspire to high levels of bicultural sophistication.

The Taranaki Maori sample was included so that their responses to Sections 2 and 3 could be compared with the responses of the Taranaki teacher group.

#### Taranaki Teacher Sample

Six schools were chosen. Two from each category (primary, intermediate, secondary). The schools were located throughout the province. All teachers at these schools were requested to complete Questionnaires. There was no attempt to select only schools with high Maori rolls. Rather the sample was selected to be representative of the province as a whole. Apart from this there was no rationale behind the selection beyond the fact that these schools all appeared on the writer's itinerary for the week in which the Questionnaires were to be

distributed and it was convenient for him to deliver Questionnaires and request co-operation of Principals at that time.

Table 1 contains data on the schools selected for this sample.

Table 1

School Rolls (as at 1.7.75), Number of Teachers and Percentage Response to Questionnaire for the Taranaki sample schools.

	Total Roll	Maori Roll	Maori Percentage	Number of Teachers	Number Responding	Percentage Response
Primary School 1	446	27	6.1	21	28	73.7
Primary School 2	440	69	15.7	17		
Intermediate School 1	650	48	7.4	25	21	43.7
Intermediate School 2	530	104	19.6	23		
Secondary School 1	548	133	22.2	27	35	81.4%
Secondary School 2	183	18	9.8	16		
TOTAL	2797	399	14.0	129	84	65.1

The response level for primary and secondary schools was adequate. The intermediate teacher sample was disappointing. It is quite possible that the results from this group are therefore not fully representative and they should be viewed with caution. It is likely that those teachers who were most concerned about the theme of the Questionnaire and/or who had most to offer have responded.

Of the eighty-four papers returned three were included in the Maori sample and eleven were excluded on the basis of the lie scale (see below). A total of seventy papers remained in the sample, twenty-five primary, sixteen intermediate and twenty-nine secondary.

Taranaki Maori Sample

Twenty-five Questionnaires (Section 2, Numbers 1-10 and Section 3, Numbers 1-8 only) were included in this sample. Five of these papers were filled in by Maori teachers, three from the schools in the sample, two from another school.

Questionnaires were distributed to non-teachers in the following way. The writer approached four Maori acquaintances, two male and two female. One of the men is a prison officer, the other a welfare officer with the Department of Island and Maori Affairs. One woman was a housewife and mother of school age children, the other a young married clerk in the Post Office with no children.

They were each given six papers and asked to answer one and distribute the remainder amongst their friends. Replies were posted back to the writer by individual respondents.

Of the twenty-four papers distributed in this manner, twenty replies were received (83.3%).

Hawke's Bay Sample

Nine schools were chosen. Questionnaire papers were posted to these schools and it was deemed prudent to include the extra three in order to ensure adequate numbers of returns. The three primary and three intermediate schools were nominated by the District Senior Inspector in his reply to the writer's request for permission to survey in Hawke's Bay. The three secondary schools were chosen on a geographical basis (i.e. Northern Hawke's Bay) by the writer because he was anxious to obtain schools with a higher percentage of Maori pupils.

Given that these Questionnaires were posted to schools the writer was pleased with the response. All schools responded. Of the 200 Questionnaires circulated, 113 were returned.

Of these four were withdrawn because respondents stated "Maori" for ethnic group and the writer's intention was to obtain a sample of European teachers. A further fifteen papers were withdrawn on the basis of the lie scale. The remaining sample sizes were as follows :

Primary	33
Intermediate	25
Secondary	36

Table 2 below contains data on the schools selected for this sample.

Table 2

School Rolls, Number of Teachers and  
Percentage Response to Questionnaire  
for the Hawke's Bay Sample.\*

	Total Roll		Maori %	Number of Teachers	Number of Questionnaires Sent	Number of Questionnaires Returned	% Response
Primary School 1	397	220	58.0	20	20	36	66.6
Primary School 2	405	11	2.7	14	14		
Primary School 3	472	166	35.2	22	20		
Intermediate School 1	896	290	32.4	35	20	38	63.3
Intermediate School 2	610	140	23.0	26	20		
Intermediate School 3	478	48	10.0	21	20		
Secondary School 1	967	378	39.2	58	30	39	48.7
Secondary School 2	906	421	46.5	44	30		
Secondary School 3	886	536	60.5	43	20		
TOTAL	6017	2210	36.7	-	194	113	58.2
* As at 23.4.76							

Psychologist Sample

Sixty-nine Questionnaires were posted to psychologists in the North Island. Fifty-one replies were received (73.8%).



Six of these were removed on the basis of the lie scale (see below). Of the forty-five remaining papers thirty were selected using a table of random numbers. These thirty papers made up the psychologist sample.

#### Questionnaire

A copy of the Questionnaire may be found in Appendix A.

Section 1 contains descriptive data. Question 7 allowed respondent to state what special experiences he considered had assisted him to gain a better understanding of Maori pupils.

Sections 2 and 3 asked respondents to express an opinion. The writer was interested to compare Pakeha teacher opinion with a sample of Taranaki Maori opinion. Section 2 concentrated on opinions related to "things Maori" in the wider New Zealand society. Section 3 was concerned with "things Maori" in schools.

For the non-teachers of the Maori sample, Section 3 was adapted in the following ways :

Questions 2 and 5 - the word "Your" was removed.

Questions 9 and 10 were omitted because they were specific to teachers.

These two sections were not intended to explore exhaustively the many issues which are important in New Zealand's bicultural society. Rather the intention was to obtain some "feel" for the drift of opinion between the sample groups on a limited selection of issues. From this it was hoped some discussion on the congruence of Taranaki Maori respondents and Pakeha teacher respondents could arise.

Section 4 provided data on the number of teachers in the



sample who had experienced a tangi or had slept on a marae. It also provided an estimate of the number of those teachers who had attended in-service training courses on Maori education.

Question 4 was open-ended and sought to gauge teacher opinion on the most crucial issue facing Maori children in our schools.

Question 5 asked respondents to give a brief description of specific schemes aimed at providing special help for Maori children with which they were involved.

Section 5 of the Questionnaire contained a book list. Respondents were asked to indicate at what level (if any) they had read each of the books. Further they were asked to state their reasons for reading the books.

The book list was divided into four subdivisions. The first contained fictional material, the second reports on Maori education, the third contained educational and sociological references, and the fourth a number of relevant journals.

Although the books listed in Section 5 provided a good coverage of literature related to Maoris and Maori education, it was not exhaustive. Some important references were missing (e.g. Dick Scott's Ask that Mountain, especially relevant to Taranaki; Ihimaera's Whanau; Salmond's Hui). For this reason respondents were given the opportunity to list any other reference they had found useful.

In order to simplify the analysis of replies and provide a means of quantifying and describing them, a system of allocating points was devised. For the first three subdiv-

isions (i.e. fiction, reports, and educational and sociological) no points were allotted if a book had never been read. One point if it had been skimmed, three if part of the book had been read carefully, and five if the whole book had been read carefully. Maximum points for each section therefore were as follows : fiction fifty, reports forty-five, educational and sociological seventy-five.

Points for the periodical section were awarded as follows: none if never read, one if read rarely, three if read occasionally, and five if read regularly. Maximum points on this section would therefore be twenty-five.

Using this scoring procedure it is possible to calculate for each group or individual the percentage of the total possible reading completed for any section. It is stressed that there can be no "pass/fail" criterion for this section. It is a matter of personal opinion, to a large extent, whether a 3% or a 30% reading rate is "satisfactory". The writer's own opinions will be made clear in the next chapter when results are discussed.

#### Lie Scale

In a Questionnaire such as this the value of the results depends to a great extent upon the sincerity of respondents. It is possible for them either to take too little care in filling in the various items or to distort deliberately their answers by, for example, recording that they have read a book when in truth they have not.

It was not possible fully to control for this factor but partial control was achieved through the inclusion of a lie scale. Fictitious titles were therefore included in Section

## 5. They were as follows :

Hart	<u>Settlers and Maoris</u>
Watson	<u>Maori Children's Needs</u>
Mason	<u>Maori Education Today</u>
Metge	<u>Teaching Maori Children Effectively</u>

Metge, Maori Society Today, was an obscure reference and was intended as a distractor. It was not a good distractor however as it was confused with other titles by Metge. It was therefore ignored in the analysis of results.

A further check was achieved by including the periodical Marae. This is published irregularly and fairly rarely. Any respondent therefore marking this with a "4" (i.e. read regularly) was considered to be giving inaccurate information (in the event no papers were excluded on this ground).

If a respondent marked only one of the "lie scale" books as having been "skimmed" and the rest as "never read" the paper was still included. If however more than one fictitious book had been "skimmed" or any had been partly or wholly read "in depth" the Questionnaire was disregarded. These respondents were considered either to have given their replies insufficient consideration or to be deliberately attempting to mislead.

The final section of the Questionnaire was a short answer test. In constructing the test, the aim was not to cover comprehensively the totality of Maoritanga. Clearly this would have been impossible with such an instrument. Rather the purpose was to ask sufficient questions to allow for some general observations to be derived about teacher knowledge of "things Maori".

### Marking Standards - Section 6

Question 1. To avoid criticism of applying harsh standards, a lenient approach was adopted on this item. Where a respondent wrote, for example, "Parihaka Pa" this was credited even though this is not the name of the actual meetinghouse at Parihaka (i.e. either Te Niho o te Atiawa or Te Rangikapuia). Furthermore some spelling mistakes were accepted (e.g. Mane-korihi).

Question 2. Answers which included the idea that the meetinghouse usually derived its name from an ancestor were accepted.

Question 3. Answers which suggested "backbone" or "backbone of ancestor" were accepted.

Question 4. As above, but "ribs".

Question 5. This proved confusing. In asking the question the writer had in mind Walker's (in King, 1975, p.25) statement, "The meetinghouse as the symbol of the tribe and its ancestors is highly tapu and stands apart on the marae."

Many respondents appear to have been confused by the ceremony of "lifting the tapu" when a new meetinghouse is opened. Also to the Pakeha the idea of "tapu" tends to conjure up more ancient notions of sickness and death or some other punishment following a breach thereof, rather than ideas of respect and sacredness. The writer chose to emphasise the symbolic nature of the modern meetinghouse in relation to the preservation of Maoritanga and respect for ancestors. In that sense the meetinghouse appears to remain of sufficient significance to be regarded as "sacred" or "tapu" by Maori elders today.

Salmond (1975, p.35ff) has pointed out that parts of the

meetinghouse are especially tapu. A "Yes" answer or an answer which indicated "parts of the house" was therefore accepted. A "no" answer was not considered correct.

Question 6. Food is "noa". Only "no" answers were accepted.

Question 7. Again marking standards were lenient. Any respondent who was able to write down a name in this section was credited with the item.

Question 8. Basically land ownership in the local area was the answer sought. However answers which included "being a local elder" were also credited.

Question 9. This was a particularly difficult question. Any answer which contained a reference to "land" was accepted.

Question 10. In crediting these items any answer which contained reference to the factors listed below was accepted :

- (i) Mana - prestige, standing.
- (ii) Tangata Whenua - local people, people of the land.
- (iii) Mauri - life force.
- (iv) Turangawaewae - a place to stand, home, one's land.  
(N.B. Answers which alluded only to the Maori Queen's home were not accepted as they were not considered to have captured the wider significance of the word.)
- (v) Hui - gathering, meeting.
- (vi) Tangihanga - funeral.
- (vii) Whanautanga - family, relations, kin.
- (viii) Aroha - love, respect for people.
- (ix) Kuia - old lady, respected old lady.
- (x) Kaumatua - respected old man, leader.

A credit was counted as one point. Maximum score for this test was therefore nineteen points. No "pass/fail"

criterion was set, for once again, the writer would concede that this is a matter of personal opinion. His own opinions will be stated in the following chapter.

#### Administration Procedure

##### Taranaki Sample

In the case of primary and intermediate schools permission to conduct this survey was obtained from the District Senior Inspector of Schools. Principals of individual schools were also given the opportunity of declining to ask their staff to complete the Questionnaire. None did so. In the case of secondary schools, Principals were approached directly for their permission for this survey to be conducted in their school. Both Principals readily agreed.

Questionnaires were given to each Principal during the first week in December 1975 with a request that they be distributed to the staff and returned to the Principal who would then return completed Questionnaires to the writer. Schools were given no specific time limit for the return of the Questionnaires but urgency was requested.

No instructions were given beyond the fact that the writer was engaged in M.A. thesis on Maori education.

##### Hawke's Bay Sample

As with the Taranaki sample permission to survey in primary and intermediate schools was obtained in the first instance from the District Senior Inspector of Schools. Subsequently the co-operation of individual Principals was requested. None refused. Secondary school Principals were contacted directly and all three co-operated.

Questionnaires were posted to each of the nine Principals

involved with a request that they be returned within a fortnight.

#### Psychological Service

Questionnaires were individually posted to every North Island psychologist and Organiser of Special Classes working for the Department of Education. They were requested to return personally their completed Questionnaire by post. Beyond the information that the writer was engaged in an M.A. thesis on Maori education, no instructions or information was given.

#### Maori Sample

The four Maori "contacts" (see above) were told that the writer was engaged in an M.A. thesis related to Maori education. They were told that he wished to compare the opinions of Maori people in Taranaki with those of a group of teachers, on the issues covered in Sections 2 and 3 of the Questionnaire. "Contacts" were asked to distribute their Questionnaires together with a stamped addressed envelope to some Maori friends and ask them to fill in and return individually to the writer.



Summary

In this chapter the hypothesis underlying the study was stated. A description of the four sample groups was given followed by details of the distribution and returns of the Questionnaire.

A discussion on the Questionnaire followed. This included a description of the scoring system for Section 5, the Lie Scale, and details of the marking standards applied to Section 6.

Finally administration procedures were described.

CHAPTER 7Analysis and Discussion of ResultsTaranaki Sample

The total number of Questionnaires included in this group was seventy (twenty-five primary, sixteen intermediate, and twenty-nine secondary). Of the total group seventeen had less than five years' service, twenty-three had between five and ten years', and thirty had more than ten years'. There were thirty-three males and thirty-seven females in the sample.

Table 3 shows the percentage of respondents in each group who have successfully completed university work.

Table 3

University successes of Teachers in the Taranaki Sample. (Figures represent percentages of each sample group.)

	Full Degree	Part Degree	No Units
Primary n = 25	0	36	64
Intermediate n = 16	6	44	50
Secondary n = 29	58	4	38
Combined Sample n = 70	26	24	50

It will be seen that 50% of the Taranaki teachers sample have had some successful university experiences. Compared to a typical cross-section of the New Zealand population then, this group may be considered a well-educated group.

Respondents were asked to note any special experiences they felt had helped them to understand Maori pupils better. (Question 7, Section 1). Replies to this question are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Summary of Respondents' Answers to Question 7, Section 1 - Special Experiences which have helped Respondents Understand Maori Pupils Better.

Type of Experience	Primary n = 25	Inter- mediate n = 16	Secondary n = 29	Combined Sample n = 70
Nil	10	5	12	27
Visit to a Marae	7	4	4	15
In-service work or Teachers' College course	6	1	4	11
Taught Maori Children	1	2	6	9
Lived in Maori Community	4	1	2	7
Studied Maori Language	2	-	1	3
Taught in Islands	-	1	2	3
Taught Slow Learners	1	1	-	2
Related to a Maori	-	-	2	2
Christian Upbringing	-	1	-	1

N.B. Some respondents have more than one experience. Total therefore exceeds seventy. Figures represent absolute number of responses in each category.

### Sections 2 and 3

The object of these sections was to obtain a comparison between the opinions of a sample of Taranaki teachers and a sample of Taranaki Maoris.

Tables 5 and 6 below summarise the results. Figures quoted in the "Yes" and "No" columns represent a percentage (to the nearest whole number) of the total group making that choice. A combined "Yes/No" percentage does not always sum to 100 because some respondents entered "Don't know" or left an item unanswered.

For each group there is a "Directional Index" column. The purpose of this column is to facilitate easy comparisons between groups. The figure in this column was derived by subtracting the "No" percentage from the "Yes" percentage. A zero would indicate that a group was equally divided in its opinions. A figure of +100 would indicate that all of the group answered "Yes" to a question, while -100 would indicate the whole group had answered "No".

By comparing the two groups on this "Directional Index" it is possible to establish for any individual item whether their respective group opinions tended in the same direction (i.e. both with positive or both with negative indices) or tended in opposite directions (i.e. one group with a negative index and the other with a positive index).

The magnitude of difference between the "Directional Index" of two groups is an indicator of the degree of con-

Table 5

Summary of Answers to Section 2. Taranaki Teacher Sample and Taranaki Maori Sample. (All percentages rounded to nearest whole number.)

Question	Primary (n=25)			Intermediate (n=16)			Secondary (n=29)			Combined Sam- ple (n=70)			Taranaki Maori Sample (n=25)		
	Yes %	No %	D.I. <sup>±</sup>	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.
1	76	20	+56	56	43	+13	62	28	+34	66	29	+37	28	68	-40
2	48	52	-4	62	37	+25	24	65	-41	41	54	-13	16	80	-64
3	24	72	-48	19	81	-62	7	72	-65	16	74	-58	0	100	-100
4	68	20	+48	44	56	-12	41	45	-4	51	39	+12	60	32	+28
5	64	24	+40	56	37	+19	48	45	+3	56	36	+20	48	48	0
6	20	76	-56	6	94	-88	34	52	-18	23	70	-47	12	88	-76
7	76	12	+64	87	6	+81	72	10	+62	76	9	+67	88	12	+76
8	68	20	+48	75	25	+50	65	24	+41	69	23	+46	32	60	-28
9	68	4	+64	69	6	+63	62	7	+55	66	6	+60	40	24	+16
10	8	88	-80	31	69	-38	21	72	-51	19	77	-58	76	24	+52

± D.I. denotes Directional Index

Explanation : The figure in the DIRECTIONAL INDEX column is the difference between the "Yes" and "No" percentages for each group on a particular item. A positive result

indicates the group tended to answer "Yes" on an item, while a negative result indicates a "No" trend. The higher the figure, the greater the trend to either "Yes" or "No". Thus +100 indicates the whole group answered "Yes", zero that they were equally divided, and -100 that the whole group answered "No". Percentages do not always sum to 100 as some respondents entered a "Do not know" rather than a "Yes" or "No" answer.

gruence or difference between group opinions.

To illustrate the above explanation two examples will be given. By examining Table 5 it will be seen that on Question 4 the combined sample had a directional index of +12 while the Maori sample's directional index was +28. Clearly both groups tended to answer "Yes" to this question although there was considerable division within each group (i.e. both were closer to 0 than to 100). The Maori group were a little more united in their opinion (+28) than were the teacher group (+12).

On question 10 there was a difference of opinion between these groups. The combined sample favoured a "No" response (-58) while the Maori group favoured "Yes" (+52). Both groups were fairly firm in their opinions.

The results of these sections of the Questionnaire support the contention that while there are areas of agreement between Maori and Pakeha on various issues there are also areas of disagreement. It would appear that there could indeed be aspects of "subjective reality" which are decidedly different for this Taranaki Maori sample compared with the Taranaki teacher sample.

The first question of Section 2 asked respondents whether they felt emphasis on Maoritanga was preserving feelings of apartness instead of "hastening the day when New Zealanders are simply New Zealanders." If earlier arguments in this thesis have any credence it was predictable that Pakeha teachers would tend to agree with this feeling. The combined sample in achieving a directional index of +37 did indeed show this trend. The Maori sample, again predictably, took an opposite stance (-40). In their view it appears that em-



phasis on Maoritanga is quite compatible with being a New Zealander.

On question 2 teachers showed a great deal of uncertainty as to whether Maoris have a life pattern which is sufficient to sustain a sense of identity distinct from European culture. Primary teachers were about equally divided (-4). Intermediate teachers agreed that there was considerable doubt about the existence of such a pattern (+25). Only secondary teachers expressed a group opinion which was reasonably congruent with the Maori group's opinion (-41 compared with the Maori directional index of -64). Even they did not reach the level of decisiveness of the Maori group's response however. The Maori group were quite sure that their life style was distinct from a European life style.

Answers to the third question indicate that all the sample groups feel that it is not too late for Maori youths to discover Maoritanga. Once again secondary teachers' views (-65) came closest to the Maori respondents' viewpoint which was quite decisive (-100).

Question 4 asked "Do you agree with separate Maori representation in Parliament?" With the exception of the primary group (+48) there was considerable intra-group disagreement among teachers on this question (intermediate -12, secondary -4). The Maori group exhibited only a moderate degree of agreement (+28). The combined samples index (+12) and the Maori group index (+28) were reasonably congruent.

The answers to question 5 proved most interesting. The question was phrased in such a manner as to place emphasis on the apparent paradox of, on the one hand, valuing the "New

Zealanders should be all one people" ideal, while on the other placing value on the potential richness of "cultural differences". Primary teachers generally favoured the former (+40) as did intermediate teachers but to a lesser extent (+19). Both the secondary teachers' group and Maori group were quite undecided (+3 and 0 respectively). As a whole the teachers showed a weak trend towards minimising cultural differences in order to achieve the "one people" ideal (+20).

There was general agreement that Brown Power was not a thing to be feared in New Zealand (question 6). The combined sample (-47) revealed the same trend as the Maori group (-76). Of the teacher groups it is interesting to note that it was amongst secondary teachers (-18) that most intra-group disagreement occurred. It could be that adolescent rebellion has contributed to increasing the proportion of these teachers who fear Brown Power.

On question 7 ("Do you consider Urban Marae are needed in cities where there are concentrations of Maoris?"), all groups were of the same opinion. There was quite strong support for this concept from all groups.

Questions 8 and 9 were to some extent interdependent in that respondents who answered "No" to question 8 had no need to fill in question 9 although many chose to do so.

Walker (in King, 1975, p. 33) reports that only thirty out of six thousand Maoris supported the idea of a multi-racial marae in Otara. Generally his view is that Pakehas are welcome on maraes as visitors, but their presence as organisers or leaders could lead to the basic Maori character of the marae being changed. As he believes the marae is one of the last places in New Zealand where Maoritanga can flourish.

ish unthreatened by Pakeha influence, he feels that this would be a bad thing.

Pakehas on the other hand tend to feel threatened by such "exclusiveness" and may even regard it as a threat to the "one people" ideal.

Question 8 asked respondents if they thought a multi-racial marae in Otara would be better than a Maori one. Teachers generally agreed that a multi-racial marae would be better (combined sample +46). Maoris however disagreed (-28) with this opinion. Although the trend was not of the magnitude which would have been predicted from Walker's figures, the difference between Maori and Pakeha thought on this question seems clear.

It follows that Pakeha teachers supported the idea that leadership should be open to both European and Maori (+60 on question 9) while 60% of Maoris either said "No" to this idea or abstained from answering. 40% of the Maori respondents however did favour leadership being open to both Maori and Pakeha and this is rather higher than the writer would have predicted.

In Chapter One, the power of symbolism in culturally imposed ideas of subjective reality was mentioned. Taranaki's mountain has long been considered sacred by local Maoris. The bones of revered chiefs lie hidden on its slopes in secret caves. Much mythology surrounds this imposing volcano.

Recently there have been moves to revert from the mountain's European name "Egmont" to the Maori name "Taranaki". The final question in Section 2 therefore asked "Do you think the name of Mt Egmont should be changed to Taranaki?"

In line with arguments developed in this thesis Pakeha teachers in general answered "No" (-58). The Maori group on the other hand tended to answer "Yes" (+52).

Some respondents noted that the question was a trivial one. The writer would disagree. The question is deceptively simple. The planting of an American flag on a coral atoll in 1944 may well seem to the uninformed a trivial action. To those who realise how perilously close New Zealand came to being invaded by the Japanese armies however, the action would appear far from trivial.

It may be that the divergence of opinion between the Maori sample and teacher sample on question 10 underscores the whole question of bicultural sensitivity in New Zealand. Let us not be complacent on such issues.

Turning to results from Section 3 of the Questionnaire, reference should be made to Table 6.

The questions in this Section were more directly concerned with education. Here it may be argued teachers are in a far better position to cast an opinion than non-teachers. As the majority (80%) of the Maori sample were non-teachers their views perhaps need to be read with caution.

It could equally be argued however that as it is their children the schools are educating, their views are of great importance. Further more since minority groups often have difficulty in making their views heard over the clamour of the dominant group, the views once expressed become even more important:

Table 6 summarises the answers given to questions 1 to 6 and question 8 of Section 3.

Table 6

Summary of Answers to Section 3. Taranaki Teacher  
Sample and Taranaki Maori Sample. (Figures round-  
ed to nearest whole number.)

Question	Primary (n=25)			Intermediate (n=16)			Secondary (n=29)			Combined Samp- le (n=70)			Taranaki Maori Sample (n=25)		
	Yes %	No %	D.I.*	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.
1	48	48	0	50	43	+7	48	48	0	49	46	+3	8	84	-76
2	24	52	-28	19	75	-56	52	45	+7	34	54	-20	72	28	+44
3	56	28	+28	69	31	+38	69	31	+38	64	30	+34	80	20	+60
4	44	36	+8	81	19	+62	86	14	+72	70	23	+47	100	0	+100
5	36	52	-16	44	44	0	69	31	+38	51	41	+10	88	12	+76
6	68	20	+48	87	12	+75	83	14	+69	79	16	+63	96	4	+92
8	0	92	-92	0	100	-100	7	90	-83	3	93	-90	52	36	+16

\* D.I. denotes Directional Index

See Table 5 for explanation of Directional Index.

The first question in this section was designed to test teachers' feelings about the concept of unequal educational provision for unequals as enunciated by the National Advisory Committee. (1970, p.3). The three groups of teachers in this study were all equally divided on this question (Directional Indices of 0, +7, 0). The Maoris on the other hand, by their overwhelming "No" (-76) indicated that they were in sympathy with special provisions.

Although such evidence is by no means sufficient to prove that half of the teachers in our schools are basically against making "special" provision for groups (e.g. Maoris) the writer believes that there could well be such an undercurrent of feeling. He suggests that further investigation should be commissioned by the Education Department on this and similar questions. A thorough analysis of teacher feelings on points such as this is important for it seems clear that where there is resistance at this level, even fine intention on the part of policy makers cannot lead to success.

Should such feelings be discovered among teachers a planned "re-socialization" would be needed before satisfactory results would flow from the implementation of a policy such as achieving the goal of equal opportunity through measures which are vastly unequal. (ibid., p.3).

Question 2 asked, "Do you feel an increasing feeling of 'Maoriness' will foster racial harmony in your school?" Primary and intermediate teachers tended to say "No" (-28, -56). It is possible that at this age teachers feel there is no disharmony on this score in their schools. Measures to increase harmony are therefore not needed. On the other hand



it may be that these teachers were expressing New Zealanders' general suspicion of "differences".

Secondary teachers were more or less equally divided on this question (+7). Maoris as a group tended to express the view that "Maoriness" could increase harmony in a school (+44).

On the third question all groups tended to feel that a good knowledge of Maoritanga is important for a teacher. Maoris expressed a very firm opinion in this direction (+60) whereas the combined teacher sample was a little more hesitant (+34).

The fourth question related to the teaching of Maori language in schools. Primary teachers were quite divided on this issue but tended to agree with teaching Maori in schools (+8). Perhaps the divided opinion of this group is conditioned by the fact that "foreign" language teaching does not usually begin until intermediate or secondary school in New Zealand.

Both intermediate (+62) and secondary (+72) groups clearly favoured teaching Maori in schools. The Maori group were unanimous on this issue (+100).

Question 5 asked, "Do you consider bilingualism would be an advantage for a Maori pupil in your school?" Primary teachers showed a weak tendency towards a "No" response (-16). Intermediate teachers were quite divided (0) while secondary teachers favoured a "Yes" response (+38). Again the Maori group were quite firm in their opinion (+76).

Given the current curriculum and emphases at different ages and stages in schools, these responses would appear to be consistent and honest. It is hard to see just what benefit



bilingualism would have at present for a child in most primary schools. One could see benefits for such a child in a high school however. Hopefully this situation will be changed in the future however. Ideally children should find the richness of a bilingual background an asset to them at every stage of their schooling. The Maori response appears to reflect a hope that this ideal will be obtained rather than a belief that it already exists.

The next question (Number 6) met with general approval in all groups. Again the Maori sample were much surer of their opinions than the teachers (+92 compared with the combined teacher sample score of +63). It appears that both Maori and teacher opinion would support the view that there are significant differences between Maori and European children and that these differences do call for special knowledge on the part of the teacher. There was still a "hard core" of teachers (16%) in this sample who refuse to concede this however.

Question 8, "Do you speak Maori?" is not strictly in the realm of opinion and quite naturally results differentiated between groups (combined teacher sample -90, Maori sample +16). The question is of interest however in that it does supply an indication of the number of both teachers and Maoris in the sample who claim to have some knowledge of the Maori language. No primary or intermediate teacher claimed to be Maori speaking although 8% of the primary teachers recorded "some" knowledge of the language. 7% of the secondary sample claimed they spoke the language while 3% volunteered "a little knowledge". In the Maori sample 52% claimed to speak Maori, 36%

said they did not. The remaining 12% indicated some knowledge of the language. It is possible that more of the people who recorded a "No" to this question would have entered that they had "some" knowledge of the language had specific provision for this answer been made on the Questionnaire.

Questions 7, 9 and 10 of Section 3 were not phrased as "Yes/No" responses. The results have not therefore been tabulated in Table 6. On question 7 respondents were asked why they considered Maori children do less well in schools than European children. The majority of respondents (78.5%) selected category (c) (i.e. a combination of socio-economic and cultural factors).

In the Maori group quite a significant group (40%) preferred (e) "some other factor". Their answers in this category included :-

"Lack of teacher understanding of pupils" (four respondents).

"Lack of parental support" (three respondents).

"Lack of language and reading at home" (two respondents).

"Shyness" (one respondent).

On both Question 9 and 10, response (c) was chosen overwhelmingly.

#### Section 4

Question 1 of this Section asked teachers whether they had ever attended a tangi while question 2 asked if they had ever slept overnight on a marae. 27% of the combined sample answered "Yes" to question 1 while 21% answered "Yes" to question 2.

Attendance at a tangi is a personal matter and one cannot say that teachers "ought" to have had this experience. 27% is a rather higher percentage than the writer would have predicted however.

The writer is of the opinion that all teachers should however have had the experience of sleeping on a marae. This is an experience which has great potential for increasing bi-cultural sensitivity especially for an openminded person. The fact that only one fifth of the teachers in the sample had done so is disappointing. Given that observation would suggest that Maori pupils in secondary schools do present special problems for teachers, the secondary school groups percentage of only 10% is especially disappointing. When one considers that 83% of this group agreed that there were significant differences between Maori and European children which call for special knowledge on the part of teachers (see Table 6, question 6) the figure is even more disturbing. Only three teachers from these two high schools (one of which has a roll of 22% Maori pupils) have slept on a marae. Yet Maori spokesmen have claimed that it is only on a marae that the various threads of Maoritanga really focus and flourish in an atmosphere unthreatened by Pakehatanga.

The need for inservice work has been mentioned earlier. Question 3 of Section 4 asked teachers to estimate the number of days in-service training they had spent on topics specifically related to Maori education during the last five years.

It will be seen from Table 7 that the majority of teachers (78.6%) have had none.

In-service training is costly. Time and resources are at a premium. There are many urgent problems, and calls for increases in time spent on in-service training come from many quarters.

Table 7

Estimated Number of In-Service Training Days Spent  
on Maori Education During the Last Five Years.  
Taranaki Teacher Sample.

No. of Days	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary		Combined Sample	
	Absolute Number	%	Absolute Number	%	Absolute Number	%	Absolute Number	%
Zero	16	64	14	87.5	25	86.2	55	78.6
1	1	4	1	6.3	1	3.5	3	4.3
2	3	12	-	-	1	3.5	4	5.7
3	1	4	-	-	1	3.5	2	2.8
5	4	16	1	6.3	-	-	5	7.1
7	-	-	-	-	1	3.5	1	1.5
	n = 25		n = 16		n = 29		n = 70	

In a situation of competing claims and limited resources somebody must be responsible for setting priorities and deciding upon weightings.

Obviously in New Zealand, Maori education must be an important issue. Ideally all teachers should have regular opportunities to study and discuss the issues arising from the presence of Maori children in the education system. Since these problems often appear even more acute at the secondary level the need would seem even more urgent here.

The fact that 87.5% of intermediate teachers sampled and 86.2% of the secondary teachers sampled claim to have had no days of in-service work on this topic during the last five years is disquieting to say the least. The primary teachers

appear to have fared much better with 36% having had some experience of this nature.

To return to the theme that teachers will need a series of experiences if an impression is to be made on earlier socialization, when one combines questions 1,2 and 3 of Section 4 and asks, "What percentage of teachers have had all three experiences?", the picture is a bleak one indeed. Only one teacher in the entire Taranaki sample fits this category.

Truly the task facing an already overpressed education system is enormous if these trends are to be reversed. The figures do not, in the writer's opinion, reflect specifically on the education system. Rather they are an indictment on the general apathy of New Zealanders towards the need for increased bicultural understanding.

It is most heartening to note the recent appointment of two advisors on Maori education who will devote 40% of their time to the Taranaki Education Board schools. The secondment of two Maori teachers to develop Maoritanga in rural schools is a further encouraging step. Their task is such that there is no room for complacency however. Unless some means can be found to counter the more general apathy in society as a whole their efforts may be in vain.

In an open-ended question (question 4, Section 4) respondents were asked to write down what they thought were the most crucial issues facing Maori children in our schools. Answers are tabulated in Table 8 below. The figures in each cell represent the percentage of teachers in the relevant group who considered a particular issue to be the crucial one.

Table 8

Taranaki Teacher Sample. Opinions on What is the Most Crucial Issue Facing Maori Children in Schools.  
(Percentages Rounded to Nearest Whole Number.)

Description of Category	Primary n=25	Intermediate n=16	Secondary n=29	Combined Sample n=70
Poor home and/or language background	20	19	28	23
Motivation. School and home values different.	24	31	7	19
Too much awareness of difference between Maori and Pakeha.	8	25	17	16
The problem of catching up to European standards.	8	13	21	14
Cultural identity and/or feelings of inferiority.	12	13	10	11
Academic failure.	4	0	7	4
Pre-school education.	4	0	0	1
Answer sheet left blank.	20	0	10	11

These results reveal a healthy diversity of opinion between teachers. Obviously there would be food in these results for considerable discussion between people holding various opinions. If such discussion were held in an informed and constructive atmosphere it is likely that increased sensitivity could result.

The final question of Section 4 asked respondents to



write down a brief description of any specific schemes they were associated with, which aimed at providing special help for Maori children. The majority of respondents (71%) left this section blank or entered "Nil". A further 6% made it clear that not only were they not involved in any special scheme, but the thought of it was anathema to them. Of the remaining 23%, two primary teachers stated they were using the Education Department's book Language Programmes for Maori Children as a special programme, two secondary teachers considered their involvement in non-streamed classes to be a special scheme to help Maori children and a further three teachers (one intermediate, and two secondary) stated they used the special musical or physical strengths of Maori pupils to provide special assistance.

### Section 5

#### Fiction

Table 9 provides data on the amount of fictional material which respondents reported having read. No book had been read by more than half of the sample. The most popular book was Sylvia Ashton-Warner's Spinster which had been fully read by 43% of the combined sample. Hilliard's Maori Girl and Ihimaera's Pounamu Pounamu had been read by 26% of the sample, while Tangi recorded a rating of 17%.

At the other end of the spectrum Blank's delightful and insightful short story One, Two, Three, Four, Five ... had not been read by a single teacher in the sample.

Orbell's Contemporary Maori Writings (3% read the whole book), Baker's Behind the Tattooed Face (6%) and Francis' Johnny Rapana (7%) fared little better.



Table 9

Fiction Reading Completed by Taranaki Teacher Sample.  
(Figures quoted represent percentage of total group  
falling into each category, rounded to nearest whole  
number.)

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Total	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Total	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Total	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Total
Ashton-Warner, <u>Spinster</u>	52	31	52	47	8	6	7	7	4	0	3	3	36	63	38	43
Blank, <u>One, Two, Three, Four, Five, ...</u>	100	94	100	99	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Francis, <u>Johnny Rapana</u>	84	81	97	89	4	0	3	3	0	6	0	1	12	13	0	7
Baker, <u>Behind the Tattooed Face</u>	92	81	86	87	4	6	7	6	0	6	0	1	4	6	7	6
Hilliard, <u>Maori Girl</u>	72	56	69	67	12	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	16	44	24	26
Hilliard, <u>Maori Woman</u>	100	69	83	86	0	6	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	25	14	11
Ihimaera, <u>Pounamu, Pounamu</u>	80	44	72	69	4	0	7	4	4	0	0	1	12	56	21	26
Ihimaera, <u>Tangi</u>	88	56	69	73	4	6	17	10	0	0	0	0	8	38	14	17
Orbell, <u>Contemporary Maori Writing</u>	96	69	93	89	4	12	0	4	0	12	3	4	0	6	3	3
Orbell, <u>Maori Folktales</u>	64	31	79	63	24	31	0	20	4	19	3	7	8	19	7	10

If one sets a target of the equivalent of from three to five books (or 30%-50%) as a reasonable amount of this selection of fiction reading for a teacher genuinely aspiring to a higher level of bicultural sensitivity, then it will be seen that the Taranaki sample fall somewhat short.

A glance at Table 12 reveals that the only group reaching this admittedly arbitrary standard are the intermediate teachers with the equivalent of 31% of the possible reading in this sub-section. Primary teachers (12%) and secondary teachers (15%) fall well below.

#### Reports

Turning to the Taranaki sample's reading of Department reports it is quite predictable that the pattern is even more disappointing. Table 10 shows that even the most popular report (i.e. The Commission on Education, (1962) - Chapter on Maori Education) had only been read fully by 13% of the teachers surveyed.

The Educational Development Conference's final comments on Maori Education failed to reach any of the groups.

It is indeed disturbing that such important commentaries as The Hunn Report (3%), the National Advisory Committee's Report (1%), and the two teachers bodies' New Zealand Educational Institute and Post Primary Teachers' Association reports (4% and 0% respectively) had been read with care by so very few classroom teachers in this area.

If one assumes as a minimum desired reading level an average of only one or two reports (i.e. 10%-20% approximately) then it will be seen once again that this sample falls well below. Table 12 reveals that for the combined sample only the

Table 10

Reports. Reading Completed by Taranaki Teachers Sample.  
(Figures quoted represent percentage of total group falling  
into each category rounded to nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample
Currie Commission (1962)	72	62	65	67	8	13	14	11	12	6	7	9	8	19	14	13
E.D.C. Working Party on Maori Education (1974)	72	94	90	84	8	0	3	4	12	0	3	6	8	6	5	6
E.D.C. Report of Advisory Committee (1975)	100	88	93	94	0	12	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hunn Report (1961)	92	88	86	89	4	6	7	6	4	0	3	3	0	6	3	3
Presbyterian Maori Synod Report (1961)	100	100	97	99	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (1970)	100	88	100	97	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1
New Zealand Educational Institute Maori Education Report (1967)	84	69	97	86	8	12	0	6	8	6	3	4	0	12	0	4
Young Maori Leaders' Conference Report (1970)	100	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
P.P.T.A. Interim Report Maori Education (1970)	100	94	93	96	0	0	7	3	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0

equivalent of 5% (or one half of one report per person) appears to have been read.

#### Educational and Sociological References

Table 11 summarises the Taranaki sample's reported reading of educational and sociological references. The picture continues to be most disappointing. Of the two books listed only Ashton-Warner's Teacher appears to have had any impact at all (26% read the whole book).

Admittedly some of the books listed in the section are rather academic. Others however are quite readable and may be considered central to a fuller understanding of Maori children in our schools. Books in this class would include Bray and Hill's Polynesian and Pakeha in New Zealand Education (Volumes I and II), Ewing and Shallcrass' Introduction to Maori Education, King's Te Ao Huri Huri, Ritchie's The Making of a Maori, and Schwimmer's The Maori People in the 1960's. None of these books appear to have been read in depth by more than 3% or 4% of the sample (and some by 0%). While it is true another handful of teachers reported having "Skimmed" one or other of the volumes, it is doubtful if this was of much value.

Most surprising of all was the fact that a mere 4% of the combined sample report having read in full Maori Children and the Teacher. 90% have apparently never read the book at all, while 6% say they have skimmed it. This readable little book has been issued to all schools. It may be found on nearly any staffroom shelf. For all its faults it should have been read. The fact that so very few teachers in Taranaki have done so, suggests that little genuine effort to understand Maori pupils

Table 11

Educational and Sociological References. Reading Completed by Taranaki Teacher Sample. (Figures quoted represent percentage of total group falling into each category rounded to nearest whole number).

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample
<u>Teacher</u>	68	38	83	67	12	0	0	4	4	6	0	3	16	56	17	26
<u>The English Vocabulary and Sentence...</u>	100	94	97	97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	3
<u>Research into English Language Difficulties ...</u>	100	100	97	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
<u>Polynesian and Pakeha...Vol.I</u>	96	88	93	93	0	12	0	3	0	0	0	0	4	0	7	4
<u>Polynesian and Pakeha...Vol.II</u>	100	100	97	99	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Introduction to Maori Education</u>	92	81	100	93	4	12	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	6	0	3
<u>Orakei</u>	96	94	97	96	0	6	0	1	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	1
<u>Te Ao Huri Huri</u>	96	100	100	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1
<u>Maori Mothers and Pre-School Education</u>	92	81	97	91	0	19	3	6	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	3

Table 11 (Cont.)

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample
<u>A New Maori Migration</u>	92	88	93	91	4	12	7	7	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<u>The Making of a Maori</u>	92	69	86	84	4	31	10	13	4	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
<u>The Maori People in the 1960's</u>	92	88	86	89	4	6	7	6	0	0	7	3	4	6	0	3
<u>The Maoris of New Zealand</u>	88	88	93	90	4	6	3	4	0	6	3	3	8	0	0	3
<u>Maori Children and the Teacher</u>	88	88	93	90	4	12	3	6	0	0	0	0	8	0	3	4
<u>Language Programmes for Maori Children</u>	28	50	90	59	4	31	7	11	32	12	3	16	36	6	0	14

through a reading of the appropriate literature is being made.

On a slightly more optimistic note the Education Department's Language Programmes for Maori Children has had some apparent impact. 36% of the primary sample reported having read it in full while a further 32% have read part of the book carefully. As the book includes units of work relevant to different sections of the school a partial reading is quite acceptable.

This book contains practical units suitable for use in a classroom. It is understandable that it should be more popular with busy classroom teachers therefore. Such regard for practicality is commendable. We should not allow it to blind us to the need for a deeper understanding of Maoriness however.

McDonald's Maori Mothers and Pre-School Children is a good example of a readable book which provides a wealth of insight into the thoughts and dilemmas of Maori mothers. A sensitive reading of this book must place a teacher in a better position to meet and discuss with the parents of her Maori children. 91% of the sample report that they have never read the book. 6% say they have skimmed it and only 3% that they have actually read the whole book carefully.

As a minimum standard one could expect that if teachers as a group genuinely aspired to increased sensitivity in this area, they would have read the equivalent of three to five<sup>books</sup> in this section (i.e. between 20%-30% of the possible total). Table 12 reveals that in fact the combined sample have read only 6% of the possible (i.e. the equivalent of approximately one book).



Table 12

Percentage of Total Possible<sup>⌘</sup> Reading Completed by  
Taranaki Teacher Sample

	Primary	Inter- mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample
Fiction	12	31	15	17
Reports	5	7	4	5
Education/ Sociology	8	8	4	6
Journals	1	10	11	5
	n=25	n=16	n=29	n=70

⌘ See p.71 for explanation of how this total was calculated.

N.B. Two books, Teacher and Language Programmes for Maori Children, accounted for 53% of the Education/Sociology reading completed by the combined sample.

#### Journals

Walker (in Bray and Hill, Vol.1, p.118) has said that if teachers read material such as Te Ao Hou and Te Maori they would find a wealth of social studies material. In this section was also included Marae which has only been published occasionally, and two rather more scholarly journals (i.e. The Journal of the Polynesian Society and The New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies).

It was not expected that many classroom teachers would in fact report regular reading of these journals but in order to obtain a more complete picture of reading habits it was decided to include this section nevertheless.

Results (see Table 13) indicate quite clearly that the great bulk of teachers in the sample group are not using any of these sources regularly enough to derive practical assist-

Table 13

Journals. Reading Completed by Taranaki Teachers' Sample. (Figures quoted represent percentage of total group falling into each category rounded to the nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read	Rarely Read	Occasionally Read	Regularly Read
	P. I. S. C/S.	P. I. S. C/S	P. I. S. C/S.	P. I. S. C/S.
Te Ao Hou	92 75 79 83	8 12 10 10	0 12 10 7	0 0 0 0
Te Maori	96 75 83 86	0 0 10 4	4 19 7 9	0 6 0 1
Marae	100 81 90 92	0 12 10 7	0 6 0 1	0 0 0 0
Journal of Polynesian Society	96 88 90 92	4 12 3 6	0 0 7 3	0 0 0 0
New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies	100 81 90 92	0 0 3 1	0 12 0 3	0 6 7 4

ance from them. Two of the journals (plus Marae of course) were read regularly by not a single respondent in the Taranaki teachers sample, one by only one respondent, and the final journal by a mere 4% (3 respondents out of 70 in the combined sample).

#### Other References

It was impractical to attempt to list all possible references on the Questionnaire. For this reason respondents were invited at the end of Section 5 to list any other references they had found useful. Eight respondents (11%) in the Taranaki sample availed themselves of this opportunity. The following is a list of books mentioned in these eight replies :-

Buck	<u>The Coming of the Maori</u>
Cleary	<u>This Mrs Kingi</u>
Dansey	<u>Maori Custom Today</u>
Ihimaera	<u>Whanau</u>
<u>New Zealand Listener</u> articles (mentioned twice)	
Ngata	<u>Maori Grammar and Conversation</u>
P.P.T.A.	<u>Journal Articles</u>
P.P.T.A.	<u>Polynesian Education (1975)</u>
Reed	<u>Concise Maori Dictionary</u>
Salmond	<u>Hui</u>
Scott	<u>Ask That Mountain</u> (mentioned twice)
Vaughan (ed.)	<u>Racial Issues in New Zealand</u>
Walsh	<u>More and More Maoris</u>

#### Records

Learning to Speak Maori (4 records)

Reason for Reading

Respondents were asked to state the reason for reading a book. Five specific categories were detailed on the Questionnaire plus a miscellaneous category. By far the most reading had been done for personal interest (68%). University (12%) was the next most important category, Teachers' College (8%) next, while work planning (6%), in-service training (1%) and miscellaneous (5%) completed the picture. The very low percentage attributed to in-service work is disappointing and suggests that little in-depth preparation is undertaken for such courses.

Analysis of Section 6

This section required teachers to supply short answers to set questions. Its design is more objective than that of Sections 2 or 3, which called for opinion rather than fact. The intention was to assess teachers' knowledge of a limited selection of Maori words and concepts.

Tables 14 and 15 summarise the results. Table 14 is an item by item analysis of the percentage within each group obtaining a credit for any particular item. It will be seen for example that 56% of the combined sample were able to give the name of a meetinghouse in their area (N.B. marking standards were outlined above on p. 73) while only 7% were able to say from what source a meetinghouse usually derives its name. Not one secondary teacher in the sample was successful on this item however.

For each item correct in Section 6 a single credit was given. The raw score for each respondent was calculated simply by adding the total number of items credited. A max-

Table 14

Section 6. Percentage of Taranaki Teacher Sample credited with the Correct Answer for Each Item. (Figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Question	Primary %	Inter- mediate %	Secondary %	Combined Sample %
1	36	75	62	56
2	4	25	0	7
3	24	25	10	19
4	24	31	3	17
5	20	31	7	17
6	28	56	38	39
7	20	44	34	31
8	24	25	10	19
9	0	25	7	9
10 (i)	56	75	1	54
10 (ii)	12	38	17	20
10 (iii)	4	6	0	3
10 (iv)	12	31	17	19
10 (v)	40	38	31	36
10 (vi)	16	19	10	14
10 (vii)	8	19	7	10
10 (viii)	36	69	28	40
10 (ix)	12	44	24	24
10 (x)	4	25	7	10

imum score therefore was 19.

Table 15 shows the percentage of each group within the sample who were credited with a particular raw score. For each group a cumulative percentage frequency is also given. Thus for example in the primary sample we find 12% of the group obtained a raw score of 8 while 96% of the sample obtained this score or less.

Table 15 also illustrates the difficulty level of this section of the Questionnaire. It will be seen for example that 61% of the combined sample scored within the lowest quartile (raw score 0-4) while a further 28% scored in the second quartile (raw score 5-9). Thus we find 89% of the sample scoring below the mid-point.

The reader is invited to look carefully at the results tabulated for Section 6. He should decide for himself whether they are satisfactory. In the writer's opinion however the results betray a lamentable ignorance of Maori terms and practices. If such ignorance is generalised to the totality of Maoritanga then it is difficult to see how Maori children in schools contrive to maintain any of the Maori aspects of their subjective reality.

Table 15

Section 6. Percentage of Taranaki Teacher Sample  
Obtaining Specific Raw Scores. (Figures rounded  
to nearest whole number.)

Raw Score	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary		Combined Sample		
	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	
0	24	24	13	13	21	21	20	20	Lowest Quartile
1	12	36	0	13	10	31	9	29	
2	4	40	6	19	17	48	10	39	
3	16	56	6	25	14	62	12	51	
4	8	64	19	44	7	69	10	61	Second Quartile
5	8	72	0	44	4	72	4	66	
6	4	76	6	50	10	83	7	73	
7	8	84	6	56	4	86	6	79	
8	12	96	6	63	4	90	7	86	
9	0	96	6	69	4	93	3	89	

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Table 15 (Cont.)

Raw Score	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary		Combined Sample		
	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	
10	0	96	6	75	0	93	1	90	Third Quartile
11	0	96	0	75	0	93	0	90	
12	0	96	6	81	4	97	3	93	
13	0	96	0	81	0	97	0	93	
14	0	96	13	94	4	100	4	97	
15	0	96	6	100	0	100	1	99	Top Quartile
16	4	100	0	100	0	100	1	100	
17	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	
18	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	
19	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	
Mean Raw Score = 3.8			Mean Raw Score = 7.0			Mean Raw Score = 3.6			
Median = 3.125			Median = 6.5			Median = 2.625			
Mode = 0			Mode = 4			Mode = 0			

Hawke's Bay Sample

The total number of Questionnaires included in this group was ninety-four (thirty-three primary, twenty-five intermediate, and thirty-six secondary). Of the total group thirty-seven had less than five years' service, nine had from five to ten years' service, and forty-eight had more than ten years'. There were forty-nine males and forty-five females.

Table 16 shows the percentage of respondents in each group who have successfully completed university work.

Table 16

University Successes of Teachers in the  
Hawke's Bay Sample. (Figures represent  
percentages of each sample group.)

	Full Degree	Part Degree	No Units
Primary n = 33	6	30	63
Intermediate n = 25	4	44	52
Secondary n = 36	78	5	17
Combined Sample n = 94	33	25	42

Slightly more than half of the sample reported some successful university work.

Question 7 (Section 1) of the Questionnaire asked respondents to note any special experiences they felt had helped them understand Maori pupils better. Table 17 summarises replies. As some respondents noted more than one experience the total exceeds the sample size of ninety-four.

A significant proportion of the sample (36% in Hawke's Bay compared with 39% in Taranaki) claimed to have had no

special experiences which have helped them understand Maori pupils better.

Table 17

Summary of Hawke's Bay Respondents'  
Answers to Question 7, Section 1 -  
Special Experiences which have helped  
Respondents Understand Maori Pupils  
Better.

Type of Experience	Primary n = 33	Intermediate n = 25	Secondary n = 36	Combined Sample n=94
Nil	19	9	6	34
Visit to Marae.	3	6	20	29
In-service work or Teachers' College Course.	5	3	7	15
Taught Maori children.	6	5	3	14
Lived in Maori community.	2	4	6	12
Studied Maori language.	1	1	4	6
Related to a Maori or close Maori friends.	1	1	2	4
Television.	-	-	3	3
Taught in Islands.	-	-	3	3
Taught slow learners.	-	1	-	1
Presbyterian Maori Synod meetings (in residence).	1	-	-	1

The most common experience noted was a Marae visit (31% in Hawke's Bay compared with 22% in Taranaki). It would appear that in the Hawke's Bay secondary teachers (56%) have been much more active in this respect than either primary (9%) or intermediate teachers (24%). This bias however pro-

bably reflects a sample bias for the high schools sampled were all from Northern Hawke's Bay whereas the primary and intermediate schools were from Central Hawke's Bay.

In-service work or a Teachers' College Course was the second most common experience noted (16% in both Hawke's Bay and Taranaki) while the experience of having taught Maori children (15% in Hawke's Bay compared with 13% in Taranaki) or lived in a Maori community (13% in Hawke's Bay compared with 7% in Taranaki) were the only others to be noted by a significant number of respondents.

If responses to this question are a true indication of the "Maori" experiences which teachers in the Hawke's Bay sample have had then the writer can only express disappointment. It has been Education Department policy for some years to increase teacher sensitivity to the ideals and aspirations of the Maori section of our community. These efforts have been especially aimed at areas, such as Hawke's Bay, where the percentage of Maori pupils is higher. The responses to this question do not suggest significant progress is being made. Extreme caution should be applied however before making generalisations from such limited evidence.

### Sections 2 and 3

Hawke's Bay teachers, like their Taranaki counterparts, were asked to state an opinion on the questions in these two sections. Some of the Taranaki sample respondents expressed concern over the ambiguity of Question 5, Section 2. The writer had felt there was an advantage in forcing the choice between the "New Zealanders all one people" ideal and the beauty of "cultural differences" point of view. However it

was decided to adapt this question for the Hawke's Bay sample.

Question 5 was re-written as two questions as follows :

Question 5 : Do you agree with the ideal "New Zealanders  
should be all one people?" YES/NO

Question 5a : To achieve this, should cultural differ-  
ences be minimised? YES/NO

67% of the sample expressed agreement with the New Zealanders all one people ideal. Slightly more than half (57%) did not feel it was necessary to minimise cultural differences to achieve this. One third (33%) of the respondents did feel that cultural differences should be minimised however. The views of this group would seem to run counter to the policy statements discussed earlier in this thesis. If the experience of such schools as Hillary College can be taken as a guide, they also run counter to what would appear to be sound educational practice.

An examination of Table 18 reveals that respondents were quite divided in their opinions as to whether the current moves to emphasise Maoritanga were preserving and reinforcing feelings of apartness within New Zealand (Question 1). Slightly over a third doubted whether there was a Maori life pattern sufficient to sustain a sense of identity distinct from European culture and a quarter felt that it was too late for Maori youth to re-discover Maoritanga. Most (65%) disagree with separate Maori representation in Parliament while very few (19%) feared the development of "Brown Power" in New Zealand.

Most (76%) favoured the idea of Urban Maraes while more than half (61%) would have preferred these to be multi-racial with leadership open to both Maori and European.

Table 18

Summary of Answers to Section 2. Hawke's Bay Teachers  
Sample. (All percentages rounded to nearest whole  
number.)

Question	Primary (n=33)			Intermediate (n=25)			Secondary (n=36)			Combined Sample (n=94)		
	Yes %	No %	D.I. <sup>‡</sup>	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.
1	42	57	-15	64	32	+32	39	56	-17	47	50	-3
2	27	66	-39	52	48	+4	36	58	-22	37	59	-22
3	18	75	-57	40	52	-12	25	75	-50	27	69	-42
4	36	63	-27	12	84	-72	44	53	-9	33	65	-32
5	78	18	+60	76	20	+56	50	44	+6	67	29	+38
5a	33	63	-30	56	28	+28	17	72	-55	33	57	-24
6	18	75	-57	12	88	-76	25	67	-42	19	76	-57
7	84	12	+72	56	44	+12	81	14	+67	76	21	+55
8	63	33	+30	56	28	+28	61	33	+28	61	32	+29
9	66	6	+60	56	0	+56	58	6	+52	61	4	+57
10	15	81	-66	12	76	-64	25	61	-36	18	72	-54

D.I. denotes Directional Index

N.B. Some respondents did not answer all questions. Percentages do not always sum to one hundred therefore.

Eighteen percent (compared with Taranaki sample's 19%) favoured changing the name of Mount Egmont to Taranaki.

Table 19 summarises the Hawke's Bay sample's answers to Questions 1 to 6 and Question 8 of Section 3.

The opinions expressed by both Hawke's Bay and Taranaki teacher respondents were very similar as a comparison of Table 19 with Table 6 will reveal.

Hawke's Bay teachers were a little firmer in their opinion that it was an injustice to Europeans if Maori pupils found it easier to obtain financial help through scholarships (59%).

On Question 2, as with the Taranaki group, Hawke's Bay primary and intermediate teachers (Directional Indices of -12 and -60 respectively) did not feel that an increasing feeling of Maoriness would foster racial harmony in their schools. Secondary teachers, again like their Taranaki counterparts, were equally divided on this issue (Directional Index 0).

Fifty-nine percent of the Hawke's Bay group considered it important for a teacher to have a good knowledge of Maoritanga (Question 3). A disappointingly high 38% would disagree however. In the case of the intermediate teachers who responded, rather more than half (56%) did not feel such knowledge to be important.

As with the Taranaki group, there was a gradual increase in the number of teachers who agreed with teaching Maori language in schools, as the age of their pupils increased (primary 51%, intermediate 60%, and secondary 89%).

On the fifth question again the parallel trends between the Taranaki and Hawke's Bay group persisted. In general



Table 19

Summary of Answers to Section 3. Hawke's Bay Teachers.  
Sample. (All percentages rounded to nearest whole  
number.)

Question	Primary (n=33)			Intermediate (n=25)			Secondary (n=36)			Combined Sample (n=94)		
	Yes %	No %	D.I.*	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.	Yes %	No %	D.I.
1	69	21	+48	68	32	+36	42	53	-11	59	36	+23
2	39	51	-12	16	76	-60	47	47	0	36	56	-20
3	72	24	+48	44	56	-12	56	39	+17	59	38	+21
4	51	30	+21	60	32	+28	89	6	+83	68	21	+47
5	30	60	-30	36	60	-24	67	25	+42	46	47	-1
6	81	18	+63	52	40	+12	75	17	+58	71	23	+48
8	0	96	-96	4	96	-92	3	92	-89	2	95	-93

N.B. Some respondents did not answer all questions. Percentages do not always sum to one hundred therefore.

\* D.I. denotes Directional Index

primary and intermediate teachers in Hawke's Bay did not feel bilingualism would be an advantage for their pupils in school whereas the secondary teachers were fairly sure that it would (Directional Index +42).

As with the Taranaki teacher sample, the majority of Hawke's Bay respondents agreed that there were significant differences between Maori and European children which call for special knowledge on the part of the teacher (71%). A significant minority (23%) resisted such a notion however.

Predictably very few Hawke's Bay respondents claimed to speak Maori (two out of ninety-four). A further three stated they had some knowledge of the language however.

On Question 7 of Section 3 the majority of Hawke's Bay respondents (61%) considered a combination of socio-economic and cultural factors explained the higher incidence of school failure experienced by Maori pupils. Sixteen percent felt only socio-economic factors were involved, 7% blamed cultural factors while 3% felt that Maoris had less hereditary ability. The remaining 13% selected option (e) "Some other factor". Their answers in this category included :

"Grandmas who don't/won't send children to school regularly." (one respondent)

"Parental apathy." (five respondents)

"Restricted language code of parents." (one respondent)

"Lazy or apathetic." (four respondents)

"Too much stress on competition in classrooms."  
(one respondent)

"Teacher expectations irrelevant." (one respondent)

"Lack of drive." (two respondents)

"Over-emphasis on differences." (one respondent)

On both Questions 9 and 10 of this section the majority of respondents, like the Taranaki group selected "about the same" (68% Question 9, 72% Question 10), 3% (compared with 1.4% in Taranaki) found teaching Maori children easier, while 23% found it more difficult (compared with 24% in Taranaki). Fourteen percent of the Hawke's Bay group found teaching Maori pupils more rewarding (compared with 3 % in Taranaki) and only 8% (compared with 7 % in Taranaki) found it less rewarding.

#### Section 4

Responses to Question 1 indicate that 31% of the Hawke's Bay respondents had attended a tangi (21% of the primary group, 40% of the intermediate, and 33% of the secondary).

Only 17% of the group had slept overnight on a marae however (9% primary, 16% intermediate, and 25% secondary).

Question 3 related to in-service training work. Table 20 summarises results.

There was no evidence from this table to suggest that Hawke's Bay teachers were receiving more in-service training on the education of Maori pupils than were teachers in Taranaki. Seventy-eight percent of each group indicated that they had spent no full days on the topic. The Hawke's Bay secondary teachers did fare a little better. This probably reflects sample bias as all secondary schools were in Northern Hawke's Bay.

Only one teacher in the Hawke's Bay sample had had all three of the experiences covered in Questions 1, 2 and 3 of Section 4.

Table 20

Estimated Number of In-service Training Days Spent on Maori Education During the Last Five Years. Hawke's Bay Sample.

Number of Days	Primary		Inter-mediate		Secondary		Combined Sample	
	Absolute Number	%	Absolute Number	%	Absolute Number	%	Absolute Number	%
0	29	87	22	88	22	61	73	78
1	1	3	0	0	4	11	5	5
2	0	0	0	0	4	11	4	4
3	0	0	1	4	1	3	2	2
4	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	2
5	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	2
6	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	1
10 or more	3	9	1	4	1	3	5	5
	n=33		n=25		n=36		n=94	

Question 4 of this section asked teachers to write down what they thought were the most crucial issues facing Maori children in our schools. Answers are tabulated in Table 21 below.

Once more a healthy diversity of opinion was revealed. In the two major categories (i.e. "Poor home and/or language background" and "Poor motivation") Hawke's Bay results closely matched those of the Taranaki sample. There was also an identical percentage ( 11%) of each group listing "Cultural identity and/or feelings of inferiority".

Table 21

Hawke's Bay Sample. Opinions on What is the Most Crucial Issue Facing Maori Children in School. (Figures represent percentages of each group rounded to the nearest whole number.)

Description of Category	Prim. %	Int. %	Sec. %	C/S. %
Poor home and/or language background.	48	16	14	27
Poor motivation and/or long term goals.	3	16	30	17
Cultural Identity and/or feelings of inferiority.	9	12	11	11
Being stereotyped by Europeans.	9	12	5	9
Irrelevance of school programme.	6	4	11	7
Academic failure.	0	0	14	5
Accepting need to achieve European standards.	9	0	5	5
Too much awareness of difference between Maori and Pakeha.	0	12	0	3
Use of Maori culture in a situation where it is not relevant.	0	4	0	1
The weakening of Maoritanga.	0	4	0	1
Maori pupils reliance on group support.	0	4	0	1
Lack of continuing education opportunities.	0	0	3	1
Pre-school education.	3	0	0	1
Social problems.	6	0	0	2
Answer sheet left blank.	6	16	8	7

Like the Taranaki sample most (79%) of the Hawke's Bay respondents left Question 5 of Section 4 blank. Of those who answered, a few gave more than one scheme and five percent were

at pains to point out that any special schemes they were involved in, were available to all pupils not simply Maori pupils.

The most common schemes mentioned involved language programmes of some description (7). Programmes for retarded children (2), including relevant material in programmes (2), recognition of specific goal achievement by a special certificate (2) and monetary help (2) were next. Schemes mentioned only once were vocational guidance, a clinic to help pupils with physical and social disabilities, sport, health and personal hygiene, a social services committee and a respondent's personal study of Maoritanga.

#### Section 5

##### Fiction

Table 22 provides data on the amount of fictional material Hawke's Bay respondents reported reading. There is a close correspondence between the Hawke's Bay and Taranaki samples. Most popular books were in order of popularity Pounamu Pounamu (32%), Spinster (29%), Tangi (22%), and Maori Girl (19%).

Overall Hawke's Bay respondents do not appear to have done any more fictional reading in this area than their Taranaki counterparts. Both had completed 17% of the possible reading. Given that Hawke's Bay has a far larger Maori population this is disappointing.

##### Reports

Only a very small percentage of the Hawke's Bay sample had fully read any of the references listed in this section of Questionnaire. Like the Taranaki sample, this group noted the Commission on Education (1962) as being the most popular but this was read fully by only 9% of respondents. No other

Table 22

Fiction Reading Completed by Hawke's Bay Teacher Sample. (Figures quoted represent percentage of total group falling into each category, rounded to nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Inter- mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample
Ashton-Warner, <u>Spinster</u>	49	48	61	53	15	32	11	18	0	0	0	0	36	20	28	29
Blank, <u>One, Two, Three, Four, Five...</u>	100	100	94	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2
Francis, <u>Johnny Rapanā</u>	88	92	77	75	6	4	6	15	0	0	3	1	6	4	14	9
Baker, <u>Behind the Tattooed Face</u>	91	100	83	91	6	0	8	5	0	0	3	1	3	0	6	3
Hilliard, <u>Maori Girl</u>	82	80	53	70	6	4	19	11	0	0	0	0	12	16	28	19
Hilliard, <u>Maori Woman</u>	85	88	72	81	6	0	11	6	0	0	0	0	9	12	17	13
Ihimaera, <u>Pounamu Pounamu</u>	67	64	47	59	12	4	6	7	0	4	3	2	21	28	44	32
Ihimaera, <u>Tangi</u>	76	72	63	69	6	4	3	4	3	4	3	5	15	20	31	22
Orbell, <u>Contemporary Maori Writing</u>	94	100	86	93	6	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	3
Orbell, <u>Maori Folk Tales</u>	55	48	94	68	27	20	3	16	6	4	3	4	12	28	0	12



Table 23

Reports. Reading Completed by Hawke's Bay Teachers' Sample. (Figures quoted represent percentages of total group falling into each category rounded to nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter- mediate	Second- ary	Combined Sample
Currie Commission (1962)	79	68	72	73	12	4	14	11	6	16	3	7	3	12	11	9
E.D.C. Working Party of Maori Education (1974)	91	96	84	91	9	0	8	6	0	0	3	1	0	4	5	3
E.D.C. Report of Advisory Committee (1975)	94	92	84	90	6	4	11	7	0	0	5	2	0	4	0	1
Hunn Report (1961)	94	96	81	90	6	0	3	3	0	0	11	4	0	4	5	3
Presbyterian Maori Synod Report (1961)	97	96	95	97	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	2
National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (1970)	97	100	92	96	3	0	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand Educational Institute Maori Education Report (1967)	82	88	83	84	18	4	14	13	0	8	3	3	0	0	0	0
Young Maori Leaders' Conference Report (1970)	100	96	100	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1
P.P.T.A. Interim Report Maori Education (1970)	97	96	90	94	3	0	5	3	0	4	0	1	0	0	5	2

report appears to have been carefully read by more than 3% of the teachers surveyed (see Table 23). The group had completed exactly the same amount of reading under this section as Taranaki teachers (i.e. 5%).

#### Educational and Sociological References

Given the higher percentage of Maori pupils in Hawke's Bay the writer had expected to find a higher level of reading in this group. The Hawke's Bay teachers with 7% of the possible reading in this section completed (see Table 26) do not differ significantly from the Taranaki sample (6%) however.

Reference to Table 24 will reveal that like the Taranaki group, Hawke's Bay teachers noted Ashton-Warner's Teacher (23% had read it fully) as the most commonly read book, Language Programmes for Maori Children second (12% had read it fully); and Maori Children and the Teacher (9% had read it fully) third. No other book in this section had been read fully by more than six percent of the sample and six books (including the two volumes by Bray and Hill and Michael King's Te Ao Huri Huri) had been read fully by either none or only one respondent.

The writer is tempted to lament in detail facts such as one hundred percent of the primary and intermediate teachers who responded, claim to have "Never read" McDonald's Maori Mothers and Pre-school Children. The temptation will be resisted however and the reader is invited to study Table 24 carefully and form his own conclusions.

#### Journals

In this section too, results from the combined Hawke's Bay sample, parallel those of the Taranaki sample very closely (see Table 25). Hawke's Bay teachers reported 4% of the pos-

Table 24

Educational and Sociological References. Reading Completed by Hawke's Bay Teacher Sample. (Figures quoted represent percentage of total group falling into each category rounded to the nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read				Skimmed				Read Part of Book				Read Whole Book			
	Primary	Inter-mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter-mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter-mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Inter-mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample
<u>Teacher</u>	52	68	75	65	9	12	11	11	0	4	0	1	39	16	14	23
<u>The English Vocabulary and Sentence Structure</u>	100	100	97	99	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Research into English Language Difficulties</u>	100	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Polynesian and Pakeha ... Vol. I</u>	94	100	91	95	0	0	3	1	6	0	3	3	0	0	3	1
<u>Polynesian and Pakeha ... Vol. II</u>	94	100	94	96	0	0	3	1	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
<u>Introduction to Maori Education</u>	100	96	91	96	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	1	0	4	3	2
<u>Orakei</u>	100	100	97	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
<u>Te Ao Huri Huri</u>	100	100	91	97	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	1
<u>Maori Mothers and Pre-school Children</u>	100	100	89	96	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	3
<u>A New Maori Migration</u>	100	100	86	95	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	8	3
<u>The Making of a Maori</u>	91	96	72	86	3	4	11	6	3	0	3	2	3	0	14	6
<u>The Maori People in the 1960s</u>	97	100	73	89	0	0	5	2	0	0	8	3	3	0	14	6

Table 24 (Cont.)

Title	Never Read			Skimmed			Read Part of Book			Read Whole Book		
	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Combined Sample	Secondary	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary
<u>The Maoris of New Zealand</u>	100	100	75	91	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	17
<u>Maori Children and the Teacher</u>	64	84	89	78	18	0	5	9	3	8	3	9
<u>Language Programmes for Maori Children</u>	34	56	91	61	24	16	3	14	18	20	8	12

Table 25

Journals. Reading Completed by Hawke's Bay Teachers' Sample. (Figures quoted represent percentage of total group falling into each category rounded to the nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read				Rarely Read				Occasionally read				Regularly read			
	* P.	I.	S.	C/S.	P.	I.	S.	C/S.	P.	I.	S.	C/S.	P.	I.	S.	C/S.
Te Ao Hou	85	84	78	82	9	8	17	12	3	8	5	5	3	0	0	1
Te Maori	91	96	69	82	6	0	14	7	3	4	14	10	0	0	3	1
Marae	100	100	97	99	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Journal of Polynesian Society	100	100	83	92	0	0	14	5	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies	97	96	84	92	3	0	11	5	0	4	0	1	0	0	5	2

\* P denotes Primary  
 I denotes Intermediate  
 S denotes Secondary  
 C/S denotes Combined Sample

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sible reading in this section compared with Taranaki's 5% (see Table 26).

Table 26

Percentage of Total Possible<sup>x</sup> Reading  
Completed by Hawke's Bay Teacher Sample.  
(Figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

	Primary	Inter- mediate	Secondary	Combined Sample
Fiction	14	15	20	17
Reports	2	5	7	5
Educational/ Sociological	8	4	8	7
Journals	2	2	8	4

<sup>x</sup> See p. 71 for explanation of how this total was calculated.

In an area of relatively high Maori population it is disappointing that 82% of teachers in the Hawke's Bay sample report that they never read either Te Ao Hou or Te Maori. It is certain that local events of importance to Maoris in this district would feature from time to time. These journals give a useful insight into topical events from a Maori viewpoint.

#### Other References

Ten respondents in the Hawke's Bay sample availed themselves of the opportunity of supplying useful references not listed in the Questionnaire. The following is a list of references mentioned:

Pageant of the Pacific, Maori Words for Today

Studies by James and Jane Ritchie

Cleary, This Mrs Kingi

Grace, Waiariki (sic)

Articles in Church and People, Tablet, Zealandia

Ihimaera, Whanau

Hohepa, The Treaty of Waitangi - Promise and Betrayal (C.A.R.E.)

Articles in The Listener

Berys Henei, Maori Women

Ritchie, Rakau Studies

Elsdon Best's books

Buck, Coming of the Maori

Mitchell, J.H., Takitimu - History of Ngati Kahungunu

Ryan, P.M. Maori Dictionary

Perhaps the most revealing comment written by one respondent in this section was, "I did not know that many of these references in Section 5 were in existence."

#### Reason for Reading

As with the Taranaki sample the majority of reading was apparently done for personal interest. University and Teachers' College were the next most popular reasons given (11% and 7% respectively), while work planning, and in-service work were responsible for less than 3% of the total reading completed by the Hawke's Bay sample.

#### Section 6

The reader is invited to refer to page 108 above for an earlier explanation and discussion in relation to this section of the Questionnaire. The combined Hawke's Bay sample results are not significantly different from those of the Taranaki sample (mean 4.7 compared with 4.5 - see Table 28). Again the Hawke's Bay secondary teachers scored rather better than other groups (mean 6.1) probably reflecting sample bias.

It is most surprising and most disappointing that Hawke's



Bay teachers scored so poorly on this section. Examination of Table 27 reveals that 41% could not name a local meeting-house, 84% did not know the source from which the meetinghouse derived its name, 65% were unable to name a local Maori elder, and so on.

Table 27

Section 6. Percentage of Hawke's Bay Teacher Sample Credited with the Correct Answer for Each Item. (Figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Question	Primary %	Intermediate %	Secondary %	Combined Sample %
1	56	24	64	59
2	4	9	31	16
3	28	15	39	28
4	28	15	39	28
5	8	12	33	19
6	52	30	31	36
7	56	30	25	35
8	28	9	0	11
9	8	9	11	10
10 (i)	64	39	56	52
10 (ii)	20	9	33	21
10 (iii)	4	0	17	7
10 (iv)	4	6	28	14
10 (v)	44	30	44	39
10 (vi)	16	9	42	23
10 (vii)	8	3	14	9
10 (viii)	52	12	44	35
10 (ix)	32	18	36	29
10 (x)	12	6	22	23

Table 28

Section 6. Percentage of Hawke's Bay Teacher  
Sample Obtaining Specific Raw Scores. (Fig-  
ures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Raw Score	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary		Combined Sample		Lowest Quartile
	Absolute	Cumulative	Absolute	Cumulative	Absolute	Cumulative	Absolute	Cumulative	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
0	33	33	12	12	22	22	23	23	
1	12	45	4	16	8	30	9	32	
2	12	57	8	24	8	38	10	42	
3	6	63	8	32	8	46	7	49	
4	12	75	20	52	0	46	10	59	
5	9	84	4	56	0	46	4	63	
6	0	84	4	60	6	52	3	66	
7	6	90	8	68	0	52	4	70	
8	3	93	16	84	11	63	10	80	
9	3	96	8	92	6	69	5	85	
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Table 28 (Cont.)

Raw Score	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary		Combined Sample				
	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %	Absolute %	Cumulative %			
10	0	96	4	96	8	77	4	89	Third Quartile		
11	0	96	0	96	8	85	3	92			
12	0	96	0	96	0	85	0	92			
13	0	96	4	100	6	91	3	95			
14	0	96	0	100	0	91	0	95			
15	0	96	0	100	3	94	1	96	Top Quartile		
16	0	96	0	100	3	97	1	97			
17	0	96	0	100	0	97	0	97			
18	3	99	0	100	3	100	2	99			
19	0	99	0	100	0	100	0	99			
Mean Raw Score =		3	Mean Raw Score =		5.2	Mean Raw Score =		6.1	Mean Raw Score =		4.7
Median =		1.875	Median =		4.4	Median =		6.0	Median =		3.61
Mode =		0	Mode =		4	Mode =		0	Mode =		0

With 59% of the sample scoring in the lowest quartile and 85% below the mid-point one can only express dismay if arguments outlined earlier in this thesis are indeed tenable.

Psychologist Sample

Thirty Questionnaires were included in this group. Respondents were not required to state length of service. All respondents were European. Twenty-one were male and nine female. All respondents had completed a University degree, many to Masters level. Nine of these had either Maori language, Maori Studies or Anthropology units in their degrees (30%).

Respondents were asked to note any special experiences they felt had helped them to understand Maori pupils better (Question 7 Section 1). Replies to this question are summarized in Table 29.

Table 29

Summary of Psychologists' Answers  
to Question 7 Section 1, Special  
Experiences which have Helped Res-  
pondents Understand Maori Pupils  
Better.

Type of Experience	Number of Responses
Marae Visits	10
Nil	9
In-service	9
Study Course (University)	6
Teaching or working with Maori children	6
Residence in Maori area	3
Close Maori friends	1
Teaching in Islands	1

N.B. Some respondents gave more than one experience. Total therefore exceeds thirty.

Sections 2 and 3

Table 30 summarizes the Psychologist Sample's responses

to Section 2. On the same page Table 30a provides an immediate comparison of these views with those of the other sample groups.

Forty percent of the psychologists agreed that current moves to emphasise Maoritanga were preserving and reinforcing feelings of apartness instead of hastening the day when New Zealanders were simply New Zealanders. This compared with sixty-six percent of Taranaki teachers and forty-seven percent of Hawke's Bay teachers who felt the same way.

Thirty-seven percent felt that there was not a Maori life pattern sufficient to sustain a sense of identity distinct from European culture, but there was general agreement that it was not too late for Maori youth to rediscover Maoritanga (73%).

A surprisingly large number of psychologists (77%) were opposed to separate Maori representation in Parliament. This compared with thirty-nine percent of the Taranaki teachers and sixty-five percent of the Hawke's Bay teachers who were of the same opinion.

Like the Taranaki sample slightly more than half (57%) of the psychologists believed that in order to promote New Zealand's one people ideal, cultural differences should be minimised while a third (33%) feared the development of "Brown Power" in New Zealand as a real possibility.

There was general agreement (77%) that urban maraes were a good thing. Unlike the Taranaki Maori sample however, which favoured a Maori marae, this sample preferred a multi-racial marae (77%). Most (70%) felt leadership should be open to Europeans as well as Maoris.

A third of the psychologist group were in favour of changing the name of "Egmont" to "Taranaki". This compared

Table 30

Summary of Answers to Section 2.  
Psychologists' Sample. (All percentages rounded to nearest whole number.)

Table 30a

Directional Indices of Other  
Sample Groups. Section 2.

Question	Yes %	No %	Directional Index	Taranaki Teacher	Hawke's Bay Teacher	Taranaki Maori
1	40	60	-20	+37	- 3	-40
2	37	50	-13	-13	-22	-64
3	20	73	-53	-58	-42	-100
4	17	77	-60	+12	-32	+28
5	57	40	+17	+20	N.A.	0
6	33	63	-30	-47	-57	-76
7	77	10	+67	+67	+55	+76
8	77	10	+67	+46	+29	-28
9	70	10	+60	+60	+57	+16
10	33	57	-24	-58	-54	+52

139.

N.B. See Table 5 for explanation of Directional Index.



with nineteen percent of the Taranaki teachers eighteen percent of the Hawke's Bay teachers and seventy-six percent of the Taranaki Maoris.

Table 31 is a summary of psychologists' responses to Section 3 (Questions 1-6 and 8). Slightly more than half the sample (53%) would not feel it an injustice if Maori students found it easier than European students to obtain financial help through scholarships. A third however would disagree. That such a large number of psychologists do not support the concept of unequal educational help for unequals is indeed disturbing.

A similar group (33%) felt that increasing feelings of "Maoriness" would not have a beneficial effect on racial harmony in schools but most (80%) were agreed that a teacher should have a good knowledge of Maoritanga. Sixty-three percent agreed with teaching Maori language in schools but over a quarter of the sample (27%) did not.

Thirty percent of this sample abstained from casting an opinion on Question 5, presumably because of the phrase "in your school". Of the remainder most (15 out of 21) did not consider bilingualism would be an advantage to a child in school.

In contrast to Question 1 Section 2 where sixty percent of the sample denied distinctive Maori identity, seventy-seven percent of the sample agreed (Question 6 Section 3) that there were significant differences between Maori and European children which called for special knowledge on the part of the teacher. If for many of this group the differences do not lie in Maori identity then one can perhaps presume they must lie

Table 31

Summary of Answers to Section 3.  
Psychologists' Sample. (All percentages rounded to nearest whole number.)

Question	Yes %	No %	Directional Index	Taranaki Teacher	Hawke's Bay Teacher	Taranaki Maori
1	33	53	-20	+ 3	+23	-76
2	47	33	+14	-20	-20	+44
3	80	10	+70	+34	+21	+60
4	63	27	+36	+47	+47	+100
5	20	50	-30	+10	- 1	+76
6	77	13	+64	+63	+48	+92
8	13	80	-67	-90	-93	+16

N.B. See Table 5 for explanation of Directional Index.

in minority group status or socio-economic realms.

Thirteen percent of the psychologists claimed to speak Maori while a further seven percent claimed some knowledge of the language.

Like the teachers' samples the majority of psychologists (83%) selected option (c) "a combination of socio-economic and cultural factors" to explain why Maori children do less well in school than European children (Question 7 Section 3). Seventy percent found working with Maori children about the same as working with European children and twenty-three percent found it harder. Nearly all (87%) found working with Maori and European children equally rewarding.

#### Section 4

Twenty percent of this group had attended a tangi (Question 1) while the same percentage claimed to have slept on a marae. That eighty percent of this group had not had this latter experience is disappointing. The psychologists' work very often involves visits to Maori homes. Frequently the child's presenting problems are based in the very dilemmas of culture contact, one side of which often only really becomes apparent on a marae. If psychologists are to avoid the trap of imposing European solutions to Maori problems, the in-depth understandings which can come from staying on a marae should be sought.

It will be seen from Table 32 that over half of this sample (57%) have not had the benefit during the last five years of in-service training work related specifically to Maori education. That forty-three percent have had such training opportunity is at least better than the twenty-one

percent of Taranaki teachers and the twenty-two percent of Hawke's Bay teachers.

Table 32

Estimated Number of In-service Training Days Spent on Maori Education during the Last Five Years. Psychologists' Sample.

Number of Days	Absolute Number of Psychologists	%
Zero	17	56.7
1	4	13.3
2	1	3.3
3	2	6.7
4	2	6.7
6	2	6.7
7	1	3.3
9	1	3.3

Only one psychologist had had all three of the experiences covered in the first three questions of Section 4.

Question 4 of this Section asked the respondents to write down what they felt was the most crucial issue facing Maori children in schools. Table 33 summarises the replies.

Like the teacher groups, psychologists expressed a fairly wide range of opinions on this question. Again it is the writer's belief that useful and productive discussions could arise from the expression of such differences.

Finally in Section 4 respondents were asked to note any special schemes they were involved in which aimed at providing special help for Maori children. Sixty-seven percent of the respondents entered "Nil". Of the remaining ten respondents

three stated they were involved in language schemes, three in research, and one in a "drop in" centre for 15+ year olds who had left school and were out of work. Three respondents made it clear that they would have nothing to do with any scheme which was "racially biased".

Table 33

Psychologist Sample. Opinions on What  
is the Most Crucial Issue Facing Maori  
Children in Schools.

Category	No. of Responses
Poor motivation. Relevance. School/home values different.	9
Being understood and respected.	6
Poor home or language background	6
Academic failure. Inferiority feelings.	5
Being a New Zealander rather than a Maori.	2
Issues no different from European.	2
Cultural change.	1
Nil	2

N.B. Some respondents stated more than one issue. Total number of responses therefore exceeds thirty.

## Section 5

### Fiction

Table 34 is a summary of fiction reading completed by psychologists. No book has been fully read by half or more of the sample although Sylvia Ashton-Warner's Teacher was close with forty-seven percent.

The writer believes that a great deal of empathetic understanding can be triggered through the reading of some

Table 34

Fiction Reading Completed by Psychologists' Sample.  
(Figures quoted represent percentage of total group  
falling into each category rounded to nearest whole  
number.)

	Never Read	Skimmed	Read Part of Book	Read Whole Book
Ashton-Warner, <u>Spinster</u>	30	20	3	47
Blank, <u>One, Two, Three, Four, Five ...</u>	83	0	3	13
Francis, <u>Johnny Rapana</u>	97	3	0	0
Baker, <u>Behind the Tattooed Face</u>	90	7	0	3
Hilliard, <u>Maori Girl</u>	63	10	3	23
Hilliard, <u>Maori Woman</u>	83	10	0	7
Ihimaera, <u>Pounamu Pounamu</u>	70	10	3	17
Ihimaera, <u>Tangi</u>	70	10	0	20
Orbell, <u>Contemporary Maori Writing</u>	93	3	3	0
Orbell, <u>Maori Folk Tales</u>	80	7	7	7

145.

N.B. The psychologist sample reported reading 16.6% of the total possible reading of fictional material.

fictional material. It is a disappointment to him that such insightful material as appears in Margaret Orbell's Contemporary Maori Writing has failed to reach psychologists' hearts and minds (0% had read the book fully). Similarly stories like Johnny Rapana (0), Maori Woman (7%), Tangi (20%) and the collection Pounamu Pounamu (17%) had reached all too few of these respondents.

### Reports

Table 35 summarises the report reading by the psychologist sample. Their 14% of the total possible reading compares favourably with Taranaki and Hawke's Bay teacher samples (5% each). This probably reflects their University backgrounds. The total still falls below a level which this writer would deem desirable. Ninety-three percent of the group had failed to sight the National Advisory Committee's Report on Maori Education (1970) for example, and not one had seen the Young Maori Leaders' Conference Report (1970).

### Educational and Sociological References

On this section too, the psychologists proved to be better read than other groups (20.6% of the possible reading completed, compared with 6% Taranaki teachers and 7% Hawke's Bay teachers). Still many significant books, (e.g. Bray and Hill Volumes I and II failed to reach 80% and 90% respectively; Te Ao Huri Huri 100% "Never Read"; and Metge's two books 77% and 87% respectively) have not been read by the majority of the sample.

Ritchie's Making of a Maori (read partly or fully by 53%), McDonald's Maori Mothers and Pre-school Children (43% reported partial or full reading of this book), Benton's Research into



Table 35

Reports. Reading completed by Psychologists Sample.  
(Figures quoted represent percentages of total group  
falling into each category rounded to nearest whole  
number.)

Title	Never Read	Skimmed	Read Part of Book	Read Whole Book
Currie Commission (1962)	27	23	7	43
Educational Development Conference Working Party on Maori Education (1974)	53	37	0	10
Educational Development Conference Report of Advisory Committee (1975)	77	10	3	10
Hunn Report (1961)	53	20	7	20
Presbyterian Maori Synod Report (1962)	97	3	0	0
National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (1970)	93	3	0	3
New Zealand Educational Institute Maori Education Report (1967)	80	10	7	3
Young Maori Leaders' Conference Report (1970)	100	0	0	0
P.P.T.A. Interim Report on Maori Education (1970)	97	3	0	0

147.

N.B. The psychologist sample had read 14% of the possible reading in this section.

Table 36

Educational and Sociological References. Reading Completed by Psychologists' Sample. (Figures represent percentage of total group falling into each category rounded to nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read	Skimmed	Read Part of Book	Read Whole Book
<u>English Vocabulary and Sentence Structure...</u>	57	13	10	20
<u>Teacher</u>	43	20	3	33
<u>Research into English Language Difficulties...</u>	37	20	17	27
<u>Polynesian and Pakeha In New Zealand Education ... Volume I</u>	80	10	3	7
<u>Volume II</u>	90	7	0	3
<u>Introduction to Maori Education</u>	67	17	7	10
<u>Orakei</u>	90	7	0	3
<u>Te Ao Huri Huri</u>	100	0	0	0
<u>Maori Mothers and Pre-school Education</u>	57	23	3	17
<u>A New Maori Migration</u>	77	3	3	17
<u>The Making of a Maori</u>	47	20	10	23
<u>Maori People in the 1960's</u>	57	3	7	33
<u>The Maoris of New Zealand</u>	87	0	0	13
<u>Maori Children and the Teacher</u>	70	13	3	13
<u>Language Programmes for Maori Children</u>	47	37	3	13

148.

N.B. The psychologist sample had read 20.6% of the possible reading in this section.

English Language Difficulties of Maori School Children (reached 63% of the sample), and Language Programmes for Maori Children (53% of the sample) were among the more popular books (see Table 36).

### Journals

Again psychologists reported a much higher reading frequency on this section than other sample groups (18.4%). This score was achieved mainly with one of the less relevant journals however (i.e. New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies noted by 80% of the sample as being read in some degree). Te Ao Hou in reaching 43% of psychologists in the sample obviously has some impact but the impact of Te Maori was disappointing (80% had never read it) (see Table 37).

Table 37

Journal Reading Completed by Psychologist Sample. (Figures represent percentage of total group falling into each category rounded to nearest whole number.)

Title	Never Read	Rarely Read	Occasionally Read	Regularly Read
<u>Te Ao Hou</u>	57	23	17	3
<u>Te Maori</u>	80	7	13	0
<u>Marae</u>	100	0	0	0
<u>Journal of Polynesian Society</u>	70	20	10	0
<u>New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies</u>	20	10	43	27

N.B. The psychologist sample had read 18.4% of the possible reading in this section.

### Section 6

Results of this section are tabulated in Tables 38 and 39. Generally the sample achieved poor results here. Seventy per-

cent for example were unable to name a local meetinghouse, 90% could not say from what source a meetinghouse usually derives its name, 73% were unable to write down the name of an important Maori elder in their district and a similar percentage could not define terms such as "tangata whenua", "turangawaewae", "tangihanga", "kaumatua" and so on. With 50% scoring in the lowest quartile and 77% below the midpoint this group, all of whom had university degrees, and many post graduate degrees, did not perform as well as one would have hoped.

Table 38

Section 6. Percentage of Psychologists' Sample Credited with the Correct Answer for Each Item. (Figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Question	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency %
1	9	30
2	3	10
3	6	20
4	7	23
5	4	13
6	8	27
7	8	27
8	6	20
9	6	20
10 (i)	18	60
10 (ii)	11	37
10 (iii)	3	10
10 (iv)	8	27
10 (v)	16	53
10 (vi)	9	30
10 (vii)	3	10
10 (viii)	16	53
10 (ix)	11	37
10 (x)	7	23

Table 39

Section 6. Percentages of Psychologists' Sample Obtaining Specific Raw Scores.  
(Figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Raw Score	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency %	Cumulative Frequency %	
0	8	27	27	
1	2	7	33	
2	1	3	37	
3	3	10	47	
4	1	3	50	
5	2	7	57	
6	3	10	67	
7	2	7	73	
8	1	3	77	
9	0	0	77	
				MID POINT
10	2	7	83	
11	1	3	87	
12	1	3	90	
13	0	0	90	
14	0	0	90	
15	1	3	93	
16	1	3	97	
17	1	3	100	
18	0	0	100	
19	0	0	100	

Lowest  
Quartile

Second  
Quartile

Third  
Quartile

Top  
Quartile

Mean = 5.3

Median = 4.5

Mode = 0

Summary

In this chapter, results of the present survey were presented. The results of the Taranaki, Hawke's Bay, and Psychological Services samples were presented and discussed separately but some group comparisons were made.

Answers to Sections 2 and 3 revealed some differences of opinion between the Taranaki Maori sample and the Taranaki teacher sample.

General disappointment was expressed at the limited number of experiences, respondents reported having had, and the limited reading they reported having done. Also disappointment was expressed at the poor results achieved on Section 6.

Hawke's Bay respondents did not differ significantly from the Taranaki teacher sample. Results were, in fact, remarkably similar.

The Psychological Services sample had had more in-service work and reported more reading of reports, educational and sociological references and journals.



### CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In this thesis it has been argued that many benefits would follow if teachers had a high degree of bicultural sensitivity. There is abundant evidence that the "average" Pakeha New Zealander does not possess such levels of sensitivity in respect of Maori New Zealanders. Rather than assume that Pakeha teachers and psychologists automatically fall into the same category, it was decided to attempt some measure of their opinions, experiences and knowledge of "things Maori".

Some may look at the Questionnaire used and say it is unfair to expect Pakeha teachers to score well on it. Such criticism could be directed especially to Sections 5 and 6 of the Questionnaire. The writer would reject criticism of this nature, however.

The group of teachers and psychologists sampled are highly qualified professionals with the responsibility for providing the best possible educational climate for all pupils. The fact that 62% of the total group sampled ( $n = 194$ ) had either a full or a partial degree and the remainder had a minimum of two years' higher education at a teachers' college, indicates that compared with a normal cross-section of the community they are a select group. As a group they were fully capable of absorbing the contents of books and articles listed in Section 5 and of learning the information required to answer the questions in Section 6.

Furthermore 75% of all respondents indicated that they believed there were significant differences between Maori and European children, which call for special knowledge on the part of the teacher (Question 6, Section 3).

The results which have been tabulated and discussed in Chapter 7 reveal that few of the respondents have had the experiences listed in Section 4 of the Questionnaire. They reported very little reading (Section 5) and scored poorly on Section 6. This was found to be <sup>as</sup> true of the Hawke's Bay sample as it was of the Taranaki teachers sample, despite the fact that in Hawke's Bay the proportion of Maori pupils is three times that of the Taranaki area and that official policy has directed special attention towards areas where the proportion of Maori pupils is high.

A further aspect of respondents' answers to this Questionnaire which causes the present writer some concern is in the realm of attitudes. Attitudes are very difficult to measure and certainly Sections 2 and 3 of the Questionnaire do not have sufficient validity for any reliable conclusions to be drawn. In the hope that further research will be promoted, however, the following speculative comments are offered.

Most references discussed earlier in this thesis, support the view that Maori pupils as a group require some special educational provision in order to maximise their chances of equal opportunities. The sub-cultural differences which exist should, where possible, be recognised and used in a positive way in the school curriculum. Furthermore, since as a group, Maoris have proved to be at a disadvantage in the New Zealand educational system, the concept of extra assistance (or unequal education for unequals) has been generally accepted by policy-makers.

Some responses to questions in Section 3 suggest that there could be a significant group of classroom teachers and

psychologists who reject these "special" measures, however.

Twenty-five percent of the total sample reject the suggestion that there may be significant differences between Maori and European children which call for special knowledge on the part of the teacher (Question 6, Section 3). Thirty-three percent do not consider it important for a teacher to have a good knowledge of Maoritanga (Question 3, Section 3) while twenty-three percent disagree with the teaching of Maori language in schools (Question 4, Section 3).

Finally, the results indicate that fifty-one percent of the total group feel that it is unfair to European students if Maori pupils find it easier to obtain financial help through scholarships.

Such attitudes suggest a good deal of resistance could exist in the rank and file of New Zealand educational circles to any special provisions which may be made for Maori pupils, despite the fact that it can clearly be demonstrated that this group does not perform scholastically as well as Europeans.

Research in the field of Pakeha teacher attitudes to Maori pupils would seem to be needed. It may be that without a better understanding of these a great deal of the effort and money which is currently being expended on Maori education will be misdirected.

The results of this study suggest that Pakeha teachers by and large do not engage in sufficient experiences either directly or vicariously, to gain any real sensitivity to Maoritanga.

Earlier it has been argued that New Zealanders, whether Maori or Pakeha, do share many common cultural experiences. Maoris however would appear to have a sub-culture which in some

respects differs significantly from the Pakeha New Zealand culture. Maori children have their most powerful early childhood socialization experiences in this sub-culture. Through this, they acquire a component of their total picture of reality which may be termed "Maori reality". It is this aspect of their total self which the present writer believes, receives too little "confirmation" in a school setting.

It is contended that the general failure of the New Zealand education system to provide an environment for Maori pupils in which "Maori reality" can be confirmed, may well be a more powerful explanation for school failure than either socio-economic or linguistic variables.

APPENDIX A

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

SECTION 1.GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Length of certificated service. <sup>x</sup>  
Under 5 years                      5 - 10 years                      More than 10 years
  
2. Ethnic Group  
Maori                                  European                                  Other
  
3. Sex  
Male                                  Female
  
4. Teachers' College attended (if any) .....
  
5. University Qualifications  
Please list units you have passed at University level (if any)  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
6. Other Qualifications  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
7. Have you had any special experiences (In-Service Courses, T.V. Programmes, Visits to a Marae, Residence in a Maori Community, etc.) which you feel has helped you to understand Maori pupils better. Please specify:  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
8. Type of school currently teaching in:  
Primary                                  Intermediate                                  Secondary  
  
Psychological Service  
<sup>x</sup> Not required for Psychological Personnel

SECTION 2.

1. The New Zealand Herald has suggested Editorially that the current moves to emphasise Maoritanga are preserving and reinforcing feelings of apartness instead of hastening the day when N.Z'ers are simply N.Z'ers.  
Do you agree? YES/NO
2. The New Zealand Listener has doubted whether there is a Maori life pattern sufficient to sustain a sense of identity distinct from European culture?  
Do you agree? YES/NO
3. Is it too late for Maori youth to rediscover Maoritanga? YES/NO
4. Do you agree with separate Maori representation in parliament? (i.e. the 4 Maori seats). YES/NO
5. Do you agree with the view that ideally N.Z'ers should be all one people and that cultural differences should be minimised? YES/NO
6. Do you fear the development of 'Brown Power' as a real possibility in New Zealand? YES/NO
7. Do you consider Urban Marae are needed in cities where there are concentrations of Maoris? YES/NO
8. In Otara, the concept of a multi-racial Marae has been mooted. Do you consider this would be better than a Maori Marae? YES/NO
9. If your answer to question 8 was 'yes' then do you think leadership should be open to both European and Maori? YES/NO
10. Do you think the name of Mt Egmont should be changed to Mt Taranaki? YES/NO



SECTION 3.

1. It is said that it is easier for Maori students to obtain financial help through scholarships than European students. Do you consider this an injustice to European students? YES/NO
2. Do you feel an increasing feeling of 'Maoriness' will foster racial harmony in your school? YES/NO
3. Do you consider it important for a teacher to have a good knowledge of Maoritanga? YES/NO
4. Do you agree with the teaching of Maori language in schools? YES/NO
5. Do you consider bilingualism would be an advantage for a Maori pupil in your school? YES/NO
6. Do you consider there are any significant differences between Maori and European children which call for special knowledge on the part of the teacher? YES/NO
7. It is a fact that as a group Maori children do less well in school than European children. Do you consider this mainly due to : (please tick)
  - (a) Socio-economic variables
  - (b) Cultural factors
  - (c) A combination of (a) and (b)
  - (d) Less hereditary ability
  - (e) Some other factor (please specify)

.....
8. Do you speak Maori? YES/NO
9. Compared with teaching European children, do you

SECTION 3 (Cont.)

find teaching Maori children :

- (a) easier
- (b) harder
- (c) about the same

10. Compared with teaching European children, do you find teaching Maori children :

- (a) more rewarding
- (b) less rewarding
- (c) about the same

SECTION 4.

(Please  
circle)

1. Have you ever attended a Tangi? YES NO

2. Have you ever stayed overnight on a Marae? YES NO

3. Estimate the number of In-service training days  
you have spent on topics specifically related  
to Maori Education in the last five years:

(please circle)

0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 or more

4. Write down what you think is the most crucial  
issue facing Maori children in our schools?

.....  
.....

5. Write down a brief description of specific schemes  
(if any) you are associated with, which aim at  
providing special help for Maori children.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

SECTION 5

Below is a list of books, articles and reports. Please answer by using the following:

In the first box --

1 indicates Never Read

2 indicates Skim Read

3 indicates In Depth Reading of WHOLE BOOK or Article

4 indicates In Depth Reading of PART OF BOOK or Article

In the second box please use the following code to indicate what prompted you to read the book or article -

TC indicates Teachers' College Requirement

U indicates University Course Requirement

IN indicates In-service Course Requirement

PI indicates Personal Interest

Wk Pl indicates in preparing a work unit for teaching

0 indicates other

Fiction

Ashton-Warner	<u>Spinster</u>		
Arepera Blank	<u>One, Two, Three,</u>		
	<u>Four, Five ...</u>		
Francis	<u>Johnny Rapanā</u>		
Heretaunga Baker	<u>Behind the Tattooed Face</u>		
Hart	<u>Settlers and Maoris</u>		
Noel Hilliard	<u>Maori Girl</u>		
Noel Hilliard	<u>Maori Woman</u>		
Witi Ihimaera	<u>Pounamu, Pounamu</u>		
Witi Ihimaera	<u>Tangi</u>		
Margaret Orbell	<u>Contemporary Maori Writings</u>		
Margaret Orbell	<u>Maori Folk Tales</u>		

Reports

Currie Report (1962) Chapter Maori Education		
E.D.C. (1974) Working Party on Improving Learning-Teaching Maori Education		

- Watson                      Maori Children's Needs
- E.D.C. (1975) Direction for Educational  
Development Section on Maori Education  
pp 52-55
- Hunn (1964) Report on Department of Maori  
Affairs
- Maori Synod (Presbyterian) A Maori View of  
the Hunn Report
- Report of the National Advisory Committee  
on Maori Education 1970
- N.Z.E.I. (1967) Report on Maori Education
- Auckland University Extension Department  
Young Maori Leaders' Conference Report  
1970
- P.P.T.A. (1970) Maori Education (Interim  
Report)

Educational and Sociological References

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Ashton-Warner           | <u>Teacher</u>  |
| Barham                  | <u>The English Vocabulary<br/>and Sentence Structure of<br/>Maori Children</u>      |
| Benton                  | <u>Research into English Language<br/>Difficulties of Maori<br/>School Children</u> |
| Bray and Hill           | <u>Polynesian and Pakeha in<br/>N.Z. Education</u> <u>Vol. I</u>                    |
|                         | <u>Vol. II</u>  |
| Ewing and<br>Shallcrass | <u>Introduction to Maori<br/>Education</u>  |
| Kawharu                 | <u>Orakei - A Ngatiwhatus<br/>Community</u>   |
| King                    | <u>Te Ao Huri Huri - The World<br/>Moves On</u>                                     |
| McDonald                | <u>Maori Mothers and Pre-<br/>School Children</u>                                   |
| Mason                   | <u>Maori Education Today</u>  |

Metge	<u>Maori Society Today</u>		
Metge	<u>A New Maori Migration</u>		
Ritchie	<u>The Making of a Maori</u>		
Schwimmer	<u>The Maori People in the 1960's</u>		
Metge	<u>The Maoris of New Zealand</u>		

Education Department Publications

Maori Children and the Teacher		
Language Programmes for Maori Children		
Teaching Maori Children Effectively		

Periodicals

Below is a list of periodicals. Please use the following code -

- 1 indicates Never Read
- 2 indicates Very Rarely Read
- 3 indicates Read Occasionally
- 4 indicates Read Regularly

<u>Te Ao Hou</u>		
<u>Te Maori</u>		
<u>Marae</u>		
<u>Journal of the Polynesian Society</u>		
<u>N.Z. Journal of Educational Studies</u>		

List any other references you have found useful.

.....

.....

.....

.....

SECTION 6

If you do not know an answer please leave a blank. Do not guess.

1. Write the name of a meetinghouse in your area.  
.....
2. From what source does a meetinghouse usually derive its name?  
.....
3. What does the tahuhu (ridge pole) represent?  
.....
4. What do the heke (rafters) represent?  
.....
5. Is a meetinghouse tapu? .....
6. Is food tapu? .....
7. Write down the name of an important Maori Elder in your district.  
.....
8. What qualifies one to have an inalienable right of free speech on a Marae?  
.....
9. On what grounds has the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act been criticised by Maoris?  
.....  
.....  
.....
10. Briefly (i.e. one word or short phrase) define the following terms :



(i)	Mana	.....
(ii)	Tangata Whenua	.....
(iii)	Mauri	.....
(iv)	Turangawaewae	.....
(v)	Hui	.....
(vi)	Tangihanga	.....
(vii)	Whanautanga	.....
(viii)	Aroha	.....
(ix)	Kuia	.....
(x)	Kaumatua	.....

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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### Note on Bibliography

There have been a great number of words written on Maoris and Maori education during the past few years. This bibliography is not therefore comprehensive.

For a fuller coverage of periodicals the reader is referred to the Abstracts for New Zealand Periodicals.

Many periodicals carry articles on the general topic of Maoris.

The New Zealand Listener for example has regular features and columns (e.g. Korero). Many of these are indexed in the New Zealand Abstracts.

Te Maori and Te Ao Hou of course are almost entirely devoted to this topic.

Other worthwhile articles may also be found in New Zealand Monthly Review, Delta, Affairs, National Education, Post Primary Teachers' Association Journal, New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, Education, The Journal of the Polynesian Society, and Marae.

Occasional articles have appeared during the last five years in such diverse publications as Comment, Asian Pacific Quarterly, New Guinea Psychologist, Race, Australian Geographical Studies, New Zealand Law Journal, Continuing Education, Science Congress 12, New Zealand Draughtsman, New Zealand Social Worker, New Zealand Parks and Reserves Bulletin, Journal of the New Zealand Teachers' College Association, New Zealand Speech Therapists Journal, Forefront, Far Eastern Economic Review, Sociology and Social Research, Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Landfall, Australian Pre-School Quarterly, Current History, British Journal of Medical Psychiatry, New Zealand University Law Review, Dissent, and Nation.